SALEM

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

BY

GILBERT L. STREETER.

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Our good old city of Salem has become interesting, and has gained distinction, because it possesses a certain "flavor of antiquity." Here, on this spot, first landed and lived the Puritan fathers of the Colony. The humble dwellings which they occupied—a few of them—yet remain. Their little meeting-house, to them so dear, we still hold and preserve as a sacred relic. The streets which they trod now bear their names, and remind us of their former habitancy. Their remains lie in our burial places, and there are their monuments. Thus, separated by only a few generations, we have here the descendants of those remarkable men who settled this New England, who framed its institutions, determined its habits, and established its character.

This place is also interesting because it has become attractive to the patriotic men and women who celebrate the events and admire the heroic deeds of the actors in the Revolution. This town had much to do with the beginnings of the Revolution, in which respect none exceeded it, except the ever foremost town of Boston. And a great Revolution it was, vast in its consequences, whether political, social, religious, or commercial.

Salem, before the Revolution, dominated by a small but showy aristocracy, arrayed in costly velvets and splendid

satins, loyal to the King, thoroughly colonial in feeling and sentiment, was a very different place from the Salem which succeeded the Revolution, when liberal sentiments were tolerated, in politics and religion, and the "republican simplicity" of Franklin and Jefferson had become popular, and the self-assertion of the new commercial spirit began to prevail.

It is the purpose of this paper to look back upon this period, just before the Revolution. We are curious to know how the old town then looked, to gain some idea of its people, and to learn what they were doing, and thinking of and hoping for. I am aware of my incompetency to do this properly, which would require the skill of a word-painter, and the extent of a volume to hold the picture. I can only give a few facts to imperfectly illustrate the subject. This I shall do in an off-hand way, without pretence to the dignity of history. I shall endeavor to give an impression of the place as it was at any time within ten or fifteen years previous to 1775—a period of great interest in our local history, as some of the most important events which immediately preceded the war of Independence transpired here and at that time.

THE INHABITANTS.

Salem was then a highly respectable and influential town in "His Majesty George the Third's Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England," as the Colony was then described in official documents. It was one of the leading towns in the Province, and of all the places in Massachusetts ranked next to Boston in political and commercial importance. Many of the chief men of the colony resided here, persons learned and eminent in the law, in letters, in physics, and divinity, and holding high offices on the judicial bench, in the militia, and in other departments of the public service.

The population was remarkably homogeneous. Most of the inhabitants were born here, although some had come from other towns. For a hundred and fifty years there had been no immigration from the old country—none since the time of Cromwell's English Commonwealth. There were consequently very few persons of foreign birth in the whole Province. There were a few negro slaves, who were occasionally advertised for sale, and were mentioned in wills. These were usually domestic servants. The town was therefore a strictly New England community, with all the ideas, habits, and traditions of that lineage. The people, in matters of religion, which was a principal subject in the current thoughts of the community, held to the Calvinistic dogmas, somewhat modified by time. Indeed there were some faint signs of the change going on, which, years later, culminated in the Unitarian movement. In the great political contest then agitating the colony, which led to the war, the sympathies of Salem were on the popular side.

The principal business of the town was the cod fishery, boldly and successfully pursued, as the visitor could not fail to perceive from the evidence on the river sides, of the numerous fish-flakes, which caught the eye and regaled the sense of smell. The population of the town was about five thousand, and they dwelt in less than five hundred houses. These dwellings were chiefly of wood, of two stories, many of them built by the earliest settlers. The most ancient had gables, and overhanging second stories, and diamond-shaped glass, set with lead, in the windows, of which the Curwen, Kitchen and Bradstreet mansions were instances; two or three of the less stylish of these old houses still remain. Some of the new houses were in the lately introduced French style, with gambrel roofs, several of which are still standing, such as the Pickman house, Mr. Low's house and the Andrews house.

The inhabitants generally enjoyed the "golden mean" of outward prosperity, being neither too rich nor too poor. The aspect of the place to strangers, was that of comparative ease and comfort, as the reward of thrift and industry. A very few new dwellings, at the time of the Revolution, were of brick—not over a dozen—the most costly and elegant of which was the Derby mansion on School street (now Hotel Russell on Washington street). It is worthy of notice that scarcely any one of these buildings were painted, either outside or inside, for it was many years afterwards when the cost of painting began to be generally incurred. This improvement—then called "laying a house in oil"—as well as papering the walls, and carpeting the floors, was made slowly. Floors were usually sanded and the walls were left in plaster.

The social distinctions in the community, as to rank and precedence, were more marked then than now. The "common people" were distinctly recognized as a class. The wealthy were clothed in imported goods, which were often of high colors, as purple and scarlet, but the common people wore homespun. Cloaks were usually worn by gentlemen. In winter round coats were worn, made stiff by buckram, and coming down to the knees. Cocked hats, wigs and queues, knee-breeches, and silver buckles, were generally worn, and the hair was powdered. Even boys wore cocked hats and wigs until about 1790. The toilets of ladies were elaborate, especially the hair, which was built up on crape cushions to a ridiculous height. Hoops were considered indispensable. The use of liquors was very general. Drinking punch in the forenoon at public houses, the "eleven o'clock," so called, was the common practice. The varieties of food were far less than now. They lacked the many succulent vegetables which we have, and the foreign and domestic fruits which we enjoy were almost unknown.

THE FEW AMUSEMENTS.

There were exceedingly few amusements in the "good old colony times." I mean concerts, lectures, theatres, and the other thousand and one entertainments devised to please the public and line the pockets of showmen and artists. The influence of the clergy was exerted against all "worldly pleasures." The theatre was denounced by the church and prohibited by act of the General Court. Dancing was regarded as abominable, and only the ungodly indulged in it, and this seldom. Singing schools, in which psalm-singing was the rule, were permitted. A few public occasions, such as Training days, Pope's day and Election day, were devoted to hilarity and noisy enjoyment by the lighter portion of the community, but the serious took infinite satisfaction in frequent and numerous religious meetings, with much sermonizing, which were followed up with unflagging zeal. In addition to the theological pressure against worldly pleasures, the political agitations of the period took up public attention, to the exclusion of other matters. Beside these considerations, it must be observed that although the people were, as a whole, comfortably housed, clothed and fed—although not in the modern sense of these terms—they had very little money.

However, there were some entertainments worth mentioning, as showing the limitations of the times. In 1769 an English actor, named Wardwell, visited Salem, and delighted the worldly-minded part of the people by reciting the "Ballad Opera of Dermon and Philida," with songs from the Opera of Artaxerxes between the acts. This seems to have been dangerously near to the profane theatricals which were so piously abhorred. Something like a circus, with a single performer, took place in 1771, when a famous English equestrian, named John Sharp, astonished

the natives by his feats of agility performed in Broad street. In after years circuses usually located in Broad street, and on the fields towards the mill pond, and Hawthorne street was called "circus lane" until quite recently.

Just before the Revolution, one D. Eccleston, a popular scientist of that day, gave several lectures, with experiments, on the air pump, in the Assembly, which was where the vestry of the South Church now stands. The price of admission was fifty cents. He advertised that "only about five and twenty tickets [would be] delivered out," as no more could be accommodated with seats. About the same time Colonel David Mason, who had lately moved into town from Boston, to practise the coach painter's and japanner's trade, lectured in the front room of his house, near the North Bridge, upon "the newly discovered electrical fire." He charged one pistareen per lecture. Colonel Mason was a man of considerable scientific acquirements. He was a leading citizen and an ardent patriot. He had been an engineer at the siege of Louisburg, and at the time of Colonel Leslie's expedition, he had charge of the cannons and bore a commission to collect arms and ammunition for the military forces then forming. His services at North Bridge on that memorable occasion are fully recounted in Charles M. Endicott's narrative of that affair.

A favorite diversion for the young women of that period was the Spinning Match, which received a sort of consecration by the presence of the Pastor of the Parish, who often preached a sermon at the conclusion of the day's labors. The spirit of these occasions is well shown in the following account of one of them taken from the Essex Gazette of September 12, 1769.

"*Precinct of Salem and Beverly September 8, 1769.* On Tuesday the 5 inst., forty-one young women of this

Place, moved perhaps by the many late examples of others, who have in a similar way testified their esteem of their Pastors, for their work's sake by seeking Wool and Flax, and working willingly for them with their hands—having provided themselves with these materials, met early in the Morning at the house of Rev. Mr. Chipman, and in the evening presented him with seventy run of well-wrought yarn. A run is a skein of twenty knots, the number of knots in the whole being 1,396. Mr. Chipman had no knowledge of their work and labor of love till the day appointed and near at hand, but he desired not the gift yet he always rejoices to see Fruit abounding to their Account; and the repeated kindnesses of his People to him in his advanced age, as well as their living in the exercise of social virtues each toward the other excited his gratitude.

N. B. The young gentlewomen were not moved in the least by political Principles in the affair above, yet they are cordial Lovers of Liberty, particularly of the liberty of drinking Tea with their Bread and Butter, to which their Pastor consents."

GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE TOWN.

A few years before the Revolution a New York merchant visited Salem as a guest of Colonel William Brown, one of the most opulent citizens, holding important offices and living in grand style in the mansion afterwards known as the "Sun Tavern." He describes the place, somewhat in the manner of a merchant's inventory, but it is worth quoting:

"Salem is a small seaport town, consisting of about 450 houses, several of which are neat buildings but all of wood; and covers a great deal of ground, the houses lying at a convenient distance from each other, with fine gardens back. The town is situated on a neck of land, navigable on either side, is about 2½ miles in length, including the buildings back of the town. One main street runs directly through it. There is one Church,

three Presbyterian and one Quaker meeting house, and the situation is very pleasant. The trade consists chiefly in the cod fishery. They have 50 or 60 sail—schooners employed in that branch. Saw about 30 sail in the harbor, having then about 40 at sea. They cure all their cod for the market. Saw a vast number of flakes curing."

This account gives a distinct impression of the rural aspect of the town at that period. The houses were at a convenient distance from each other "with gardens or fields between." Another pen picture of Salem is afforded in the gossiping diary of John Adams, second President of the United States, who visited Salem in 1766, when he was thirty years of age. He describes some of the residences as "elegant and grand." He says:

"Aug. 12. Set out with my wife for Salem; dined at Boston; drank tea at Dr. Simon Tufts in Medford, lodged at Mr. Bishop's.

13. Set out from Mr. Bishop's, oated at Norwood's alias Martin's, and reached brother Cranch's [in Salem] at twelve o'clock. [He had been two days and a half reaching Salem from Quincy.] Dined and drank tea and then drove down to the Neck Gate, and then back through the Common, and down to Beverly Ferry, then back through the Common and round the back part of the town-house; then walked round the other side of the town to Colonel Brown's, who not being at home, we returned. The town is situated on a plain, a level, a flat. Scarce an eminence can be found any where to take a view. The streets are broad and straight and pretty clean. The houses are the most elegant and grand I have seen in any of our maritime towns.

14. Walked to Witch Hill, a hill about half a mile from Cranch's, where the famous persons formerly executed for witchcraft were buried. Somebody within a few years has planted a number of locust trees over the graves, as a memorial of that memorable victory over 'the Prince of the Power of the air!'[1] This hill is in a

[1] Persons now living, of whom the writer is one, remember seeing the scraggly remains of what were said to be those trees.

large common belonging to the proprietors of Salem. From it you have a fair view of the town, of the river, the Neck and the South fields, of Judge Lynde's Pleasure House [on Castle Hill] of Salem village."

Mr. Adams seems to have received a very favorable impression of the place. The "elegant houses" which he described were those of Colonel Benjamin Pickman on Essex opposite St. Peter street, the Curwen house, corner of North and Essex, and others of the same new gambrel roof or mansard style, some of which still remain.[1]

THE STREETS OF THE TOWN.

It may not be unprofitable to spend a few moments in running up and down some of Salem's streets as they were between 1760 and 1775. They were mostly down in town. There were but few families living above Summer street. The larger part of the population was in ward one—then the "clover ward" of the place. The streets everywhere were called *lanes* and many of them bore the names of early inhabitants. Such were, English's lane, Becket's lane, Turner's lane, Hardy's lane, Daniel's lane, Curtis's lane, and Herbert's lane. These all ran from Bow street, as lower Essex street was called, to the harbor. Derby street had not been laid out, although there was a way which led along the water's edge, by the south river and the harbor. Bow street was so called because it followed a ridge of sand which was bow shaped and sloped to the low lands on either side. Further up was Burying Point lane (Liberty street) leading by the ancient burial place, which had been in use since 1637,

[1] A very good specimen of this style of house is the old "Pine Apple House" now standing in Ives' Court. This was so called because a figure of a pineapple, carved in wood is placed over the front door. In this mansion lived William Pynchon a tory lawyer who became a refugee.

now known as the Charter-street Burial Ground. Still further up was the Town Landing (Central street) leading to the lower wharves of the town. Only a few lanes were used to accommodate the scattered dwellings in ward two. The principal one was Ferry Lane, running from Essex street around the Common, on its westerly side, to Beverly Ferry, where the bridge now is. Prison lane (St. Peter St.) ran from Main street to the Prison (now the residence of Abner C. Goodell) and thence to the North River. Brown's lane and Epes's lane, (Church street) ran, as now, from the Common to School street (now Washington).

The Training Field, or Common, was a wet, uneven, diversified, and unenclosed tract of land, which was quite rural in its aspect. Several hollows of standing water within its bounds were dignified by the names of Flag, Cheever's and Mason's Ponds. It was some times called the Town Swamp. In the eastern part, near Bush lane (Orange street), flags and hoops had been cut, and Dr. Bentley said, that, in the early days, frames of houses in the vicinity had been made of trees felled on the Common. In 1770 a new almshouse was built on the northern corner. Near where Andrew street is now, a tanner named Jonathan Andrew had sunk his vats and spread his skins. Several other tanneries were located in that vicinity. The high tides from the cove sometimes overflowed the lower portion.

In the upper part of the town were large unoccupied areas where are now populous streets. Where Lynde street is a swamp existed. Curwin's lane (North street) led from West's Corner to the "Great North Bridge" to North Fields. A lot on the western side of the lane, near the river, had been set apart for offensive trades—a sort of out-of-the-way place where even

nuisances would offend no man's delicacy. Here spots had been designated, in the peculiar language of the times, "for the exercising the trade or Mystery of Distilling Spirits," and for "the exercising the Trade or Mystery of Killing all meat." Running along the bank of the river, in ward four, was a border of trees and shrubbery, and the remainder of that ward was mainly occupied by gardens, orchards and fields. It is said that a gentleman who resided in the far-off rural district of Dean street, was asked when he appeared down town in the morning, "what is the news in the country?"

On the other side of Main street were similar intervals. Where Chestnut street is now it was wet and swampy. Broad street was built upon, in the early days, because the first road from Boston to Salem came into town at the upper part of that street, through Wood's Gate. Summer street was known as "the Great Road leading to Marblehead"—as the market men usually passed that way to Marblehead, which was then as populous as Salem and afforded a good market.

The main street of the town ran from the Guard House at Neck Gate to the Town Bridge, in "Blubber Hollow." The bridge spanned a brook, now a mere drain, in the hollow of Boston street, and had been built in the earliest days, and was a noted boundary. Different parts of the street were known by different names. The names *King* street, *Queen* street and *Paved* street were successively given to that portion between "West's Corner" and "Britton's Corner," or in other words, as now designated, between North street and Washington street corners. Near the junction of Main and School streets, (now Essex and Washington) were the Town House, the principal School House, the "Great Meeting House" of the First Church, Mr. Whitaker's meeting house, the

Custom House, Post Office (kept previous to 1768 by Mrs. Lydia Hill). In front of the School House was the Whipping Post. The "Exchange" adjoined the Town House on the western side. The principal stores were on Main street, between Prison lane and Curwin's lane (St. Peter and North streets).

There is in the Essex Institute a colored picture of the western side of School street (Washington), as it was before the great fire of 1774. It was taken from a window of the Town House (on Essex street opposite Washington), by Dr. Joseph Orne, who was at that time—between 1765 and 1770—a student of medicine with Dr. E. A. Holyoke. It is an interesting memorial, as being the only view extant of any portion of the town at an early period. The foreground of this more instructive than romantic picture exhibits to us the boat-builder's shop and modest dwelling of Samuel Field, who occupied the premises opposite the City Hall, now the Rea estate. Next to this is the "Post Office" as we learn from the projecting sign; and adjoining this, the Derby House, before mentioned as one of the celebrities of our town architecture. Beyond this is the Hunt House, formerly on the northern corner of Lynde street, and between that and the river several inferior buildings which completed the view on that side. The eastern side of the street was not taken into the artist's range, but in the centre of the street stands forth the brick school house, with its ornamental cupola, and in front thereof the Town Whipping Post. This is the whole extent of the glimpse afforded by the picture.

In North and South Salem there were only a few houses, and no other roads than the highways to Danvers and Marblehead.

To realize the condition of the streets and lanes we must remember that they were not paved, and that there

were no sidewalks. Some public-spirited individuals proposed, as early as 1731, to raise money to pave that part of Main street from West's to Britton's corner (Washington to North streets), but it was more than forty years before this was accomplished. The General Court was asked to authorize a lottery for this purpose, but for some reason it was not done, although lotteries were frequently approved to promote public enterprises. When this little piece of paving was done, the pebbles were brought from the beach at Baker's Island. These cobblestones were the first form of paving, and have been used down to the present time. As there were no brick sidewalks the pavements, where there were any, reached across the street, from house to house. A lady who visited in Boston, as late as 1795, stated that "everyone walked in the middle of the street where the pavement was the smoothest," and doubtless it was so in Salem. The streets were not lighted at night, and there were no watchmen, until 1774, when the citizens began to take turns in watching in sets of ten. This state of things is so different from our present conditions as to be hard to realize. The picture presented to the mind's eye, of the occasional pedestrian at night, groping carefully along those dark lanes, dressed in his heavy camblet cloak, with a cocked hat and cane, with a clumsy lantern, shedding a feeble radiance upon his path, is in striking contrast to that of the modern citizen moving freely about in the glare of electric lights.

THE WHARVES AND MARITIME TRADE.

Leaving the streets or lanes, let us go to the wharves. These, in ante-Revolutionary days, were mostly on the upper part of the South river, from the mills to the present Union wharf, then known as Long wharf, which extended from the shore to a small island in the middle of

the river, known as Jeggle's island. In 1760 there were no wharves below this point, except a small one at the foot of Turner's lane. There was one wharf on Winter island, at Ober's, or Palmer's Head, built by Richard Derby, an enterprising merchant, who had a warehouse there. Nearly a century before, in 1684, no less than ten persons were permitted by the General Court to build wharves at Winter island, but these wharves had all disappeared. The Derby wharf was afterwards known as Powder House wharf. There were two small wharves at North Bridge, soon invested with historical interest by the spirited resistance thereon offered to Colonel Leslie's invasion. Above these wharves, on the North river, near Frye's mills, was a noted place for building vessels, then and for many subsequent years. Another established ship-yard was near the foot of Elm street, that now is.

The busiest of the wharves were where the solid granite depot of the Boston and Maine Railroad stands, as secure as if the colonial coasters had never floated over the spot. Just above was a noted bay of the South river extending toward the "Great Road to Marblehead" (Summer street), between Norman and High streets, where Creek street now is. It was crossed by a bridge on Mill street, with a draw thirty feet wide, for vessels to pass through. Wharves were located above this bridge, and vessels were built as well as floated there. On Britton's Hill, descending from Summer street, was a well known ship-yard where schooners were built. This is the region which was nicknamed "Knocker's Hole" in allusion to the resounding blows of the shipwright's mallet.

I have mentioned that the principal business before the Revolution was the cod-fishery, in which many merchants had made money. It had always been so since early colonial days. Colonel Benjamin Pickman's elegant house,

opposite Prison lane (St. Peter street), had the figure of a cod-fish carved on each riser of his front stairs. There were fifty or sixty vessels engaged in this traffic. The fish, when brought in and unladen, were chiefly cured on the bank of the North river, which, from the North Bridge to Conant street, was a scene of busy industry. There was a considerable coastwise trade with the southern ports and the West Indies; and also some intercourse with parts of Portugal, all growing out of the fishery business.

The East India trade, in which the merchants of Salem were so successful after the Revolution, had not yet been opened. It remained for the famous ship Grand Turk, Capt. Ebenezer West, to sail (in 1784) on her first adventurous voyage beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and for the little schooner Benjamin, Capt. Benj. Carpenter, to clear from the North river above the North bridge, on a similar gallant enterprise. The places to which vessels cleared in 1770 were Virginia, Maryland, the West Indies, Lisbon, Cadiz, Bilboa, Philadelphia, North and South Carolina, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, St. Johns, Liverpool, Canso,—"the Streights," as the newspaper spelled it,—Gasper and Georgia. Occasionally a vessel from Salem engaged in the infamous slave-trade between Africa and the West Indies.

The total superficial extent of the wharf accommodations before the Revolution did not exceed 50,000 square feet. It is now in excess of one million. To promote improvements in the harbor, and to encourage commerce, the Marine Society was formed by the merchants and mariners, and became very useful. One of its early enterprises was to erect a huge stone monument on Baker's Island, as a landmark for sailors, and it was afterwards influential in securing the erection of two lighthouses which still stand there. The Marine Society is yet in existence, and

in its charitable character distributes more money to its beneficiaries than any other institution. It is the only existing secular organization whose beginning was prior to the Revolution. The Custom House was on Main street nearly opposite our Barton Square Church. His Majesty's Deputy Collector for the port was Richard Routh, a tory, who fled to Halifax after the evacuation of Boston by the British Army in 1776. He was subsequently rewarded for his loyalty by being made Chief Justice of Newfoundland.

STORES AND GOODS.

The fishery being the principal business of the town there was little else done, except that there was some tanning of leather—which in our day expanded into the leading industry—and a couple of rope-walks. The retail trade seems to have been good, and supplied the smaller surrounding towns as well as the home market.

Stephen Higginson, at his store on Main street, nearly opposite the "King's Arms" tavern (on site of the Essex House), sold such articles as dowlass, oznabrigs, ratteens, dussels, shalloons, tamicos, durants, calamancoes, drawboys, grograms, russels, grazets, mizzinets, sagathies, duroys, etc. These goods were common in all the stores. Mr. Higginson also furnished books for the Social Library —the first beginnings of the Salem Athenæum—for which he acted as agent, when he travelled to Boston. He was a leading man in the affairs of the town and on the patriotic side.

Most of the stores were like a modern country store in the variety and abundance of goods displayed on their shelves.

Priscilla Manning "a little above Capt. West's corner," (North street corner), sold "crimson breeches patterns, scarlet, buff and cloth colored ditto, rammies, black Bar-

colona handkerchiefs, Lynn made calamanco and silk shoes, clogs, and galoshoes, ducapes, brolies, white French beads, stone necklaces, scarlet, crimson, blue, claret and other broadcloths, etc."

Mascoll Williams, "at the sign of the gilt Bible" (on Essex street opposite Mechanic Hall), sold books and stationery, and "paper made at Milton." He was a patriot, and post-master during the Revolution.

There were two apothecaries, Dr. Nathaniel Dabney, "at the Head of Hippocrates,[1] exactly facing the Rev. Mr. Barnard's meeting-house" (where C. H. & J. Price are), and Dr. Philip Godfried Kast, "at the sign of the lion and mortar," who sold, in addition to the usual drugs, a truly royal quack medicine, the "Famous anodyne necklace," of which it was said,

"Her late Majesty Queen Caroline, and her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange, frequently sent for these Necklaces. The Royal Children in the different Courts of Europe (with the approbation of the Court Physicians) as well as the generality of the Children of Quality, have, and do still wear it, not being thought safe without it; and *cut their teeth* extremely well with it. A mother would never forgive herself whose Child should die for want of so easy a Remedy for their teeth."

Dr. Dabney and Dr. Kast were both tories. The former made himself obnoxious as a tory Addresser of Governor Hutchinson. He then became a Recanter; but afterwards joined in the tory address to Governor Gage, and in 1777 fled to England. Dr. Kast was also an Addresser of Gage.

Andrew Dalglish, a Scotchman, who kept store opposite Dr. Whitaker's meeting house (which stood in the rear of the present Perley block), offered an infinite and curious variety of goods, such as gauzes and cutlery,

[1] This very "Head of Hippocrates," after many adventures, is now in the Essex Institute, in a good state of preservation.

lawns and catgut, aprons and horse brushes, etc. He too was a tory, and when the war broke out went to Nantucket, which was neutral territory, and subsequently died in Scotland.

Robert Bartlett, "near the lower Meeting house," advertised "Choice Labradore Tea, esteemed as very wholesome."

John Gove, "opposite Francis Cabot's" (nearly opposite Mechanic Hall), sold English goods for which he took "pot or pearl ash as pay." George Gardner took "middling codfish as pay for flour."

George Deblois, another tory and subsequent refugee in England, sold "half hour and hour-glasses." John Andrew, "at the sign of the gold cup," sold "goldsmith and jewelry ware," and assured his customers that they could "depend upon being served with good penny's worths."

This list of odd things showing what our ancestors used might be largely continued if it were profitable to do so, but I fear the list would become, as the storekeepers say, "too tedious to mention."

THE TAVERNS OF THE TOWN.

The tavern in old times was one of the most important public buildings in the town. It was a centre of intercourse and information, where the chief men of the place were accustomed to assemble to talk of public affairs, as well as local gossip, to await the news from Boston, expected soon to arrive by the stage, or to discuss foreign news lately published by an arrival at our port from the mother country. The lively wood fire in the broad fireplace, in a capacious Franklin stove (lately invented) which usually cheered and warmed the bar-room of the village inn, often cast its ruddy light upon a circle of social and convivial townsmen, who occasionally patronized the

bar as well as joined in the conversation. Distinguished strangers, usually professional men, or merchants—as common people seldom travelled in those days—prominent lawyers attending court in Salem, or on their way upon an eastern circuit, frequently stopped at the Salem taverns. Such men as James Otis, Samuel and John Adams, Hancock and Cushing, rising young fellows, nursing their ambitions and destined soon to become famous, were not infrequent visitors. These gentlemen usually travelled on horse-back, or in a much used vehicle called a curricle, a sort of chaise, with two wheels, drawn by two horses abreast.

The principal taverns before the Revolution were the "King's Arms Tavern," on Main street, and the "Ship Tavern" on School street. The former was situated nearly on the site of the recent Essex House, on Essex opposite Central, and the Ship Tavern was on the northern corner of Epes's lane and School street (corner of Church and Washington streets), in the building said to have been built for Governor John Endicott. The proprietor of the "King's Arms" was William Goodhue, while Jonathan Webb kept the Ship Tavern, both of these persons having been prominent citizens and popular hosts for many years.

The "King's Arms" was an old colonial building, with ample surrounding grounds which had, in earlier times, been occupied by Colonel Benjamin Brown, a noted and wealthy citizen. When the Revolution broke out the Royal name of King's Arms was exchanged for the more acceptable designation of "The Sun Tavern," which it retained for many years. About the year 1800 this ancient building was torn down to make room for a new brick mansion for William Gray, the great merchant, popularly known as "Billy Gray," and this new building subsequently became the Essex House.

When the old "Sun Tavern" (King's Arms) was taken down, Mr. Webb, the landlord, moved into the house vacated by Mr. Gray, and transferred the name of "Sun Tavern" thereto. This new hotel, like the old one, was an ancient residence of one of the Browne family. The building was "rough cast" on the outside, that is, the outside was covered with a rough plaster in which pebbles and bits of glass were embedded, sometimes in odd figures, to give it an ornamental appearance.[1] There is an inferior specimen of this finish now upon Dr. Webb's drug store down town.

There were other rival taverns in the place, but they were small affairs, although they sometimes adopted "high sounding appellations." Such was one advertised in 1774 by Ephraim Ingalls, a tailor, who announced that in addition to clothing the outer man, he would also provide for the inner man at the "London Coffee House, nearly opposite the King's Arms Tavern. He will keep [he said] an ordinary every day in the Week for Dinner, where all persons will be kindly entertained. A Bill of Fare at said House may be known at eleven o'clock. Said Ingalls carries on the Taylor's Business as usual."

In John Adams's curious and interesting diary he frequently mentions having "dined at Goodhue's" (King's Arms). On one occasion his record of a ride to Salem embraces several incidents which convey a lively impression of some of the peculiarities of those times. It was in June, 1771. On his way hither, on horseback, he says,

"I overtook Judge Cushing, in his old curricle, and two lean horses, and Dick, his negro, at his right hand, driving the curricle." And he adds, with some feeling inspired by the prevalent political conditions, "This is the

[1] A piece of this exterior covering of the Sun Tavern is preserved in the Institute.

way of travelling in 1771; a Judge of Circuits, a judge of the Superior Court, a judge of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer for the Province, travels with a pair of wretched old jades of horses in a wretched old hung-cart of a curricle, and a negro on the same seat with dim driving."

The negro was doubtless the judge's property. Adams's account of arriving at the King's Arms, with a glimpse of slavery here, is thus noticed:

"Put up at Goodhue's. The negro that took my horse soon began to open his heart; he did not like the people of Salem; wanted to be sold to Capt. John Dean of Boston; he earned two dollars in a forenoon, and did all he could to give satisfaction, but his Mistress was cross, and said he did not earn salt to his porridge, etc."

Then the distinguished guest,—one of these days to be President of the United States, of which he then never dreamed—adds a delicate confession as follows:

"I have hurt myself to-day by taking cold in the forenoon, and by drinking too much wine at Kettels and at Martin's. I drank half a pint at Kettels and two glasses at Martin's."

Again he writes as follows:

"Nov. 4, Tuesday—attended Court all day; heard the charge to Grand Jury, and a prayer by Mr. Barnard. Deacon Pickering was foreman of one of the juries. This man, famous for his Writing in newspapers concerning church order and government, they tell me is very rich; his appearance is perfectly plain, like a farmer, his smooth curled locks flow behind him like Deacon Humphrey's, though not so grey; he has a quick eye like ——; he has a hypocritical demure on his face, like Deacon Foster; His mouth makes a semi-circle when he puts on that devout face."[1]

"Nov. 9. Dined this day, spent the afternoon and drank

[1] This slur upon Deacon Pickering was wholly undeserved. The deacon was no hypocrite, but frank and blunt in the extreme.

tea, at Judge Ropes's, with J. Lynde, J. Oliver, D. Hutchinson, Sewall, Putnam and Winthrop. Miss Ropes is a fine woman, very pretty and genteel. Our J. Oliver is the best bred gentlemen of all our judges so far; there is something in every one of the others indecent and disagreeable at times in company—affected witticism, unpolished fleers, coarse jests, and sometimes, rough, rude attacks; but these you don't see escape J. O.

Colonel Pickman is very sprightly, sensible and entertaining; talks a good deal, tells old stories in abundance about the witchcraft, paper money, Gov. Belcher's administration, etc."

Thus we have from this high authority some graphic outlines of some of the leading people in Salem before the Revolution.

Soon after the Revolution, when the Sun Tavern had passed into the hands of Mr. Robinson, a distinguished stranger happened into town and put up at this inn. It was the celebrated Frenchman, J. P. Brissot. He was on a tour of this country, with the intention of writing a book of travels, and on his return published a volume entitled, "New Travels in the United States of America." Therein he mentions the Sun Tavern in the following complimentary terms:

"Oct. 3, 1788. We slept at Salem, fifteen miles from Boston. . . . It was cold, and we had a fire in a Franklin stove. These are common here, and those chimneys that have them not are built as described by M. de Crevecœur: they rarely smoke. The Mistress of the tavern (Robinson) was taking tea with her daughters; they invited us to partake of it with them. I repeat it, we have nothing like this in France. It is a general remark through all the United States, a tavern keeper must be a respectable man, his daughters are well dressed and have an air of decency and civility. We had good provisions, good beds, attentive servants."

Now M. Brissot was a good judge of these things, for his father had been what the French called a *Traiteur*, or keeper of an eating house, or ordinary, though he himself had been bred to the law and sciences. When Brissot was in Salem he was thirty-four years of age. He did not long survive after his return to France. He was a victim of the Revolution. Elected to the Legislative Assembly, he united with the Girondists, and when that unfortunate party fell before the Jacobins, in 1793, Brissot was guillotined, at the same time with nineteen other gallant leaders, in the Place de la Revolution in Paris.

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE PLACE.

The tone of good society in Salem previous to the Revolution, was elevated and polite. The educated men of the town were some of them persons of distinction. There, for instance, were the clergymen, Mr. Diman, and the older and younger Barnard, Dr. Whitaker, Mr. McGillchrist, Mr. Nichols, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Dunbar; the physicians, Drs. Holyoke, Peter Oliver, Joseph Orne, and John Prince; the lawyers, Samuel Porter and William Pynchon; Judge Lynde, who presided at the trials connected with the Boston Massacre, Judge Nathaniel Ropes of the Superior Court, Judge Andrew Oliver of the Common Pleas, distinguished in letters and science, Judge Samuel Curwin of the Admiralty, Colonel Browne, also Judge and afterwards Governor of Bermuda; Colonel Benjamin Pickman, Timothy Pickering and Timothy Pickering, Jr.; Benjamin Goodhue, Stephen Higginson, Colonel Peter Frye, afterwards Chief Justice of Newfoundland; Elias Haskett Derby, and other eminent merchants, all men of character and education.

These with others formed a literary club, which held weekly meetings for discussion and social intercourse, and

which was connected with a "Social Library" kept in a chamber of the brick school house, in the middle of School street. The club obtained new books from Boston, and occasionally, when some one went to England, works were imported thence, at great cost. A large part of the club were Tories, and their meetings were suspended during the Revolution. The library was afterwards united with the Philosophical Library, and became the basis of the Salem Athenæum.

In the absence of bookstores, books were occasionally sold by public vendue. Robert Bell, an auctioneer from Philadelphia, sometimes came here and sold books in Goodhue's King's Arms Tavern. A few books were kept and sold by Samuel Hall in his printing-office of the Essex Gazette, and also in the stores of the traders. The earliest regular bookseller was Mascoll Williams, afterwards postmaster, who kept at the "sign of the gilt Bible in Main street" (opposite Mechanic Hall), in a small one-story gambrel roof house, of a size and pattern very common in those days.

The diversity of opinion in respect to colonial interests was as marked in Salem as elsewhere, and the apologists for the royal government possessed great social influence. The office holders were of course on the King's side and constituted the backbone of the loyal party. The body of the people was exceedingly irritated by the long continued exactions and oppressions of King and Parliament. Then there were a considerable number of timid and optimistic persons who might be described by a felicitous phrase of Charles Lamb's, as having an "imperfect sympathy" with the popular movement.

It is not within the scope of this paper to enlarge upon the causes of the Revolution. The interests of the Colonies had clashed with those of the mother country for a

hundred years, and the disputes had more than once become critical. In these controversies the clergy had always been the foremost champions of colonial rights and liberties. At this particular time a group of strong and ambitious young men had grown up who did not enjoy the favor of the royal government, but who were specially qualified to lead off a patriotic party. Such were Samuel and John Adams, James Otis, John Hancock, Dr. Warren and others, and in Salem, Timothy Pickering, Jr. These conducted the controversy with great zeal and ability, and occasionally with a bitterness not unusual in revolutionary times. But it may be remarked here, that they did not advocate independence of the mother country until the last moment, when no other course was possible, except to surrender. The enforcement of the Boston Port Bill in 1774 was the act which broke the last cord that bound the colonies to the throne and kingdom.

I think I am safe in saying that during this period Colonel William Browne was easily the first citizen of Salem. His family had been wealthy and prominent and very helpful to the town since the first settlement of the colony. He lived in opulence in an old colonial mansion, and entertained with distinguished liberality. He was an accomplished and courtly gentleman, Colonel of the Essex Regiment, and judge of the Supreme Court. He was very popular in town, and efforts were made to attach him to the patriotic party, but with firmness and dignity he refused all temptations, and became the leader of the tories. When the crisis arrived, he fled from the town and the country, and afterwards his great landed estates here were confiscated, and he was formally banished under the Conspiracy Act, in 1778. The King however sought to console him by appointing him Governor of Bermuda—one of the few tories rewarded for their devotion to royalty.

The leader of the Whigs, or patriotic party, was unquestionably Timothy Pickering, Jr. He, too, belonged to a highly respectable family, established in Salem from the earliest days. He was educated as a lawyer, was very prominent in town affairs, and an able and ardent champion in the ante-Revolutionary struggle. His subsequent career, so distinguished, it is unnecessary to recount. When Colonel Browne was forced out of the Essex Regiment, Mr. Pickering became his successor. He seems to have been in sympathy with the moderate ideas of John Adams, rather than the more advanced and revolutionary sentiments of Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Even as late as the day before the battle of Bunker Hill, Colonel Pickering expressed a hope that the difficulties might yet be adjusted without recourse to arms. When this hope proved illusory he served in the army with great credit and unswerving fidelity.

But the popular leader who swayed and controlled the "common people" was the pulpit Boanerges, the impetuous, persistent, and implacable friend of liberty, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, of the Huntington Chapel, afterwards the Tabernacle church. This redoubtable champion began as early as the Boston Massacre, if not before, to preach red-hot sermons, which excited and strengthened the hatred of the tories. He was in accord with the most extreme views and purposes of the period.

THE APPROACHING REVOLUTION.

Old Salem was deeply stirred, in common with other towns, by the events of that time. She had her committees of inspection, her committees of correspondence and of safety, and her popular meetings, her mobs and her destruction of tea. Here were the tories pursued, as elsewhere, by popular hatred, their dwellings were

assailed and their persons threatened. Then was offered in this town the first defiant legislative resistance to the Royal Government, by the Provincial Assembly, constituted in the Town House; and the first forcible resistance in the repulse of Colonel Leslie at North Bridge. In these movements of the patriotic party of the day, a majority of the people warmly sympathized, but there was a large and respectable minority, embracing many of the principal inhabitants of the town, who were on the loyal, or tory, side—men who were more loyal to their King than to the liberties of their country. The lawyers and judges seem to have been mostly tories, and two or three of the clergymen leaned that way. The merchants were divided, but the large majority of them were on the patriotic side. The "common people" were patriotic to a man. It is not to be overlooked that Salem was exposed to unjust suspicions in other towns by this unfortunate division of opinion which I have described. This feeling was expressed among other ways, in some doggrel verses published in the "Worcester Spy" of June 20, 1774, on occasion of the transfer of the General Court to Salem by Governor Gage. This was a very unpopular act with the great body of the people of the Province, because Boston was more convenient and was the headquarters of the popular movement. The verses ran thus:

"At Salem's Court we must appear
With our assembled Powers;
In patriotic zeal stand firm,
With Adams, Young and Bowers.[1]

A Court House stands erected there
Where they may all have place;
There stand the houses and the tents
Our fathers first did grace.

[1] Three popular leaders in the General Court.

O! strive you then for Salem's Peace
For they shall prosperous be
Who in her Harbor fear to drown
A chest of *India Tea.*

May Peace within her spacious Bound
A constant guest be found;
With Plenty and Prosperity
Her tories all be crowned."

These slurs were not justified by the facts of history. If acts of public violence had been a test of patriotism Salem was not behind-hand in her evidences of that sort. Every effort had been made to exclude the obnoxious tea from town, and at least two persons, who had been found hostile to the public cause, had been tarred and feathered and paraded through the streets. It was not long after the publication of the above verses that two chests of tea, which had "fallen into the hands of Colonel Mason," were publicly burned on the common.

For several years before the war broke out the utmost vigilance had been exercised to prevent the importation and use of goods obnoxiously taxed. There was a Town Committee of Inspection to attend to this business. In 1770 the town decreed a contract for the inhabitants to subscribe against the use of English goods and foreign tea. There was occasionally an offender against this rule of the Town Meeting, who when detected was summarily dealt with. There were such instances when two elderly and respectable women, who kept stores on Epes's lane and Main street, respectively, were detected in selling tea. A town meeting was held to consider the subject, over which that resolute citizen, Deacon Timothy Pickering, presided. The conduct of these women, Abigail Epes and Elizabeth Higginson—in common with that of two male offenders, John Appleton and Colonel Peter Frye,—was denounced

as "infamous," and it was voted that an account of their behaviour should be read at every town meeting for seven years, immediately before choosing officers. And further, that an account of their behaviour should be published in the Gazette for eight consecutive weeks.

The committee of inspection subsequently expressed a fear that "some may think too great severity has been shown towards Mrs. Epes and Mrs. Higginson, and that their sex and state of widowhood might have entitled them to some indulgence." But they added, "When the question is concerning the Liberty or Slavery of America, the matter is of too much Importance to regard the little distinctions of Rank, Sex, and Condition."

It is said that "there are no Sundays in Revolutionary times," and it would seem from this event that neither are there any distinctions of sex or circumstance. A Revolution, like old Time's scythe,

> "Doth cut down all
> Both great and small."

The official acts of the town meetings were always on the patriotic side. The several encroachments of the King's government had been steadily resisted. The town had denounced the writs of assistance in 1761, the stamp act in 1765, the wresting away of the trial by jury in the Admiralty Court in 1769, the stationing of a standing army in the Province in 1770, and all obnoxious acts of the Royal Authorities which subsequently took place. Attention had been given to the condition of the militia, which was soon enlarged and reorganized. Colonel William Browne, the tory, who commanded the Essex Regiment, had been forced to resign, and his place had been taken by Timothy Pickering, Jr., who was one of the most zealous of the patriots, and who afterwards acquired distinction as Adjutant General of the Continental Army, and as a member

of Washington's Cabinet. The popular cause was greatly helped by the newspaper, the Essex Gazette, which had been established here, in 1768, by Samuel Hall. This paper was in thorough sympathy with the predominant public feeling, and strenuously resisted the encroachments of royal authority. Mr. Hall, in his prospectus, had said that he should promote "true and genuine principles of patriotism, and whatever may serve to enliven and animate us in our Known Loyalty and Affection to our gracious Sovereign." But as events developed and popular discontent increased, the tone of the Gazette kept in harmony with the patriotic sentiment.

The starting of the Gazette in Salem was an important event in this quiet town. There was then no newspaper in the Province, outside of Boston, and a weekly printed record of the news was a rare visitor, and was read with avidity. Although the paper was small, a folio 10 x 16 inches, and its contents comparatively meagre, it was "taken in," as the phrase was, by such families as could afford to pay for it.

Mr. Hall, with something like modern enterprise, employed a messenger to ride down from Boston on horseback the day before publication with the latest news, as they had then no regular means of communication. Mr. Hall was an enterprising young man, of rare intelligence and excellent judgment, and he was encouraged in his undertaking by the principal men in the Province.

By the time of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770, the Gazette had become so obnoxious to the tories, especially by the support of the non-importation agreements, that an attempt was made to break it down. But this failed and served to increase its circulation.

Colonel Pickering contributed to its columns a series of able articles in favor of a reorganization of the militia,

which had great influence in arousing attention to the subject. He subsequently drew up a new manual of arms, which was published by sanction of the General Court, under the title of "An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia." The militia of Salem previous to this had been in a miserable condition of inefficiency.

THE TOWN MEETINGS.

The town meetings were held in the Town House, a wooden building of two stories, on Main street, next west of the First Church. The lower floor was used for town purposes and the second story was occupied as a Court House. It was afterwards called "The State House;" because the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts convened therein, with John Hancock as President, in 1774, under orders of General Gage. It was a building of no pretensions to architectural elegance, but it had the merit of being a *painted* building, which was an uncommon distinction in those days. Upon wooden benches, which extended on each side of the door, in the front of the house, the elderly men of the town were accustomed to seat themselves, in a social way, to gossip and speculate upon the events of the times, to con the news, or to exchange scandal concerning the affairs of their neighbors or themselves. This immediate neighborhood was known as "The Exchange."

The bell which swung in the Town House turret often called the people together to consult on public questions, to protest against arbitrary measures, to consider measures of self-denial in suspending the importation of goods subject to crown duties, or to concert schemes of resistance to the usurpations of the royal governor. The Town House was one of those nurseries of rebellion which could then be found in almost every village.

When the Courts assembled in this building, distinguished lawyers came from all parts of the colony, who were often seen with their brethren of the bar disporting their huge wigs, their ample gowns and professional cambric bands; while the bench was occupied by such men as Judge Ropes, Judge Lynde, Judge Oliver or Judge Browne, splendidly arrayed in their robes of scarlet broadcloth, with broad silk bands, and immense powdered wigs.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL GAGE.

The calling of the Provincial Assembly to meet in Salem was an unpopular act, as I have before mentioned. It was at the time of the enforcement of the Boston Port Bill, when the unmanageable people of Boston were frowned upon by the royal authorities, and the seat of government was accordingly moved to Salem in accordance with an act of Parliament. At the same time General Gage abandoned Boston and took up his abode in Danvers in the elegant country residence of Robert Hooper of Marblehead, familiarly known as King Hooper. He was accompanied there by the 64th regiment and two companies of the 65th.

When General Gage came to Salem on June 2, 1774, accompanied by a retinue of gentlemen in carriages, a large number of the principal persons in the place—most of them tories—with various civil and military officers, went out on horseback to meet him, and escorted him hither in grand procession. He was entertained in fine style at the elegant mansion of Colonel William Browne and was complimented the next evening by a brilliant reception and ball in the Assembly. The occasion was also seized to observe "with suitable Demonstrations of the most affectionate Loyalty and Joy" the anniversary of His Ma-

jesty's birth. Meantime the unofficial tories hastened to call upon the Governor to present their compliments upon his accession to the government, with congratulations upon his safe arrival. Not content with these exhibitions of servility they made a still more profound obeisance to the dominant power by presenting a humiliating address to Governor Gage, in which they said, among other things in a similar tone :—

"We are deeply sensible of his Majesty's paternal Care and Affection to this Province, in the appointment of a person of your Excellency's Experience, Wisdom and Moderation, in these troublesome and difficult times.

We rejoice that this Town is graciously distinguished for that Spirit, Loyalty and Reverence for the Laws, which is equally our Glory and Happiness. . . . .

We beg leave to commend to your Excellency's patronage *the Trade and Commerce of this Place*, which from a full protection of the Liberties, Persons and Properties of Individuals cannot but flourish," etc.

Governor Gage said in reply :

"I doubt not that you will continue to cherish that spirit of Loyalty and Reverence to the Laws that has distinguished the ancient town of Salem. And no Attention or Protection shall be wanting on my part to encourage such laudable Sentiments, *which cannot fail to increase your Trade and Commerce*, and render you a happy and flourishing people."

In this correspondence is disclosed a bold attempt to barter the political rights of the Province for the benefit of trade and commerce. But there was a nobler spirit in the town than this. There were those who would not

> "Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
> Where thrift may follow fawning."

A body of whig merchants and freeholders, numbering one hundred and twenty-five, presented a counter address, expressing an admirable and patriotic feeling,

worthy of the noble cause in which they were engaged. They promptly rejected the temptation to profit by the misfortunes of their compatriots in Boston. They said:

"By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but nature in the formation of our harbor forbids our becoming rivals to that convenient mart. And were it otherwise—we must be lost to every idea of justice—lost to all the feelings of humanity—could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our neighbors."[1]

Such was the elevated tone of the entire address, — a precious document in the history of this town, written, it is said, by Colonel Timothy Pickering.

The arrival of Governor Gage was immediately followed by the meeting of the Provincial Assembly, June 7, 1774. This body soon gave evidence of being animated by a rebellious spirit. Resolutions were adopted by it proposing a General Congress of the Colonies at Philadelphia and appointing James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, John and Samuel Adams and Robert Treat Paine, delegates to the same. As this was the most decisive step yet taken towards independence Governor Gage became alarmed, and resolved to dismiss the Assembly. He sent his Secretary, Thomas Flucker, with a message to this effect. But the Assembly had taken the precaution to lock the door to the hall, so that the Secretary could not get in, notwithstanding his loud demands for admission. He was, therefore, reduced to the disagreeable necessity of proclaiming his message of dissolution to the winds upon the stairs.

Soon after this defiant conduct the 59th Regiment of royal troops, under Colonel Hamilton, arrived in Salem

[1] Edmund Burke said of this address in Parliament that it was "a most pathetic but at the same time firm and manly address."

from Halifax and encamped upon the Neck, whence they could have an eye upon the rebellious proceedings in town.

They soon had occasion to exercise their military vigilance; for, early one August morning, the inhabitants assembled, at call of the Town House bell, to choose delegates to a patriotic convention in Ipswich. This famous meeting, the "Ipswich convention," was held Sept. 6, 1774. About the middle of August handbills were posted about town, under authority of the Committee of Correspondence, asking the merchants, freeholders and other inhabitants of Salem to meet at the Town House Chamber, Aug. 24, to appoint deputies to the Ipswich Convention "to consider of and determine on such measures as the late Acts of Parliament and our other grievances render necessary."

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the meeting the Committee of Correspondence received a summons to meet Governor Gage at 9 o'clock—the hour of the meeting in the Town House—which they did. His Excellency informed the Committee that the meeting which they had called was unlawful and seditious, and he required them to countermand it. The Committee replied that the inhabitants being already assembled they had no power to disperse them. The Governor then responded "with much vehemence of Voice and Gesture," as follows:

"I am not going to enter into a Conversation on the matter; I came to execute the Laws not to dispute them, and I am determined to Execute them. If the People do not disperse, the Sheriff will go first; if he is disobeyed and needs support I will support him."

In the meantime the troops on the Neck, under orders from the Governor, prepared as if for battle, and leaving their encampment near the fort (on Winter Island) marched up as far as Neck Gate, where they halted and

loaded. Then a detachment marched up Main street as far (it is believed) as the Bowker Block, prepared to put the Salem rebels to flight. But while these things had been going on—while the troops were marching, and the Committee delaying the Governor by superfluous conversation,— the meeting of the people was speedily held, delegates chosen, and the business ended. The gentlemen elected under these peculiar circumstances were, Richard Derby, John Pickering, Jonathan Ropes, Timothy Pickering, Jonathan Gardner and Richard Manning.

The Governor being thus outwitted, ordered the troops to retire, and the next day authorized Col. Peter Frye, the tory, to arrest the Committee of Correspondence for "unlawfully and seditiously causing the people to assemble without leave from the Governor," etc. Two of the Committee were arrested and gave bonds, but the others refused to give bonds and after some threatening that the contumacious ones should be sent to England in the Scarborough man-of-war for trial, the matter was dropped. In a short time, under the pressure of public opinion, Colonel Peter Frye made an abject apology for his share in the business.

The Ipswich Convention adopted spirited resolutions in furtherance of the views of the patriotic party and recommended that the General Assembly, to convene in Salem in October, *form themselves into a Provincial Congress.* At the same time the Convention declared its true allegiance to King George the Third, but added that rather than submit to arbitrary laws the delegates would "undauntedly appeal to the last resort of states . . and encounter even death," if necessary, in defence of the liberties of the country.

Governor Gage summoned a second session of the Assembly to meet in Salem Town House in October, but

as the election of members proceeded he saw that there would be a majority against him and he countermanded the summons. But the members were determined to be useful and met contrary to the Governor's wishes. The first day of the meeting was passed in silence, as neither the Governor nor any of his assistants appeared to organize the body. On the second day they proceeded to choose John Hancock as President, and promptly responded to the general wish of the people by resolving themselves into the first and ever memorable Provincial Congress.[1] This was perhaps the most important political event in that excited period and it rendered the old Town House forever famous.

Shortly after these stiring events the hated Governor Gage, with his soldiers and his myrmidons, returned to Boston. His attempts to control the contumacious town of Salem had signally failed. The people would neither be silenced by alluring bribes of increased trade and commerce nor be cowed by the display of military power. After these exciting experiences, popular animosity towards the tories increased in vehemence. Mobs were of more frequent occurrence, and the tories began to flee from the town and the country for the sake of their lives. The most obnoxious tories in Salem, such as Judge Browne, Judge Curwen, Peter Frye, Dr. Kast, Dr. Dabney, Andrew Dalglish, left for England or the Provinces, and not many ever returned. Those of a more moderate type, who remained at home, suffered indignities of every description. The house of the worthy Judge Ropes (still standing) was assailed by the populace and the windows broken on the very night of his death. These stirring events in Salem transpired but a few months before the

[1] The representatives of Salem in this body were Richard Derby and Richard Manning.

affair at North Bridge with Colonel Leslie, and then to the Battle of Lexington and the Battle of Bunker Hill.

THE CLERGY AND THEIR INFLUENCE.

Of course the clergymen were among the most important persons in Salem before the Revolution. Although the ancient rigors of ecclesiasticism had been somewhat softened, the general tone in matters of religion was sombre and severe, and the influence of the clergy was felt in all social concerns.

In the period we are reviewing there were six religious societies in this place, the Friends, the First Church, the East Church, the North Church, the Episcopal Church, and the Huntington Chapel. The First Church had two associate pastors, Rev. Thomas Barnard, senior, and Rev. Asa Dunbar; the pastor of the East Church was Rev. James Diman; Rev. William McGilchrist was rector of the Episcopal Church, assisted by Rev. Robert Boucher Nichols; Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker had the Huntington Chapel and Rev. Thomas Barnard, jr., the North Church. A new church, the Third, was formed in 1774.

MESSRS. BARNARD AND DUNBAR.

The meeting-house of the First Church stood where the first Meeting-house in the colony had been, and where its successor stands to-day (corner of Essex and Washington streets). An excellent picture of it is preserved in the Essex Institute. It was one of those plain unpretentious edifices which are remembered as of the general style of New England puritan church architecture. It was three stories high, contained two galleries, one above the other, and had a tower with an entrance at the western end. The interior arrangement was after the style prevalent in those days. The large square pews,

with their runnelled divisions through which the children peeped in awe at the stern pastor, or yawned over the long-drawn services; the huge sounding board hanging over the minister's bewigged head; the admonitory hour-glass beside his desk; the uncovered, rough hewn timbers of the frame, visible within,—were all characteristic of the meeting-houses of those days. It was long known as the "Great Meeting-house." When it was built it was recorded on the church records that "a Vast and Beautiful yet Grave house it is."

In this edifice assembled on Sundays and on frequent other occasions, a society noted for its intelligence and cultivation. Dr. Eliot, in his Biographical Dictionary, says that "more literary characters were members of this church than of any in the Province." "The congregation was celebrated," says the Rev. Mr. Upham, "for the intelligence, refinement, and high literary cultivation of its members."

Thomas Barnard, the senior pastor, was a man of superior acquirements and talents and of high character, well suited to his congregation. His manner was grave, slow, and precise, and his discourses seem to have been rational and judicious. He was an Arminian in his theology, or, as Dr. Eliot says, "a semi-Arian of Dr. Clarke's school." He was, in fact, a forerunner of the modern Unitarian preacher. He had at one time been driven out of the ministry by Whitefield on account of his broad views. Mr. Barnard seems to have taken no part in the political agitations of the times.

Of Mr. Dunbar, colleague of Mr. Barnard, very little is known, but that little is highly favorable. Dr. Bentley said "he was a man of genius." Dr. Eliot speaks of his "extraordinary genius;" the church records mention him as "admirably qualified for a Gospel Preacher." It is

probable that he preached to the acceptance of the more educated portion of his hearers. He left Salem in 1779, and became a lawyer in Keene, N. H. It is curious that the senior pastor (Barnard) was a lawyer before he came to Salem, and the junior pastor became a lawyer after he left here.

JAMES DIMAN.

We may turn from the liberal and learned ministers of the First Church to the stern old Puritan who was installed in the East Church, the Rev. James Diman. He was one of those then recognized as belonging to the old school. He was a man of grave aspect, invested with the imposing dignity and solemn mien, rather awe inspiring, peculiar to the clergy of the age of huge wigs. Apart from his clerical severity and the soundness of his orthodoxy, he was not remarkable. It was customary in those days, when a culprit was hanged, for some godly minister to preach an appropriate sermon on the occasion. Mr. Diman performed this service when Bryan Sheehan was hanged on Winter Island, in 1772. Judging from this performance, which may be found in the Institute Library, he was a dull preacher. I think some such person was in the mind of Chaucer when he described a country parson in the Canterbury Tales:

> "A good man there was of religioun,
> That was a poure Parsone of a town;
> But riche he was of holy thought and werk:
> He was also a learned man; a clerk
> That Christe's gospel trewely wolde preche.
> His parishens devoutly wolde he teche."

It was the good old custom in former days when a pastor was once settled to keep him as long as he lived and behaved himself, and under this rule Mr. Diman remained with the East Parish for fifty-two years.

During the latter part of his ministry, when Dr. Bentley became his associate pastor, the society became Unitarian, to the great distress and chagrin of Mr. Diman, whose sermons were no longer relished. He was, in fact, by formal vote, requested to "desist" from preaching.

In his politics Mr. Diman was all that could be desired. He was a patriot, and when the Provincial Assembly and Provincial Congress assembled here he was chosen Chaplain.

The meeting-house of the East parish was near the corner of Essex and Hardy streets, an ancient edifice, still well remembered by many. It was enlarged and improved in 1771, and the next year a new bell for the steeple was imported from England—the old one having been sold to Harvard College. A public clock was also placed in the tower. Just before this a "modern innovation" of those days was introduced by providing a seat in the gallery for the singers, and, at the same time, "a seat for the women negroes." In 1778, John Emmerton was appointed to take charge of the disorderly boys and was authorized to take them, "without fear or favor and seat them on the pulpit stairs," for which service he was to have twenty shillings a year.

A good picture of the East Church is in possession of the Marine Society. The house in which Mr. Diman lived is now No. 8 Hardy street.

THOMAS BARNARD, JR.

The North meeting-house at this time stood upon the corner of "Curwen's Lane" (North street) and "The New Lane" as Lynde street was then called. The church was newly formed in 1772. Thomas Barnard, jr., was the pastor. He was the son of the pastor of the First Church, and was descended from a ministerial family.

His father, his uncle, grandfather and great-grandfather had all been preachers. He was a liberal Arminian in his theology, and although not eminent in talents, was a very acceptable preacher. His published discourses, preserved in the Institute, convey a favorable impression of his pulpit efforts.

Those who remembered him in the latter years of his life, described him as a venerable man, of small stature and portly figure, frequenting our streets under cover of a snug cocked hat, with nether members encased in small clothes and silk stockings, set off with silver buckles, after the style of his younger years; an amiable, pleasant and kindly man, who caressed the children in the streets and bestowed a friendly smile upon all whom he met. He was respected and esteemed by all who could appreciate the noblest and best attributes of human nature.

At the time of the Revolution Dr. Barnard became unhappily involved with the tories. He, in common with most of the educated, wealthy and prominent people of the town, signed an address approving of the administration of Governor Hutchinson, which was execrated by the patriotic party. This address was privately presented to the Governor just before he left for England, and although the promoters of it, either through fear or from some other motive, contrived to keep it out of print, so that no copy of it was seen, and the phraseology was unknown, yet it was ascertained who had affixed their names to the document.

These signers, or Addressers, as they were called, became obnoxious persons and were harshly dealt with by the populace. The usual way of dealing with an Addresser was for a mob of men and boys to gather about his residence, well supplied with tar and feathers, to be

used as a last argument, and compel the unfortunate person to come forth and sign a recantation of the laudatory epistle he had approved.

There were several of these recantations published in the newspaper, one of which, somewhat more emphatic than usual, coming out like a deep groan of contrition, ran in this wise:

"Whereas I, the subscriber, signed an address to the late Gov. Hutchinson—I wish the Devil had had said address before I had seen it

J. Fowle."

Mr. Barnard was not so badly treated as poor Mr. Fowle was, in all probability, yet his position was made so uncomfortable that he felt constrained to publish a formal recantation in the Gazette, addressed to "the Committee of Correspondence and Safety." In this document he desired his countrymen "to throw the veil of charity over that incautious act of his which might have led them to think unfavorably of him, and to grant him a place in their esteem, which he should ever think himself happy in deserving."

This apology was accepted, and was the means, in connection with Mr. Barnard's subsequent discreet and patriotic conduct, of reinstating him in the good will of the community. Mr. Barnard was undoubtedly a sincere friend of his country and this temporary dalliance with the tories was the result of his general disposition to peace and good will and conformity with men and things about him. He was afterwards in full sympathy with the popular feeling and manifested his sentiments in his public ministrations as well as in his private conversation. He assented to the Revolution, and subsequently was an admirer and public advocate of the Federal Constitution when proposed and adopted.

The important and influential part which Mr. Barnard took in the affair at North Bridge, at the time of Leslie's Retreat, is so well known that I need not recount it. Mr. Barnard's expostulation with Colonel Leslie "not to fire upon those innocent people," and "to restrain his troops from pushing their bayonets" seems to have decided the British commander to retire without any further use of force. After the troops had left the bridge, it is said that Mr. Barnard, impressed with a sense of their deliverance from a bloody conflict, remarked to those lingering about the spot, "This is a season for the exercise of prayer," and at once offered a suitable one for the occasion.

WILLIAM MCGILCHRIST AND ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLS.

An interesting personage in Salem at this time was the Rev. William McGilchrist, the rector of St. Peter's Church. He was a sturdy Scotchman, and had lived in Salem since 1746, in charge of the Episcopal Church. He was the second minister appointed to the care of that parish since its first organization—his predecessor having been transferred to King's Chapel, Boston. The society, under his zealous care, had greatly increased in numbers and prosperity, until, in 1771, an assistant was employed, the Rev. Robert B. Nichols. Mr. McGilchrist was highly esteemed in town, and greatly admired by his parishioners.

This was the situation when the ante-revolutionary troubles began, and these agitations suddenly checked the prosperity and harmony which had resulted from Mr. McGilchrist's labors, and in a short time the results of his long life here were almost wholly destroyed. In common with all the Episcopal clergy of that day, he declined to omit the prescribed form of prayers for the king and royal authorities, and plead his priestly vows as a

reason for declining to yield to the popular feeling upon this point. It is quite probable, also, that he, in unison with other Episcopal clergymen, was a loyalist in sentiment and conviction, for I find his name among the tory addressers both of Hutchinson and Gage, and I do not find that he was a recanter. He was a man of too much sincerity and integrity of character for that.

It was natural that the clergy of the Established Church should dread a Revolution, which, it was easy to see, would sever their ecclesiastical relations and stop their church revenues. At all events, they were so united in feeling that nearly every Episcopal minister was glad to flee from the country, and thus avoid popular hatred and abuse. It is said that Mr. McGilchrist and Dr. Parker of Boston, were the only two who did not leave when the great flight of tories took place just previous to the outbreak of hostilities.

Mr. McGilchrist remained at his post with great courage, but suffered enmity and abuse of the most trying character. The spirit of the times was violent in the extreme. A popular sentiment of the time, repeated with applause at patriotic meetings, and published to the world in unshamed print, ran as follows:

"Cobweb breeches, a hedge-hog saddle, a hard trotting horse and constant riding to all the enemies of America."

Mr. McGilchrist suffered sorely from the prevalence of this riotous and disorderly spirit. He was assailed in person and in property, and, what was worse than all, in reputation. His usefulness as a minister was destroyed. The popular hue and cry extended against the society itself, and even against the senseless walls of the building it occupied. During the hours of worship they were disturbed by offensive demonstrations outside. Stones were thrown in through the windows and it became a wanton

diversion of boys, when no better fun offered, to "go and rock the tory church." Under these circumstances the congregation dwindled away, public services were wholly suspended, and during the war the society became practically extinct.

Mr. McGilchrist remained in Salem until he died, with a broken heart, in 1784. It is to be regretted that so few memorials of him remain. Most of his personal papers were committed to the flames many years ago when there was no Essex Institute to gather them in and preserve them. Samuel Curwen, who knew him personally, speaks of him in his journal, in the warmest terms, as a person of "singular integrity of character, undissembled virtue and a friendly heart." Dr. E. A. Holyoke, who, although of a different theological persuasion, was his intimate friend, executor and heir, wrote of him that "he was esteemed by all, who were really acquainted with his character, as a gentleman of learning, integrity, charity, virtue and purity." It is worth mentioning, as showing the prevalence of domestic slavery at the very time when liberty was so loudly proclaimed, that by his will Mr. McGilchrist manumitted "his negro servant Flora."

ROBERT BOUCHER NICHOLS.

The Rev. Robert Boucher Nichols, who was the assistant at St. Peter's, was an eloquent and popular preacher, according to tradition. His salary was paid by weekly subscriptions of small sums, ranging from four pence to one shilling, none being larger than this. Mr. Nichols was a tory and fled in 1774. He was for a while Chaplain in the British army, and subsequently became Dean of Middleham, in England. Scarcely anything remains in our local records concerning him, excepting his name. Dr. Bentley, in his description of Salem, even makes

this worthy gentleman into two, for he mentions a Mr. Nichols and also a Robert Boucher, both of whom were pastors of this church. But the Mr. Robert Boucher Nichols was a single person, a native of the West Indies, and in England became distinguished for his opposition to the Slave Trade.

NATHANIEL WHITAKER.

A notice of the clergy and of the principal people of Salem, in the period under review, would be very incomplete if it did not give a prominent place to the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, D.D., pastor of the church since known as the Tabernacle Church. He was one of the notabilities of the town, eminent by his talents and ability, influential through his zeal and activity, troublesome as a disputant and controversialist. He preached here fifteen years, during which time he was almost constantly engaged in some war of words upon some exciting topic. He was one of those uneasy spirits who prefer to live in the storm rather than in the sunshine.

He engaged with the fervor of a zealot in all the current disputes of the day, and was by turns the foremost champion of a scheme of theology, a party in politics and a school in medicine. He was a pillar of Presbyterianism, and a standard-bearer of colonial rebellion. He sustained a protracted and violent controversy with members of his own society throughout his ministry, upon the merits of the Presbyterian church polity, a controversy ending finally in his expulsion from the pulpit. In 1774 he entered warmly into the controversy concerning the comparative merits of the American and English systems of inoculation for the small-pox, a controversy which raged in Salem, in print and speech, almost as injuriously as the disease itself. He even entered the field in prac-

tice and inoculated in Salem and the neighboring towns on the American plan.

Dr. Whitaker was an ardent and impassioned advocate of the Revolution, and both gave and took many of the hard blows which were then exchanged.

The late Deacon Punchard, who knew Whitaker well, described him as "a man of uncommon intellectual powers—of extensive erudition—orthodox in sentiment—a distinguished preacher—of dignified personal appearance; and, especially of consummate skill and tact in accomplishing his own purposes." He had preached in England before distinguished hearers and had been complimented by the Countess of Huntington, who was a disciple of Whitfield.

His meeting-house was on Main street (Essex) not far above School street (Washington) and was called the Huntington Chapel. He came to Salem with a great reputation for learning, eloquence and piety. He possessed the odor of sanctity. He got himself installed without the aid of any other clergyman, beguiling his society, as they afterwards said, "with fair words and goodly speeches." Timothy Pickering, jr., performed the services. The neighboring clergy protested, but his society increased and flourished, until it became the largest in town.

But although Dr. Whitaker thus came in on the top wave of popularity, he remained to witness an ebb of the tide; even more than this, to see the tide all out, and himself high and dry on the flats. His society, once the largest in town, became the smallest before he left. It was found that his character, at first thought so pure and godly, had in it a dash of "the world, the flesh and the devil."

He had early entered into the cares of the temporal as well as of the spiritual kingdom. He became interested

in the worldly affairs of the town to an extent that prejudiced his reputation as a minister. There were rumors affecting his moral character, and finally Timothy Pickering, jr., deserted him, and administered some left-hand blows which were more than he could take and live.

In 1774 a portion of his society withdrew and formed the present South Church. During the same year the meeting-house was destroyed by "the Great Fire." But, still undaunted, the Rev. Doctor, by an herculean effort, raised the means from Presbyterians in various places, to erect a new house, which he called the Tabernacle, after his friend Whitfield's Tabernacle in London, of which it was a copy.

While the Tabernacle was building the war of the Revolution came on. Dr. Whitaker entered into this with all his heart. He urged on the cause in the most ardent manner, and the most pungent style. This delighted the whigs and exasperated the tories. At the commencement of hostilities he preached a famous sermon from the following text:

"Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

The belligerent Doctor applied this curse to the tories, and from the fullness of his heart did curse them bitterly. At the close of the war he preached a companion to this sermon and the two were published and dedicated to General George Washington, under the title of "An Antidote against and the Reward of Toryism." A second edition was published as late as 1811, at the Salem Register office.

Judge Samuel Curwen of Salem, a loyalist refugee in

London, wrote home to a friend that Whitaker was "a notorious character in America and not unknown here. . . . He is usually called Dr. Meroz in America, from his usually applying the 23d verse of the 5th chapter of Judges to the poor refugees." Again he refers to Dr. Whitaker as "a mischievous incendiary, of a proud, restless, turbulent spirit." William Pynchon, a Salem lawyer, wrote of Whitaker and one Alcock as "the authors and promoters of more mischief than it is possible that any two others could or would effect or even attempt. They resembled Swift's committee of ways and means for continuing the war and promoting malevolence and contention as long as possible." These passages exhibit the bitterness felt by the tories towards Dr. Whitaker as an advocate of the patriotic movement.

Besides preaching Dr. Whitaker also practised in favor of the Revolution by entering into the privateering business, in which, it is said, he was pretty fortunate, and frequently "turned an honest penny." He also engaged in the manufacture of saltpetre and salt, his works having been located, as Mr. Felt informs us, near the head of Essex street. The town voted to give Dr. Whitaker leave to erect such works on the Common. In his sermon on Toryism he mentions that several gentlemen subscribed $500 in aid of these enterprises, and there are records of the sale of saltpetre to the state by Dr. Whitaker and his associates.

But these various activities finally involved Dr. Whitaker in so many troubles, that, in connection with his alleged moral shortcomings, and his Presbyterian heresy, they proved his ruin. The number of attendants on his ministry diminished with significant rapidity, amounting, in fact, to a general flight. An *ex-parte* ecclesiastical council found that his ministerial walk had been and still

was irregular; his deportment overbearing and tyrannical; his moral character very suspicious; and his Presbyterian heresy very obstinate. Therefore he was deposed from office in disgrace. This was in 1784. The doctor made a stout defence, and maintained that the charges against him were calumnious and libellous, and upon an appeal to the Presbytery he exerted sufficient influence upon that body to secure an exoneration from the charges against him.

After Dr. Whitaker left town his career was varied and questionable, and his conduct was marked by the same characteristics that enlivened it in Salem. It is unnecessary to follow the subject, as it leads beyond the scope of this paper.

THE UNEXPECTED.

I have given these slight sketches of the clergymen in Salem before the Revolution because those personages were leading actors in the drama of the times. They exerted a potent influence upon the events then transpiring. The Puritan clergy had championed the cause of the colonies as against the encroachments of the royal authorities from the earliest days, when the church and the state were indistinguishable. Their power was much less now than formerly, but it was still very great. The body of the people yet looked up to them for advice in political as well as in ecclesiastical affairs.

An immense change was impending in Salem and in the colonies in social, political and religious matters, but as yet the magnitude of these changes was not foreseen. The authors of them were groping about blindly, "building better than they knew." The friends of the country repudiated the idea of Independence down to the very eve of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. John

Adams, John Jay, Franklin and Madison, and even Washington himself, as lately as 1774, denied that they desired separation from the mother country and deprecated the possibility of such an event. But it was so written in the book of fate. The Revolution was inevitable. The forces which had been set in motion on either side could not be restrained. The parties to the controversy were drifting in an irresistible current and were powerless to control their destiny. When, in Concord,

> "The embattled farmers stood
> And fired the shot heard round the world,"

it was a providential signal of the birth of a new nation.