

**Salem State University  
School of Graduate Studies  
Department of History**

**Street Railway Embrace and Resistance on the Massachusetts North Shore**

**A Thesis in History**

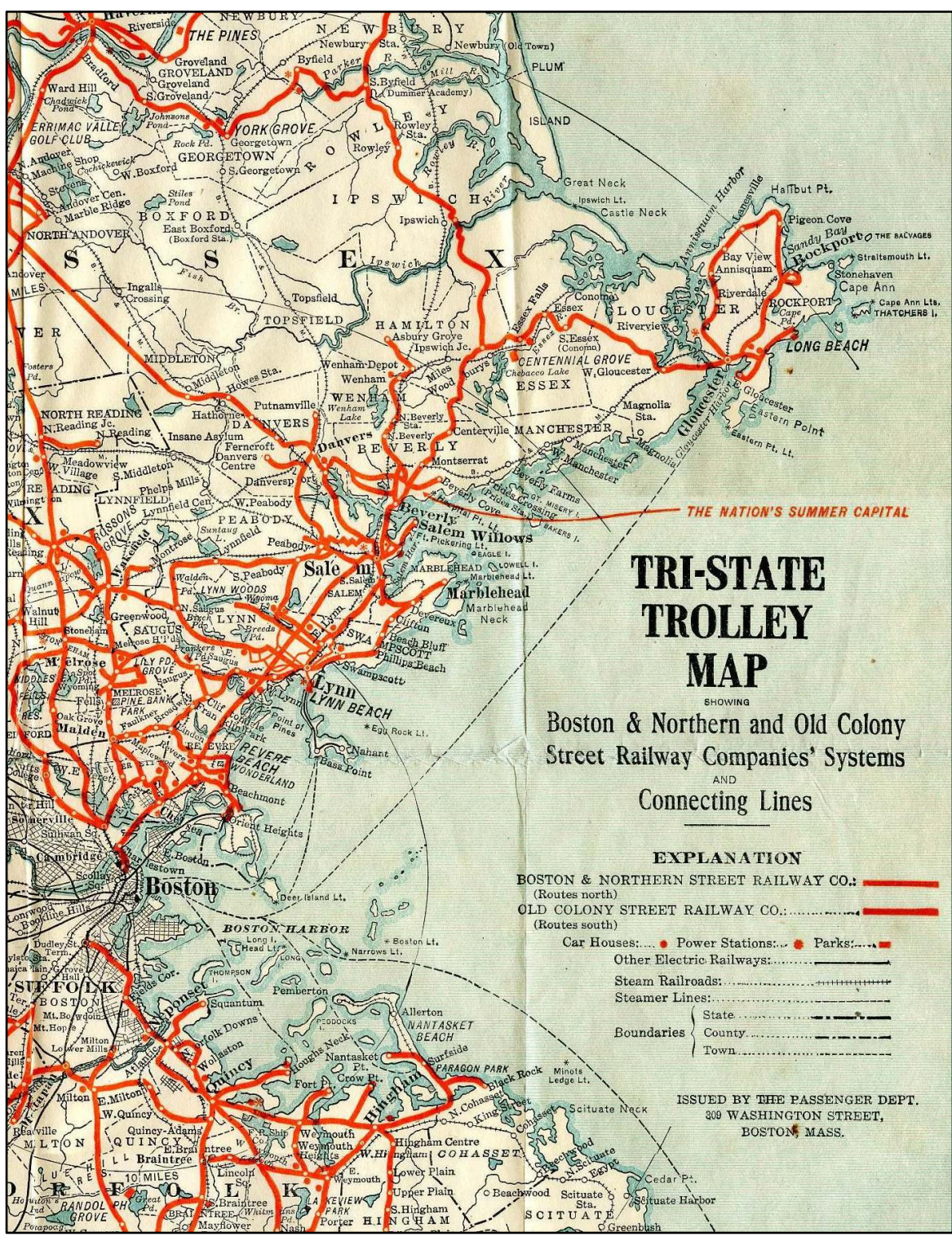
**by**

**Matthew G. Swindell**

**Copyright 2024, Matthew G. Swindell**

**Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts**

**May 2024**



Street Railways on the Massachusetts North Shore, 1910.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boston & Northern and Old Colony Street Railway Companies, *Tri-State Trolley Map* (1910).

**Table of Contents**

Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Street Railways in an Urbanizing Nation.....	9
Chapter Two: Horse Railroad Development on the North Shore.....	13
Chapter Three: Horsecar Resistance, the Gold Coast, and Beverly's Civil War .....	28
Chapter Four: Electric Development .....	36
Chapter Five: The Gold Coast vs. the Trolley .....	46
Conclusion .....	61
Bibliography .....	63

## Introduction

As the automobile today dominates the streets of the Massachusetts North Shore, so once did the street railway. Street railways, operated as public utilities by private entities, were intrinsic to the region's urban landscape in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Their descendants, in the twenty-first century, comprise the limited bus services offered by the Massachusetts Bay and Cape Ann transportation authorities. It is needless to say that the neglect of today's public transport is a far cry from its past prominence. Street railways were, in their heyday, the champion of affordable transportation and an avenue for suburban development.

In 1910, the street railway on the Massachusetts North Shore (hereafter referred to simply as the North Shore) was at its zenith, and an examination of that year's "Tri-State Trolley Map,"<sup>1</sup> jointly produced by the two largest street railway companies in Massachusetts, shows the region's pattern of street railway development. A web of service stretches north from Boston with concentration at the urban cores of Lynn and Salem and links through peripheral towns. At the North Shore's northern limit, on Cape Ann, a street railway circuit serves Gloucester and Rockport. Nearly every town on the North Shore is shown to have embraced street railways—with a notable exception. The reader may notice that Manchester, though well-served by the steam railroad, has no sign whatsoever of a street railway. One may also notice that, past the (prominently advertised) nation's summer capital at Beverly, a streetcar line ends abruptly at Beverly Cove. A curious gap in coverage stretches from Beverly Farms to Manchester and through Magnolia, while a roundabout line cuts through Essex to connect Beverly to Gloucester. It is the purpose of this paper to establish that this arrangement was no accident, for communities

---

<sup>1</sup> See page ii.

on the North Shore both welcomed and prevented street railway development through their territories.

The street railway's promise of interconnectedness and urbanity certainly inspired embrace on the North Shore, but these same promises also inspired strong resistance. By the late nineteenth century, the region's summer resorts developed a service industry that relied on the natural beauty of the coast to attract wealthy residents. Manchester was the epicenter of this so-called "Gold Coast" that viewed the coming of the street railroad as a threatening intruder. Meanwhile, the growing industrial cities of the region, from Lynn to Salem to Gloucester, welcomed the streetcar to stimulate progress. For their part, the street railway companies, as capitalist endeavors, hoped for continual expansion throughout the region. The divergent development of the North Shore, as an inclusive industrial center and an exclusive summer resort, divided the region between embracing and resisting street railway development.

The first chapter is a general introduction to street railways and presents their early development on a national level. Poor road conditions stymied efficient overland travel in early America, but a growing population necessitated better transport. The promise of industrialization, combined with immigration, led to overcrowded population centers. The horse railroad evolved as an improvement of the omnibus to relieve these centers and benefit suburban development.

The second chapter details the initial embrace of the street railway on the North Shore through the presentation of regional horse railroad development. From Lynn to Salem to Gloucester, growing industrial centers took to street railway development as a progressive improvement. Proponents recognized the potential of cheap transportation to develop the

region's outlying districts, and riders and developers subsequently benefited from the industry's residential and recreational benefits.

The third chapter examines horsecar-era resistance in exclusive North Shore summer resorts as it culminated as impetus for the 1880s Beverly Farms division crisis. When the street railway breached the wealthy enclave of Swampscott, further resistance was forthcoming in Beverly's exclusive resort section. In the post-Civil War "Gilded Age," the region's class divisions bitterly collided in the press and state legislature as wealthy enclaves sought to separate from their industrial parent towns. When Beverly Farms sought to separate from Beverly, the street railway played an important and controversial part.

The fourth chapter presents the North Shore's embrace of electric street railway growth from the late 1880s to the early 1900s. This era built on the speculation of the horsecar period, and peripheral towns embraced streetcars as a tool for development. As trolleys facilitated an increase in the distance of travel, developers encouraged new neighborhoods around streetcar access and riders welcomed the improved transit of street railway service.

The fifth chapter explains resistance to electric railroads in the retreats of Manchester and Beverly Farms. With the summer residents threatening to depart if the electric streetcars arrived, these Gold Coast communities successfully acted to keep them away. So as not to lose their service industry, the permanent residents largely aligned with the desires of the summer residents. As a result of this resistance, despite outside capitalist interest, Manchester and Beverly Farms never gained street railway service.

This thesis relies primarily on popular repositories, from historic newspaper sources to community histories, for local details of embrace and resistance. In a larger context, it incorporates scholarship on American transportation history, social development, and works

dedicated to its street railway industry. The street railways of the United States, and the North Shore, are subject to surprisingly little academic study, and scholarship is largely relegated to areas of popular interest, represented in the present time by newspaper articles, enthusiast blogs and websites, and historical societies. *Trolley Car Treasury* by Frank Rowsome and *The Time of the Trolley* by William Middleton, both originally published in the mid-twentieth century, are two informative reference works on the American street railway industry. Rowsome, delves into a passion project of street railway development with a wealth of illustrations, starting in the horse-car era, proceeding to the rise of the electrics, and ending with industry's decline. Middleton's *The Time of the Trolley* likewise pairs evocative illustrations with a progression of American street railway history to provide a survey of the industry.

A strong academic analysis of Massachusetts street railways exists in the work of Harvard economics professor Edward S. Mason. In 1932, Mason published his *The Street Railway in Massachusetts: The Rise and Decline of an Industry* as American street railways faced steep decline. Mason argues that the industry rose with optimistic speculation and died with rising costs and automobile competition. While he touches on the horsecar era, the bulk of his study concerns the electric streetcar period from 1890 to 1930; he nevertheless establishes that the horse railroad era's optimism set the tone for the whole industry. Mason additionally establishes the greater relevance of the Massachusetts street railway industry: "The street railway experience in Massachusetts has been, in the main, typical of the experience of the United States as a whole."<sup>2</sup> As a matter of economics, Mason primarily dissects the pecuniary particulars of the industry rather than the social impact of street railway service. While his work is not a social history, his first appendix, "Street Railways, Land Values, and the Distribution of Population" is

---

<sup>2</sup> Edward S. Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts: The Rise and Decline of an Industry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 4.

relevant to the larger matter of street railway embrace, writing that, “Indeed the influence of street railways and street railway fares on land values and business and industrial location is a matter of everyday experience.”<sup>3</sup> Through its detail of the industry on a statewide level, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts* provides a valuable analysis relevant to a regional study on the North Shore.

Boston, as the metropolitan center of Massachusetts, is prominent in street railway historiography, as the most notable, and consulted, academic study of American street railway effects is Sam Bass Warner’s *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900*. Originally published in 1962, and released as a second edition in 1978, Warner’s work is the gold standard for the study of the street railway’s historical impact on suburban development. According to Warner, Boston reflected America’s growing nineteenth-century issues of class division, immigration, and industrial urbanization.

The crux of Warner’s argument is that the street railways made suburbanization possible. The Boston of 1850 was a dense core limited by the walking distance of two miles with peripheral communities accessible in a three-mile zone. Omnibuses and steam railroads supplemented walking, but they were inefficient for mass transportation; the omnibus was slow, expensive, and low capacity, while the steam railroad was expensive and infrequently stopped. Warner explains that the street railway combined the regularity of omnibuses with the efficiency of rails to provide an accessible commute for those of modest means.

Despite the North Shore’s lack of explicit inclusion in Warner’s work, his message remains regionally relevant. Warner’s description of Boston as an “old merchant city with its

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 195.

mixed peripheral towns of residence and industry”<sup>4</sup> might well apply, on a more limited scale, to the city of Salem and its surroundings. At the dawn of the street railway era, Salem’s palmy commercial days were superseded by its pursuit of manufacturing, and its peripheral towns were imbued with budding industrial districts and host to undeveloped hinterlands. Lynn was engaging in a thriving shoe business, while Gloucester, far up Cape Ann, kept to itself as a prominent fishing port. The recipe for streetcar suburbs was applicable to the North Shore.

Regarding the Gold Coast, as a region of monied estates north of the Boston metropolis, no study of the North Shore is complete without incorporating Joseph E. Garland’s *The North Shore*, originally published as two volumes in 1978 and 1981, respectively, with a combined 1998 second edition. While his work is non-academic, Garland provides an unparalleled social history of the exclusive Massachusetts North Shore. Garland, at the beginning of his book, recalls that a “Manchester-by-the-Sea lady” advised him...

...in chilling tones, as the first edition of this book was being written in the 1970s, that to write about the North Shore and not restrict it to Manchester and Beverly—*The North Shore* in her book—was to advance a fraud on the reading public. Her North Shore consisted of the dozen social, wealthy and well-walled miles of it that wind from Beverly’s Woodbury Point through Pride’s Crossing, Beverly Farms, West Manchester and Manchester, terminating at the east property line of the Manchester Bath and Tennis Club just short of Magnolia Point.<sup>5</sup>

Garland’s Manchester-by-the-Sea lady provides an incredibly exclusive definition of the North Shore. It should be taken as no coincidence that this very section was central to the region’s street railway resistance.

While Garland does not focus on street railways, he discusses their social impact. His coverage of the Beverly division crisis of the 1880s features the horse-drawn street railway’s

---

<sup>4</sup> Sam Bass Warner. *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., and London England: Harvard University Press, 1978), ix.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Garland, *The North Shore: A Social History of Summers Among the Noteworthy, Fashionable, Rich, Eccentric and Ordinary on Boston’s Gold Coast, 1823-1929* (Beverly, Mass.: Commonwealth Editions, 1998), xi.

stimulating role. On the matter of street railway embrace, Garland explains the street railway's creation of recreation places on the North Shore—principally, the Salem Willows—and how the affordable trolley allowed the growth of inclusive transportation.

Turning to the subject of primary sources, historical newspapers were invaluable to this project, as they provided an accessible repository of local events and popular opinion regarding street railways on the North Shore. The Boston papers, such as the *Globe*, *Evening Transcript*, and *Post*, provide contemporary news items of larger import. I am thankful for the availability of the *Globe* through Salem State University's library resources, while Newspapers.com also provided helpful resources. The keyword searchable and freely accessible papers of the North Shore, available online, were likewise instrumental for finding local details. The digital archives of the Beverly Public Library, providing newspaper coverage from the 1850s to the 1930s (as of this writing) covers nearly the entire range of street railway development on the North Shore, and the Beverly papers' regional coverage helped fill in research gaps at-large. The digital archives of the *Manchester Cricket* were, likewise, essential to coverage of Manchester-by-the-Sea and Essex historical events. The Sawyer Public Library helped with Gloucester articles by providing extensive newspaper records from the *Gloucester Daily Times*, and the Lynn Public Library provided online access to the historical *Lynn Daily Item*.

Of course, not everything of import is yet digitized. For researching the early Salem street railway in the *Salem Gazette*, I spent my hours accessing microfilm of the Boston Public Library scanning for records; in researching a later period of street railway history, the same applied to the *Salem Evening News* at the Salem Public Library. The digitized *Beverly Citizen*, meanwhile, contained a large gap at the time of the Beverly division crisis. In the process of creating my undergraduate honors thesis, dedicated to the impact of the Beverly Farms division crisis, I

photographed issues of that paper at the Beverly Historical Society. In addition to those papers, the Society provided access to the undigitized news outlet of the Beverly Farms secessionists, the *Beverly Farms Advocate* and the *Divisionist*. While secondary articles suffice in providing a survey of the division crisis, a satirical article in the *Citizen* shows how the horsecar played its role in the affair.

This thesis develops from my existing scholarship on North Shore street railways and social dynamics. In the section regarding the Beverly Farms division crisis, this work incorporates relevant sections of *Division! The Crisis of the Commonwealth in Beverly's Civil War*, produced in 2021 as a Salem State University honors thesis. On the matter of local street railway history, as part of my coursework at Salem State, my unpublished paper "How Streetcars Shaped Salem" detailed the effect of the street railway on that city, and it is partially incorporated here. I have also incorporated contents of an earlier paper, submitted for a course on the geography of New England, in which I discussed how electric streetcars helped spur the development of a modest summer colony in the Beverly district of Ryal Side.

The street railway at its peak was a powerful force on the North Shore, and this paper seeks to explain how local communities embraced and resisted its development. The North Shore's experience reflected details peculiar to its towns and cities alongside greater trends in Massachusetts and the nation. I believe that Salem State University has a responsibility to promote its home city and wider region, and the history of this area should accordingly be promoted in its scholarship. I hope that this work contributes to the historical knowledge of the Massachusetts North Shore and that it adds a regional highlight to the topic of street railway history in the United States.

## Chapter One: Street Railways in an Urbanizing Nation

To discuss the rise of the street railway on the North Shore, it is first necessary to establish the wider context of development. The North Shore responded, as part of the whole, to the growing need for American transport. Early America was a largely rural place with small urban centers. As population centers grew, and urban cores crowded, transportation facilities developed to expand the social limits of cities. As a development of mass transit, the street railway accommodated urban growth and allowed for new suburbia.

The federal census records reveal the rural to urban progression of early America. American cities were small in the post-revolutionary period: at the first taking of the federal census in 1790, only about 33,000 people lived in New York City, considered the largest American city proper (excluding the later consolidation of the then-independent Philadelphia suburbs).<sup>1</sup> Rural Americans, meanwhile, outnumbered urbanites 20 to 1; of less than four million people, only about 200,000 lived in cities.<sup>2</sup> By 1830, the country was growing steadily more urban. New York City, still the largest American city, now housed over 200,000 people. Across the country, over a million Americans lived in urban areas.<sup>3</sup>

The rise of urbanity created the need for mass transport and, before the 1820s ended, America had its buses. In New York City, Abraham Brower established a regular and fixed fare stage coach line on Broadway in 1827. In 1831, Brower was aided by the coachbuilding services of John Stephenson, who later achieved fame for his street railway cars, and ran a large bus between Bond St. and Battery for 12 ½ cents.<sup>4</sup> The omnibus, the first representative of urban mass transit, soon plied the streets of not only New York but also Philadelphia and Boston. In

---

<sup>1</sup> "Population of the 90 Urban Places: 1830," U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 15, 1998.

<sup>2</sup> William D. Middleton, *The Time of the Trolley* (Kalmbach Books, 1967), 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

Boston, James B. Read established a local line between the city and Cambridge in 1826,<sup>5</sup> making two trips a day for twenty-five cents. After Read sold the company to Eben Kimball of Cambridgeport, the bus became a two-hourly service. Such service became hourly due to high demand, and large omnibuses named “Harvard,” “University,” and “Edward Everett”<sup>6</sup> joined smaller buses in bringing crowds across the Charles River.

As Americans adopted the omnibus, the first street railway was not far behind. On April 25, 1831, the New York & Harlem Railroad was incorporated with the novel purpose of running carriages by rail on New York’s Bowery. John Stephenson built the company a grand car, called the “John Mason” after its first president, fitted with cast iron wheels and a forty-person capacity. On the afternoon of November 20, 1832, the inaugural day of service was attended with great fanfare and auspicious remarks. In a dinner commemorating the occasion, according to William Middleton’s *The Time of the Trolley*, the mayor of New York declared that the event was to “go down in the history of our country as the greatest achievement of man.” Such was the passion of the street railway’s first supporters, and the traveling public, for their part, quickly popularized it with their patronage.<sup>7</sup>

In the early days of the street railway industry, its rails were its chief advantage over the omnibus. Roads, in the early nineteenth century, were a messy business. The omnibus traveled over mud and cobblestones,<sup>8</sup> and it was rough-riding and slow<sup>9</sup> transport. Travel over rails, meanwhile, allowed for greater speed, more comfort,<sup>10</sup> and heavier loads—which, in turn,

---

<sup>5</sup> Arthur W. Brayley. “In Stage Coach Days,” *Boston Daily Globe 1872-1922*, May 19, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Middleton, *The Time of the Trolley*, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Frank Rowsome, *Trolley Car Treasury: A Century of American Streetcars—Horsecars, Cable Cars, Interurbans, and Trolleys*, technical editor Stephen D. Maguire (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), 20.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>10</sup> James C. O’Connell, *The Hub’s Metropolis: Greater Boston’s Development from Railroad Suburbs to Smart Growth* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2013), 69.

allowed for higher carrying capacities.<sup>11</sup> Due to their superior traveling surfaces, horsecars could weigh less than omnibuses and require fewer horses, and this allowed operators to offer cheaper fares and attract more riders.<sup>12</sup> Due to its greater efficiency, the street railway was poised to overtake the omnibus.

As street railways rose, they faced the need to capture public opinion. Conservatism spawned resistance where the omnibus received embrace, and local politics became rife with contention. Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other urban areas were seized by the fight for horse railroads. According to Frank Rowsome's *Trolley Car Treasury*, a Baltimore druggist, so opposed to the horse railroad, "planted himself in an armchair in front of a track laying gang and refused to budge, being spelled in this enterprise by his wife."<sup>13</sup> After initial adoption by New York and then New Orleans, street railway construction cooled. It took another twenty years for the industry to make significant inroads. It was helped that, by 1850, the steam railroad had evolved from an exciting novelty to an indispensable aspect of American life. European immigration, meanwhile, was bringing scores of new residents. Urban America was now home to over 3.5 million people, and there existed at least six cities with populations of 100,000.<sup>14</sup> By then, rails had overcome initial fears and were set to penetrate the urban centers of the country, making the controversial New York experiment mainstream.

In this new period of street railway development, Boston was first to adopt horsecars despite the heavy opposition of omnibus operators and municipal red-tape. As early as 1852, an unchartered operation reportedly existed between Harvard College and Union Square in

---

<sup>11</sup> Rowsome, *Trolley Car Treasury*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Hopkins University Press, 2007), 65.

<sup>13</sup> Rowsome, *Trolley Car Treasury*, 20.

<sup>14</sup> Middleton, *The Time of the Trolley*, 15

Somerville using an abandoned rail car.<sup>15</sup> The first official street railway company, the Metropolitan, received its charter on May 21, 1853. It was joined a few days later by the Cambridge Railroad. The Broadway, Dorchester Avenue, and Chelsea street railroad companies chartered the next year.<sup>16</sup> The first company to operate, the Cambridge, followed in the footsteps of the omnibus by opening a line between Boston and Cambridge on March 26, 1856. To generate patronage, they offered free service for two months. While this generosity was well-received, with over two thousand passengers a day, the eventual introduction of fares created hostility.<sup>17</sup> The company nevertheless succeeded in its business to absorb its omnibus competitors, while street railways emerged across the city of Boston and opened suburbs for development.<sup>18</sup>

Drawbacks and naysayers aside, street railways were seen at their start as a symbol of modernity and progress. Though they inspired the fear of change, rails were at the forefront of transportation, and communities were eager to embrace it on both national and local level. In Massachusetts, the Boston metropolis first embraced the street railway. The adjacent North Shore was not far behind.

---

<sup>15</sup> Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts*, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Brayley, "In Stage Coach Days."

<sup>17</sup> Middleton, *The Time of the Trolley*, 15–16.

<sup>18</sup> Brayley, "In Stage Coach Days."

## Chapter Two: Horse Railroad Development on the North Shore

On the eve of the Civil War, as Boston embraced the horsecar, the street railway made its debut on the North Shore. The omnibus was well-established in the region, but the street railway was championed as not only an avenue to the Boston metropolis but as a stimulus for its own the growth of its own urban centers. From the 1860s to the 1880s, from Lynn to Salem and, finally, to Gloucester, street railways emerged on the North Shore. Eager to encourage development, proponents pushed for horsecars.

The Lynn & Boston Railroad Company was one of the first to establish horsecars on the North Shore, as it developed from the industrial city of Lynn with the mission of bringing the city closer into the Boston metropolis. When Lynn & Boston incorporated in 1859, Lynn had developed into the leading shoe-making center in Massachusetts with 16.6% of the state's total output in 1850.<sup>1</sup> Such prosperity followed the community's long tradition of cordwaining, particularly in the craft of ladies' shoes.<sup>2</sup> When the steam railroad progressed through Lynn in 1838, it left a "marked change" on the town as its steam railroad depot became the nucleus of a new business district.<sup>3</sup> Lynn's population grew as a thriving industrial center; its population more than doubled between 1830 (at 6,138)<sup>4</sup> and 1850 (at 14,257).<sup>5</sup>

Lynn was ripe for mass transit. As a precedent to the street railway, Lynn already had omnibus service. The omnibus started operation in October 1852, and it connected the city from its west to its east.<sup>6</sup> This inner-city link reflected the mid-nineteenth century growth of the city

---

<sup>1</sup> Francis X. Blouin, *The Boston Region, 1810-1850: A Study of Urbanization* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980), 55.

<sup>2</sup> James Newhall and Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, Vol. 1 (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), 86.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 479.

<sup>4</sup> Blouin, *The Boston Region*, 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 435.

and, before connecting to Boston, Lynn & Boston commenced operations in Lynn. On Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1860, the first horsecars ran along the city's streets.<sup>7</sup> In 1861, as the United States engaged in its Civil War, Lynn & Boston established its metropolitan link on the Massachusetts North Shore as it extended its tracks over the Lynn marshes, through Saugus, to North Chelsea.<sup>8</sup> With the necessary infrastructure of a car barn established in the latter town, the company completed its road with a connection to the Boston & Chelsea street railroad at Chelsea's Eleanor Street.<sup>9</sup> The Lynn & Boston Railroad was, thereafter, able to use the Boston & Chelsea road to advance toward Boston.

On June 1, 1861, the first car ran over Lynn & Boston's metropolitan route and replaced existing omnibus service. From the North Chelsea car barn came an inaugural vehicle operated by Captain Henry W. Dale, the former conductor of the Chelsea ferry to Boston bus, who received cheers as he took the new horsecar to his usual destination. Using the ferry, the horsecar progressed from Chelsea to the heart of Boston at Scollay Square.<sup>10</sup> A link to the metropolis was secured for the Lynn & Boston Railroad, and it became the first of the company's achievements in providing regional transport on the North Shore.

In its first summer of service, Lynn & Boston experienced high ridership. The number of persons it carried increased progressively from the road's opening, and, by summer 1861, it served them by running cars every half-hour.<sup>11</sup> In August of that year, as reported by the *Beverly Citizen* with emphasis, the company carried 54,964 people.<sup>12</sup> At its start, the Lynn street railway was proving to be a successful enterprise.

---

<sup>7</sup> Newhall, 463.

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Shurtleff, *History of the Town of Revere* (Boston: Beckler Press, 1938), 367.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> "Lynn," *Beverly Citizen*, July 6, 1861, 2.

<sup>12</sup> "Miscellaneous Items," *Beverly Citizen*, September 14, 1861, 3.

As horsecars ran through the shoe city of Lynn, the old port of Salem was soon to embrace the street railway. Salem, with a population of over twenty thousand in 1860,<sup>13</sup> was the most populated municipality on the Massachusetts North Shore. The steam railroad roared through the city, while omnibus lines provided inner city transport. Salem, as a shire town of Essex County and a regional center of commerce, was suited to spring forth a regional streetcar system.

Salem's traditional economy of maritime commerce declined following the embargo of 1807,<sup>14</sup> and nineteenth-century civic leaders attempted to pivot the city toward the industrial age. To stave off stagnation, Salem's business leaders encouraged the arrival of manufactories and railroads. The Salem of Nathaniel Hawthorne was "ancient and time-worn," and the author cautiously praised the Eastern Railroad's arrival in 1838 as it stirred new life into the city.<sup>15</sup> Not long after, in 1845, the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company established a plant in South Salem,<sup>16</sup> providing Salem with a significant textile manufacturer. Salem mayor Stephen Clarendon Phillips was a leader in Salem's development of new railroads, the Essex Railroad (1847–1848) and the Salem & Lowell (1848–1850), which laid tracks toward the mill town of Lawrence on the Merrimack and allowed for an increase in Salem's trade.<sup>17</sup> The growth of tanneries, along Salem's North River into neighboring South Danvers (today's Peabody), further contributed to the growth of Salem's industrial base; by 1850, Salem led Massachusetts with 26.9%, and Danvers followed with 15.9%, of the state's tanning and leather output.<sup>18</sup> By the mid nineteenth

---

<sup>13</sup> "Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1860," U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 15, 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Blouin, *The Boston Region, 1810-1850*, 30.

<sup>15</sup> Francis B. C. Bradlee, *The Eastern Railroad: A Historical Account of Early Railroad in Eastern New England*, 2nd ed. (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1922), 23.

<sup>16</sup> Clive Jarvis, "A Thumb Nail Sketch of Naumkeag," in *The Story of Pequot* (Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., 1929).

<sup>17</sup> Michael J. Connolly, *Capitalism, Politics and Railroads in Jacksonian New England* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 155–156.

<sup>18</sup> Blouin, *The Boston Region, 1810-1850*, 64.

century, Salem was an industrial city ready for street railway development to facilitate its further growth.

When the Salem & South Danvers Railroad Company was incorporated in March 1863, it promised growth for Salem. The new company planned to run a line through Salem's narrow and densely settled main road, Essex Street, and provide a more efficient connection to burgeoning South Danvers. A correspondent for the *Salem Gazette*, writing as "Giles Corey,"<sup>19</sup> positively speculated on the street railroad's impact in April 1861.<sup>20</sup> His opinion piece encapsulates the optimism and excitement of country street railway's early industry while speaking to the particularities of Salem's situation. Giles Corey's speculation of Salem's suburban growth provides a case like the Boston subject matter of Sam Bass Warner's *Streetcar Suburbs*. Salem and Boston comprised a crowded central district and, with the power of street railway's efficient and affordable mass transit, their hinterlands transformed from rural peripheries to vital house lots. As a tool for easy transport, the street railway had the potential to bring people together, and Giles Corey notes that "any contrivance which facilitates intercourse between man and man is a humanizing agent ... half a mile is enough in some cases to make friends almost strangers."<sup>21</sup> The speculations of "Giles Corey" represented the hopes of street railways, in Salem and beyond, while making a strong case for the industry's development. The horsecar had the potential to be a net win for creators and consumers, and a small city like Salem could benefit the same as a larger city like New York or Boston.

The Salem & South Danvers street railway opened at the end of June 1863 and was set for summer success as the public support it received was strong. Recognizing its value as a

---

<sup>19</sup> "Horse Rail Road Speculations," *Salem Gazette*, April 12, 1861, 2.

<sup>20</sup> "Horse Rail Road Speculations," *Salem Gazette*, April 9, 1861, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

feeder to the steam railroad, the street railway was in the process of extending its line down Washington Street to the Eastern Railroad depot for the benefit of South Danvers riders.<sup>22</sup> By late July, the *Salem Gazette* reported that the “road had thus far been well patronized, as the cars seem to run with a good supply of passengers.”<sup>23</sup> During the month of August, the Salem street railway carried over 40,000 passengers, and it had already surpassed the earlier “large and remunerative” omnibus service.<sup>24</sup> In late September, the *Gazette* positively reviewed the street railway’s early showing: “Those who are in a position to judge, express great confidence that the road will not merely promote the convenience of the public, but yield a satisfactory return to the stockholders.”<sup>25</sup> The street railway, at its operational start, was successful in Salem.

On a scale microcosmic to the larger American cities, the cities of the North Shore brought street railway service to their peripheral towns. Beverly, as an example, anticipated receiving the street railroad even before the construction of Salem & South Danvers’s first lines and, after a successful summer, the company was in a place to make expansion a reality. The business interests of Beverly projected their benefit, and, on September 5, 1863, the Beverly Bank announced stock subscription books for the horse railroad.<sup>26</sup> By September 19, the stock book reportedly included some of the town's most cautious businessmen.<sup>27</sup>

In the excitement for a Beverly street railroad line, the residents of the town's Gloucester Crossing section evinced their interest as they proposed a route comprising the duration of Rantoul Street,<sup>28</sup> Beverly's newest major and industrial thoroughfare. The consideration of

---

<sup>22</sup> “The Horse Railroad,” *Salem Gazette*, July 24, 1863, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> “Horse Railroad,” *Salem Gazette*, September 11, 1863, 2.

<sup>25</sup> “The Horse Railroad,” *Salem Gazette*, September 28, 1863, 2.

<sup>26</sup> “Horse Rail Road,” *Beverly Citizen*, September 5, 1863, 3.

<sup>27</sup> “Horse Railroad Matters,” *Beverly Citizen*, September 19, 1863, 1

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

Rantoul Street reflected changing land use patterns in Beverly, and it is necessary to give a summary of those changes prior to the street railway's arrival. Beverly's situation reflected the triumph of manufacturing over maritime pursuits on the North Shore. In the late eighteenth century, Beverly was home to the first cotton mill in the country, but its investors abandoned it in deference to over-sea profits.<sup>29</sup> The situation some fifty years hence was in reversal, as the town encouraged the growth of domestic industry and overland transportation. In 1854, the Eastern Railroad relocated its Beverly steam railroad depot from the harborside to new Rantoul Street. Robert Rantoul, a prominent Beverly politician, real estate dealer, and road namesake, sold the land to encourage the growth of the centralization of Beverly's business.<sup>30</sup> Similar to Lynn, Beverly used its traditional craft of shoemaking to furnish the primary trade of its factories.<sup>31</sup>

In fall 1863, Salem & South Danvers made strides toward servicing Beverly. By October 3, 1863, they laid track as far as the Salem side of the Beverly–Salem Essex Bridge.<sup>32</sup> The Essex County Commissioners gave permission for rails on the bridge<sup>33</sup> and, on the Beverly side, the company broke ground on the town's Cabot Street. The tracks on Beverly's Cabot Street went as far as Elliott Street<sup>34</sup> where the company planned a turntable for their cars;<sup>35</sup> a Rantoul Street extension to Gloucester Crossing had to wait. Beverlyites in general were fortunate, however, that with only an affordable five-cent fare they could travel across the bridge and as far as North Street in Salem. Those of South Danvers, meanwhile, could travel to Beverly without any fare

---

<sup>29</sup> Beverly Historical Society, *Historic Beverly* (Beverly, Mass.: Beverly Chamber of Commerce, 1937), 20.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Rantoul, *The Autobiography of Robert Rantoul: A Memoir Made at Beverly, November 1848*, ed. Charles E. Wainwright, transcriber Jeffrey E. Dauzat (Beverly, Mass.: Historic Beverly, 2018), 96.

<sup>31</sup> William C. Morgan, "Shoemaking in Beverly," *Beverly Citizen*, October 23, 1901, 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Beverly Citizen*, October 3, 1863, 2.

<sup>33</sup> "Horse Railroad Matters," *Beverly Citizen*, September 19, 1863, 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Beverly Citizen*, October 3, 1863, 2.

<sup>35</sup> "Horse Cars--Increased Accommodations," *Beverly Citizen*, November 21, 1863.

increase.<sup>36</sup> By February 1864, the Salem & South Danvers service to Beverly was in effect, and such service was well-received. According to the *Salem Gazette* of February 2: “The Horse Cars between Beverly and Salem are found to be even greater convenience than was at first expected, and people are already wondering how they got along so well without them.”<sup>37</sup>

While Beverly welcomed the horsecars, back in the mother city of Salem, the residents of outlying districts coveted expansion for themselves. These districts, at the edges of Salem’s historic core and beyond the North and South Rivers, were on their way to becoming important residential and industrial centers; the street railway brought them closer to the core than before. For South Salem, Lafayette Street, already home to an omnibus line, was the targeted route and, by May 1864, the Salem & South Danvers’s South Salem branch was open for business.<sup>38</sup> North Salem too had the prospects for attracting street railway service,<sup>39</sup> but the district did not experience it until some years after its southern counterpart. The North Salem Branch finally opened on June 2, 1869, with the *Beverly Citizen* stating that it will “prove to be a great public convenience.”<sup>40</sup> A general estimate of its ridership, based upon its second week of operation, showed the North Salem Branch as carrying 3,947 people compared to 1,960 people on the South Salem Branch during that same period.<sup>41</sup>

By the 1870s, the Salem & South Danvers Railroad had grown to provide regional service, changed its name, and transformed once more to further reflect its wide scope. In 1869, the company changed its name, by legislature, to the Salem Street Railway,<sup>42</sup> with the exclusivity

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> “The Horse Cars,” *Salem Gazette*, February 2, 1864, 2.

<sup>38</sup> “Horse Railroad Notice,” *Beverly Citizen*, May 28, 1864, 2.

<sup>39</sup> “Horse Railroad in North Salem,” *Beverly Citizen*, October 10, 1868, 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Beverly Citizen*, June 5, 1869, 2.

<sup>41</sup> “The North Salem Railway Travel,” *Beverly Citizen*, June 19, 1869.

<sup>42</sup> Massachusetts, 1869 Chap. 164. *An Act to Change the Name of the Salem and South Danvers Railroad Company, and to Enlarge the Time for Expanding Its Tracks* (Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1869), 505–506.

of “South Danvers” dropped. More change came when the street railway “of rapidly extending proportions”<sup>43</sup> was put under the brand of “Naumkeag,” the Indian name of Salem suggested for the street railway’s use as early as 1863<sup>44</sup> and alluding to the greater area of Salem’s original bounds. On February 25, 1875, the Naumkeag Street Railway Company formed with seven miles of tracks and \$70,000 capital.<sup>45</sup> The new corporation leased the original Salem Street Railway,<sup>46</sup> and it continued the original’s mission of street railroad expansion.

In addition to facilitating daily transport, the street railway encouraged the North Shore’s recreational capabilities. The most prominent of amusement parks it furthered were Revere Beach and the Salem Willows. For the former, streetcars provided the first inroads of accessible transportation, and they remained a continual presence for the transport of pleasure-seekers. For the latter, streetcars were instrumental to growth, for it was the Naumkeag Street Railway which provided both the amenities and conveyance necessary for the pleasure park’s prominence.

While Revere Beach was destined to become the nation’s first public beach in 1896 and home to many popular attractions, fifty years prior it was the sparsely populated Chelsea Beach. Its potential for recreation was nevertheless perceived at an early period. In the 1830s, the first hotel at the beach was built on Point-of-Pines, in rustic isolation, named Robinson Crusoe House.<sup>47</sup> It was joined further down the point, in 1845, by the Neptune House. At that time, and until North Chelsea became Revere in 1872, these were the only two buildings on the beach.<sup>48</sup> The Neptune House became a popular resort, serving shore dinners to its guests in the beach’s

---

<sup>43</sup> “Horse Railroad Matters,” *Beverly Citizen*, September 19, 1863, 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> “List of Joint Stock Corporations to Whom Certificates of Incorporation Have Been Issued Since January 1, 1875,” *Boston Globe*, October 5, 1875, 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Beverly Citizen*, November 15, 1879, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Shurtleff, *The History of the Town of Revere*, 312.

<sup>48</sup> Shurtleff, *The History of the Town of Revere*, 206–207

idyllic environs. Chelsea Beach subsequently was the first amusement place on the North Shore to receive the focus of street railway service in the late 1850s. In 1858, the Chelsea Beach Railroad formed to bring a street railway line over the beach road. The first independent enterprise was thwarted in 1859, however, by the inaction of its incorporators and the endeavor of the Lynn & Boston street railway. A petition to the North Chelsea selectmen noted that the planned road was an encumbrance to traffic, and that it was inferiorly and redundantly located in comparison to the Lynn street railroad's route "over the Floyd Road."<sup>49</sup> Lynn & Boston's route received support from selectmen Ensign Kimball and Benjamin Shurtleff, and they voted to grant the Lynn street railway company a road on December 21, 1859. It was subsequently located on October 31, 1860.<sup>50</sup>

On June 1, 1861, the same day as Lynn & Boston opened its Salem Turnpike line, its Chelsea Beach branch opened for service.<sup>51</sup> While the streetcar had primacy at Revere Beach, it was not the most influential transport link to its success. According to social historian Joseph Garland, the narrow-gauge railway of Alpheus P. Blake, the Boston, Revere Beach, & Lynn Railroad, surpassed the success of the horse railroad in this district. As put by Garland, "Blake had tapped wells of yearning, drilled a summer safety valve into the simmering subterranean frustrations of a mass of city people, and ran an outlet, round trip twenty cents, to the sea."<sup>52</sup> The railroad opened in 1872, overcoming resistance by Revere citizens hoping to keep away Boston crowds, and it provoked widespread adoption of Revere Beach as an inclusive summer resort.

The greatest recreational achievement of a North Shore street railway was not at Revere Beach but at Salem Willows with the Naumkeag Street Railway as its patron. Emulating the

---

<sup>49</sup> Shurtleff, *The History of the Town of Revere*, 366.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 366–367.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

<sup>52</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 152.

success of the steam railroad park at Centennial Grove in Essex, Massachusetts,<sup>53</sup> the street railroad company created a pleasure park of its own. By creating a destination for a branch line, on a picturesque and breezy stretch of land, the company created consistent summertime demand for its services. By seeking this accessible destination, modest pleasure-seekers from miles around found an oasis to enjoy the scenic North Shore.

The Salem Willows had a precedent in the Salem street railway's continual encouragement of recreation. At a period in American history when affordable travel was a luxury to those of humble means, Salem street railway interests early realized the recreational value of their service. Salem & South Danvers's grand six-horse excursion car, aptly named "Excursionist,"<sup>54</sup> took Saturday afternoon riders throughout the city. A popular destination for pleasure-seekers, the Willows excluded, was Harmony Grove Cemetery, located across the North River from the street railway line on Salem's Boston Street. Noting the "considerable" number of warm-weather riders going to the cemetery "who leave the cars at the nearest point and walk the remaining distance," by 1873, there was even a direct call for a direct extension of tracks.<sup>55</sup> This paled, however, in comparison to the Willows's impact on the Salem area's recreational capabilities.

By the 1870s, the Salem Willows, before construction of a street railway branch, had considerable potential for development. In 1875, the Naumkeag Street Railway, using their Essex street horsecars and large omnibuses, carried 23,000 people to summertime excursions at the Willows.<sup>56</sup> A summer colony of Lowell people arrived in 1873, from Marblehead Neck to the

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>54</sup> "Excursion," *Salem Gazette*, July 15, 1864, 3.

<sup>55</sup> "Salem," *Beverly Citizen*, April 12, 1873, 2.

<sup>56</sup> "A Project," *Boston Post*, June 6, 1876, 3.

south, and this colony was enlarged in 1875 by the Salem business of Daniel B. Gardner.<sup>57</sup> In 1876, Naumkeag understandably petitioned the city authorities to permit a new line to the Willows<sup>58</sup> and, in 1877, it opened to the public.<sup>59</sup>

The Naumkeag Street Railway, in the model of the steam railroad at Essex, ventured to create their amusement park with grand amenities. The most prominent attraction was the Pavilion, a landmark in Shingle-style with various offerings, including a dance hall, dining room, and camera obscura in its tower with harbor views. In 1880, the street railway resituated the “Siege of Paris” building, used at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia to house a Franco-Prussian war scene,<sup>60</sup> for use at the Willows as a theater; it had previously been used in Boston.<sup>61</sup> In addition to these structures, the company established “flying horses and other diversions”<sup>62</sup> while they beautified their section of the park, including a handsome Grotto<sup>63</sup> feature to the side of the Pavilion.<sup>64</sup> To rouse added interest, the company occasionally hosted fireworks displays and nightly illuminations.<sup>65</sup> The Willows had the making of a popular attraction, and the street railway happily found itself carrying loads of park-goers. By 1881, the destination was so well-attended that there was a call in the *Salem Evening News* for the Naumkeag company to better accommodate visitors.<sup>66</sup> Though some believed it to be too democratic, per the *Evening News*, it provided a noble purpose in affordable recreation: “This

---

<sup>57</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 164.

<sup>58</sup> “A Project,” *Boston Post*, June 6, 1876, 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Visitors’ Guide to Salem* (Salem, Mass.: Henry P. Ives, 1880), 40.

<sup>60</sup> James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and Columbus, Ohio: National Publishing Co., 1876), 311.

<sup>61</sup> *Visitors’ Guide to Salem*, 34.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> “Salem, Mass.—Grotto at the Willows,” Stereoscopic View, Salem State University Archives and Special Collections.

<sup>64</sup> Frank Cousins, “Salem, Salem Willows, Pavilion,” Glass Negative, 8” x 10”, Digital Commonwealth.

<sup>65</sup> *Visitors’ Guide to Salem*, 34.

<sup>66</sup> “The Willows,” *Salem Evening News*, May 8, 1881, 2.

point will ever be the pleasure ground of the city poor, who live in crowded quarters, to whom [it] would be a great blessing if the walks were shaded so they could walk, when unable to pay car fares.”<sup>67</sup> As the horsecars overcrowded with pleasure-seekers,<sup>68</sup> investment in the Willows seemed to have exceeded the street railway’s expectations.

As the Salem street railway provided mass transport and mass recreation, the situation of Gloucester, up the North Shore coast, endeavored to keep up. While Lynn and Salem embraced the street railway around the time of the Civil War, it took another twenty years for Gloucester to gain its own line when recent industrial success proved forthcoming to a street railroad franchise. Following the Civil War, the old fishing port did a thriving business. With this prosperity in the fisheries came immigrants, particularly from the Maritime Provinces of Canada,<sup>69</sup> to staff the trade and swell its houses. The population of Gloucester increased significantly in this successful post-bellum period, rising from about 10,000 in 1860 to over 15,000 in 1870.<sup>70</sup> As stated by historian James R. Pringle, in his 1892 *History of the Town and City of Gloucester*, “Improvements and increased building operations go step by step, with an augmented population and many were the changes effected during the period.”<sup>71</sup> Reflecting this growth, the town voted to incorporate as a city in 1873<sup>72</sup> and Gloucester embarked on a campaign to bring modernity to the old port town. To again borrow the magnanimous words of Mr. Pringle, speaking of the period from the Civil War to his present of 1892:

From this time “Progress” has always been the watchword. New vessels, constantly increasing wharf area, larger warehouses, streets widened and fine residences erected, all

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> “Juniper Point and Willows,” *Salem Evening News*, June 18, 1881, 4.

<sup>69</sup> James R. Pringle, *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (Gloucester, Mass.: Published by the Author, 1892), 221.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 239.

bear testimony to the indomitable pluck and energy of the fishermen, through whose efforts the town has grown to a typical New England city.<sup>73</sup>

Transportation was vital to progress. To accommodate its growing population, a street railway was in the cards to create a “typical New England city” out of Gloucester.

The question of bringing a street railroad to Gloucester appropriately surfaced in the 1870s. By 1878, it was a topic of repeated discussion but little action, as reported by the *Cape Ann Advertiser*: “The horse railroad question is again being agitated in this city. Agitate away, gentlemen, something will come from it in the ‘sweet bye and bye.’”<sup>74</sup> The infrastructural demand of a street railway, in accordance with the regulations of city politics, represented an obstacle to fruition. In 1881, the prospect of a Gloucester street railway was finally realized on paper for, in that year, the Gloucester Street Railway Company was incorporated by act of legislature. Through street railroad service, Gloucester’s suburban villages (“Magnolia in ward eight, and Riverdale, Annisquam, Bay View and Lanesville in ward seven”)<sup>75</sup> had the potential to be brought into the city’s fold, and the company had authority to connect to the depots of the steam railroad. Per the act of incorporation, it had five years to conduct its vision of bringing street railway service to Gloucester.

Time passed and, with a horse railroad not yet built, agitation continued. A letter to the editor of the *Cape Ann Advertiser*, published on December 15, 1882, and written under the *nom de plume* of a Gloucester “Native,” makes a case for the horse railroad to solve the city’s housing crisis. Since 1870, Gloucester’s population had continued to grow; by 1880, it was home to over

---

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>74</sup> “Off-Hand Local Jottings,” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, August 23, 1878, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Massachusetts, *1881 Chap. 279. An Act to Incorporate the Gloucester Street Railway Company*. (Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1881), 603.

19,000 people.<sup>76</sup> The city center experienced a lack of affordable housing, and the horse railroad was recognized as a solution: “A horse railroad connecting the suburbs with the city proper, would stimulate building operations as nothing else can, and if the city is to grow, homes and easy transit must be provided for people who desire to settle here.”<sup>77</sup> With such demand, per the opinion piece, the Gloucester capitalists were assured of a profitable road pending construction, while the crowded city was assured of relief.

The horse railroad finally came to Gloucester in 1886, using the whole five years allotted to the company. The city’s horse railroad was completed by June of that year,<sup>78</sup> and it had ten horsecars at its disposal.<sup>79</sup> In the company’s first summer, according to an August schedule, the street railway offered service from East Gloucester to the Gloucester steam railroad depot (operated now by the company of Boston & Maine) via the city’s central streets of Main and Washington along with another line on the city’s core thoroughfare of Prospect Street.<sup>80</sup>

From the urban examples of Lynn, Salem, and Gloucester, in addition to the peripheral town of Beverly, it is clear that the horse railroad era was a time of growth for horse-railroad developers on the North Shore. For consumers who relished the affordable transport provided by the horsecars, the horsecars provided the means to access the metropolis, to enjoy excursions and recreation, and to live in suburbs while working and playing in the city. The industrial centers on the North Shore, whether in new manufacturing or traditional fisheries, embraced the horse-drawn street railway to grow their communities into modern and attractive cities.

---

<sup>76</sup> “Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties,” *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 209.

<sup>77</sup> “The Scarcity of Tenements and the Remedy,” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, December 15, 1882, 2.

<sup>78</sup> “Off-Hand Local Jottings,” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, June 11, 1886, 1.

<sup>79</sup> “Off-Hand Local Jottings,” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, June 18, 1886, 1.

<sup>80</sup> “Gloucester Street Railway Co.,” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, August 13, 1886, 4

As communities on the North Shore embraced the street railway, the web of rails continued to grow. In Beverly, the Naumkeag company expanded east on the old highway at Hale Street. As the street railway ventured toward the shore drives of Beverly Farms, embrace turned to distaste as it entered the territory of one of the North Shore's most exclusive resorts. This entering wedge of affordable transportation raised deeper issues of class division, and the progression of the horsecars lit a fuse in Beverly. It helped unleash a powder keg that threatened to tear this section of the North Shore apart.

### **Chapter Three: Horsecar Resistance, the Gold Coast, and Beverly's Civil War**

This paper has so far largely focused on the embrace of street railways on the North Shore, and it now embarks on the matter of resistance. To the industrial centers of the region, with Salem and Peabody's teeming tanneries, or the shoe factories of Lynn and Beverly, the presence of street railways allowed workers greater mobility. For a place such as the Salem Willows, it allowed democratic accessibility to scenic shores and helped foster the creation of popular amusements. High ridership and continual expansion made these facts evident. Yet, for some districts on the North Shore, where the steam railroad brought quite a different demographic than happy factory workers, the street railway inspired fear. To the summer residents prizing privacy, and to those who relied on their economy, the street railway threatened an exclusive ecosystem. In the horse railroad era, the same democratic development of street railways that benefitted Salem, Peabody, Lynn, and Beverly were negative to the society of their peripheral communities in Swampscott, Marblehead, and Beverly Farms.

Sam Bass Warner's *Streetcar Suburbs* addressed the threat that the street railway offered to exclusive communities, for continual expansion of affordable transport pushed the rich to repose further and further away from urbanity. The steam railroad, in the mid-nineteenth century, was the most efficient means of interurban transport available in the United States, and so the wealthy embraced it with their exclusive and comfortable cars. The horse railroad, on the other hand, offered more affordable rates and greater urban integration, but lower speeds and crowded conditions. Affordability was no object for the rich, and the negatives of the horse railroad made it undesirable for their riding sensibilities. They likewise feared it to be the conduit for poor morals from poor folks to intrude on their fine estates.

To protect their havens, summer residents resisted the street railways. In Swampscott, their efforts vainly ended in their conquest, as the horse railroad ultimately plodded over the town's streets from Lynn into Marblehead. In Beverly Farms, however, the threat of the horse railroad provoked a municipal civil war that became the crisis of the commonwealth. In the volatile period reflecting immense wealth inequality after the Civil War, the special interests of the wealthy were no small matters to public opinion.

The issues facing Beverly, the Gold Coast, and all of Massachusetts, can be found as a microcosmic example of the issues facing the nation in the Gilded Age. In the years following the Civil War, the industrial north grew in wealth and prominence. Yet, this wealth was not equally distributed, for income inequality equality was on the rise and the poor benefited little from financial growth. At the same time, there was widespread growth in political and social consciousness that contrasted with the growing influence of capital in government. Labor unions like the Knights of Labor, "the most powerful labor organization in the country,"<sup>1</sup> fought for workers' rights and to close the growing wealth gap. The demographic shift that occurred on the North Shore, with a growth in population and manufacturing, may be found in the demographic shift of the entire northeastern United States. According to law professor Zephyr Teachout, "The country had changed from a largely agrarian to an increasingly urban society and grew five times greater in population from 1830 to 1880 (from 12 million to 50 million)."<sup>2</sup> In the northeast, the growth in urban population translated to the growth in manufacturing, as the region already possessed a solid industrial base by the time of the Civil War. The region, with largely rocky soil and a hilly landscape, was one inefficient to the large-scale agriculture needed to feed a growing

---

<sup>1</sup> Richard White, *The Republic For Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2017), 519.

<sup>2</sup> Zephyr Teachout, "The Gilded Age" in *Corruption in America: From Benjamin Franklin's Snuff Box to Citizens United* (Harvard University Press, 2014), 174-82.

population and, as such, its farming declined in favor of more fertile regions out West. The de-agriculturalization of the northeast was not fully realized until the twentieth century, but the process was fully underway during this postbellum age of the nineteenth. At the same time, the great industrial cities of America, like New York and Boston, grew in prominence as the “growth as a center of capitalism—investment in industry, real estate, and banking began to overshadow even manufacturing, mining, and railroad banking.”<sup>3</sup> These centers of capitalism, in turn, casted their shadow over entire regions, like Boston with the North Shore.

In the context of the Gilded Age, the rocky coast of the North Shore, from Beverly Farms to Magnolia, transformed into Gold Coast territory. In 1840, Beverly Farms, located in the eastern section of Beverly town, was a fishing and farming village with the limited manufacturing of small “ten-footer” shoe shops;<sup>4</sup> Manchester was a notable furniture-making center;<sup>5</sup> and the future Magnolia (then known as Kettle Cove) was a rural hamlet occupied largely by the Knowlton family.<sup>6</sup> De-agriculturalization devalued the area’s subsistence farming while small-scale fishing suffered, its manufacturing declined with the Civil War and a shift in trade, and the coming of the steam railroad made the area accessible to Boston capitalists. Wealthy urbanites escaped to its refreshing environment and became prominent summer residents, while the permanent residents became their dependent service industry. Stately houses and grand hotels replaced fish flakes and farm fields.

Horsecars precipitated a crisis on the Gold Coast. The year was 1885, and, in Beverly, Massachusetts, the Naumkeag Street Railway plotted expansion of a line eastward on the town's

---

<sup>3</sup> Alan Axelrod, *The Gilded Age: 1876-1912, Overture to the American Century*. (Sterling Publishing Co., 2017), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Harmond, “The Time They Tried to Divide Beverly,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. 104 (1968): 19.

<sup>5</sup> William H. Tappan, “Cabinet-Making” in “Manchester,” *History of Essex County* vol. 2 (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888), 1292–1294.

<sup>6</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 127.

Hale Street. There was a certain intersection, at the corner of the city's Hale Street and Boyles Street, called Chapman's Corner, and this functioned as a border between the districts of Beverly Cove and Beverly Farms. This was a boundary that the street railway threatened to breach in their expansion: the company, with their horses, cars, and rails, planned to bring service to the Cove at Chapman's Corner<sup>7</sup> and at the threshold of the Farms.<sup>8</sup> By doing so, cheap and accessible public transportation, representative of urban growth, seemed poised to become the reality that already existed in the main portion of the town westward. In May 1885, a "large majority" in Beverly voted at town meeting to extend the horsecar to the Cove,<sup>9</sup> and the company's plans for extension were underway.

It was in this expansion of the horsecar line, however, that the street railway found opposition in the persons of Thornton Kirkland Lothrop and John Torrey Morse, Jr. As well-to-do Bostonians with summer homes in Beverly Farms, these men shared qualities befitting the status of "gentlemen of leisure." Both were Boston lawyers retired from their active practice and from the highest and most noble families of New England. In their leisure and with their wealth, Morse came to the Farms to pursue life as a scholar and Lothrop to enjoy a peaceful life among the seashore.<sup>10</sup> In addition to being summer residents, they were "summertime citizens" as they chose to pay their personal property taxes in Beverly rather than Boston.<sup>11</sup>

On April 18, 1885, Thornton K. Lothrop wrote a communication from Boston to the editor of the Beverly *Times* with his grievances (published in the April 22 issue) and created the

---

<sup>7</sup> *Arguments of Fred H. Williams: And Testimony of Petitioners and Remonstrants Presented Before the Committee on Towns of the Massachusetts Legislature, Relative to the Incorporation of the Town of "Beverly Farms," Jan. 20 to Feb. 8, 1886. For Petitioners, Fred H. Williams. For Remonstrants, H.P. Moulton, D.W. Quill, Joseph Bennett [and] W.D. Sohler*, (Boston: Stanley & Usher, 1886), 129.

<sup>8</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 122

<sup>9</sup> "Beverly's Town Meeting," *Boston Daily Globe (1872-1922)*, May 10, 1885.

<sup>10</sup> Harmond, "The Time They Tried to Divide Beverly," 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

manifesto of division. As money seemed to be at the root of all issues, he first wrote on behalf of summer residents believing that they were being unfairly taxed: “The great weight of the taxes has been thrown on the land in order to shift as much of this burden as possible on people who are land owners, but do not pay their personal taxes in Beverly.”<sup>12</sup> While Beverly Farms deserved more amenities than it received, according to Lothrop, it was threatened by the horse railroad extension. The arrival of horsecars anywhere near their estates would, if it came to bear, threaten their placid existence, and Lothrop feared that the extension to the Cove would precipitate extension into the exclusive Farms. “A mere entering wedge,”<sup>13</sup> wrote Lothrop of the Cove horse railroad to the paper, for he feared that its potential expansion to the Farms would be of “vital injury to the town.”<sup>14</sup> Lothrop apparently determined that the intrusion of less-desirable Beverlyites would trample on Farmers' land values; he accepted no compromise in stamping out service expansion.<sup>15</sup> To guarantee the stymieing of horsecars, he made the ultimate suggestion: independence of Beverly Farms.<sup>16</sup> “Perhaps, after all,” stated Lothrop, “the best solution of the whole difficulty would be the division of the town with a line drawn at or about Chapman's Corner.” In the cause to make this proposal a reality, Lothrop involved Morse,<sup>17</sup> and the men, stirred by the horsecar to Chapman's Corner, set off to secure division.

Lothrop and Morse could find credence for their horsecar fears in the recent state of affairs elsewhere on the North Shore in Marblehead Farms, where a similar secession movement had begun with similar justification. In that locality, the Lynn & Boston Railroad extended its

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Thornton K. Lothrop, “Communication,” *Beverly Times*, April 22, 1885.

<sup>15</sup> Harmond, “The Time They Tried to Divide Beverly,” 20.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 122.

tracks through Swampscott to Marblehead in June 1884.<sup>18</sup> The horsecars provided service every fifteen minutes, and as many as 3,000 passengers a day<sup>19</sup> were conveyed up the coast to a town graced with fine beaches and drives. This concerned oppositional summer residents there, and, to heighten their fears, a “popular ditty”<sup>20</sup> was making the rounds:

*Hail! to-day cheap transportation  
Comes in triumph to our station;  
Bearing in its train the story  
Anti-monopoly, the people's glory!  
Roll it along, through all the town,  
The people's right-cheap transportation!  
See the people come to meet us!  
All take seats with exultation.  
Glory in cheap transportation.*<sup>21</sup>

The issue of low-class outsiders coming in droves to high-class domains added fire to an existing grievance for secession. A prominent man in the Marblehead Farms district by the name of Benjamin Ware, hotelier, led the charge to secede, with the charge that his proposed town (comprising large rural sections of Marblehead, including the grand peninsula of Marblehead Neck, and a section of Swampscott adjacent to the south) took on twenty-four percent of the tax load but received scant services from their respective towns. Yet secession never realized. The Massachusetts Legislature's Committee on Towns stamped it out in 1885 due to the fact that the area of division in Marblehead only contributed sixty-one of 1,930 voters and sent only nineteen students to the Marblehead Farms school, while the total Marblehead student population numbered 1,405.<sup>22</sup> There was hardly enough population for a new town within the extensive borders claimed, and, despite whatever hardship these petitioners faced with an influx of

---

<sup>18</sup> Waldo Thompson, *Swampscott: Historical Sketches of the Town* (Lynn: Press of Thos. P. Nichols, 1885), 139.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Thompson, *Swampscott*, 140.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

outsiders, their cause lost credence with the legislature.

With a precedent for action at Swampscott and Marblehead, the horsecar became the impetus for the similarly doomed movement of succession at Beverly Farms. No “Cove horsecar, loaded with smiling factory workers,”<sup>23</sup> as was described in a satire of divisionist efforts, would intrude their sanctity while they paid their taxes in the Farms. In comparison with Marblehead Farms's recent failure, Beverly Farms embarked on its endeavor of division to greater success and greater infamy. Until 1890,<sup>24</sup> the divisionists fought in the press and the legislature to separate the village from Beverly. The summer residents took a backseat role to the permanent residents, as the latter's reliance on the service economy united them together. In 1887, the divisionist petition achieved its greatest success after passing the Massachusetts house and senate, yet the great controversy of the issue, including a bribery scandal, tainted its respectability in government; Governor Oliver Ames, reflecting the issue's tainted nature and as a matter of setting precedence, vetoed the petition and made the divisionist triumph in vain.<sup>25</sup> After their embroilment in so much insult, and having endured so much defeat, the summer residents gave up their support.<sup>26</sup> Though the divisionists attempted secession for the next few years, their cause was discredited and success escaped their grasp.

In 1889, the horse railroad question arose in the divisionist movement with a new spin. According to the anti-divisionist *Salem Gazette* (reprinted in the likewise anti-divisionist *Beverly Citizen*), Beverly Farms accused that Beverly would not grant a horse railroad location to its district. The *Gazette* found it doubtful that it was the parent town's fault that the Farms had no horse railroad, for memory served that it was the Farms which refused it:

---

<sup>23</sup> “Millionaires On Strike!!”, *Beverly Citizen*, February 26, 1887.

<sup>24</sup> Harmond, “The Time they Tried to Divide Beverly,” 31.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

If Beverly as a town has not granted a horse railroad location through Beverly Farms, it has undoubtedly been upon the presumption that the Farms did not want one; and we do not doubt this is true at least so far as the summer residents are concerned. We always supposed the fear of a horse-railroad gave an additional impetus to the division movement.<sup>27</sup>

The writing of the *Gazette* clarifies that the division movement's horsecar impetus was no secret. Though the divisionist cause retreated from advertising horsecar resistance due to the unpopularity of opposing affordable transport, popular memory served that they had opposed it to implicitly preserve the district's exclusivity. Though the divisionists tried to distance themselves from the issue, horse railroad resistance was a foundational impetus to their movement.

While Beverly Farms never achieved independence, it drew a line at street railways. It is true that Naumkeag built its planned extension to the Cove, and, in defiance of divisionist desires, horsecars plodded to Chapman's Corner by 1886.<sup>28</sup> Thornton K. Lothrop's feared Farms extension, however, was not to come. The entering wedge failed to open the door of extension, as the street railway was unable to proceed further east on Hale Street. When the divisionists finally gave up the ghost of secession after 1890, the street railway industry had entered uncharted territory. The horse railroad gave way to the electric railway, and electricity made for new traction, new embrace, and new resistance.

---

<sup>27</sup> "Note and Comment," *Beverly Citizen*, May 4, 1889, 2.

<sup>28</sup> "Brief Locals," *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 9, 1886, 1.

## Chapter Four: Electric Development

If the horse railroad founded the street railway as an industry, the electric railroad brought street railways to their zenith. In time, the invigorating “trolley,” indicating cars connected by a pole and wheel to an overhead power supply,<sup>1</sup> became synonymous with the whole industry. At the end of the 1880s, the industry saw the practical realization of electric cars. The electrics provided greater efficiency than the horse railroads and, for the first time, they became true competitors to the steam railroad. On the North Shore, trolleys allowed for the continued growth of street railways as a tool of progressive modernity. Real estate developers embraced the trolleys as a benefit to business, and the region’s riders continued to embrace the affordable transport that streetcars provided.

The street railway industry turned to electricity in the late 1880s. In 1888, Frank Sprague famously succeeded at Richmond, Virginia, in creating his trolley system. President Henry Whitney of Boston’s West End Street Railway, along with his general manager Daniel F. Longstreet, were sold on Sprague’s technology through a demonstration, and Bostonians were riding trolleys at the start of the next year. Adoption by the West End set a trend in motion; by 1896, Boston had electrified its entire street railway system.<sup>2</sup> Electricity provided newly efficient transport as, despite the accessibility of horses, they were expensive and slow beasts to operate. Electric streetcars, meanwhile, were cleaner, faster, and perceived as more sophisticated. While electric wires sparked aesthetical complaints, riders took to the new locomotives; the West End’s ridership increased by 40% between 1889 and 1894.<sup>3</sup> Bostonians were happy to have horses off

---

<sup>1</sup> Steven Beaucher, *Boston in Transit: Mapping the History of Public Transportation in the Hub*. (Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: The MIT Press, 2023), 50–51.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Puleo, *A City So Grand: The Rise of an American Metropolis, Boston 1850–1900* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

the streets and embraced electric traction.

While Boston is famous for its early adoption of electric street railways as a major city, the industrial center of Lynn preceded it on the North Shore and Revere Beach was a staging ground. In 1885, street railway inventor Leo Daft experimented with his electrics at Revere Beach,<sup>4</sup> though the establishment of electric traction as replacement for the horsecar was still to come for the area. Lynn was a leader in electrical technology due to housing the Thomson-Houston Electric Company, later part of General Electric, and the electric company was willing to work with the Lynn & Boston street railway. Their first electrified line was a one-mile route to Revere Beach, the second was an inner-city route dubbed the “Highland Circuit,” and the third was a line to Nahant Beach. The first line operated on July 4, 1888,<sup>5</sup> preceding Boston’s first electrics by over half a year. In the words of E. C. Foster, “The Crescent Beach Division of the Lynn & Boston Railroad Company, mentioned above, was the first electric railway built by Thomson-Houston Company, and the first instance of carrying passengers for hire in street cars by electric power in Massachusetts, as well as one of the first to be operated in the United States.”<sup>6</sup> The North Shore therefore demonstrated an early embrace of electric street railways.

It is important to emphasize that the conversion of the industry to electric cars, though technically impressive, did not overturn the fundamental operations of the horse railroad era. As stated by Edward S. Mason, “For the principles of street railway transportation changed by no means so drastically, with the introduction of electricity, as the street railway equipment itself.”<sup>7</sup> The electrics were poised to provide greater range and comfort that appealed to prospective riders, and this in turn prompted business interests to exploit the situation. What riders did not

---

<sup>4</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 178.

<sup>5</sup> E. C. Foster, “Early Electric Railroading in New England,” *Street Railway Journal* 24, no. 15 (1904): 527.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 528.

<sup>7</sup> Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts*, 3.

know is that electricians took the industry to its limits as positive speculation turned to overextension, and street railways were “hopelessly overbuilt” by 1903.<sup>8</sup> The early years of electric street railways, however, continued to build on the optimism of the horse railroad era.

The North Shore’s electric railways grew quickly. Proceeding from their beginnings at Lynn, Thomson-Houston’s electric street railroading spread to Salem with a Willows line by 1888.<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> In the Salem area, the well-established Naumkeag Street Railway faced a competitor in the new Essex Electric Street Railroad. In 1889, both companies “petitioned for permission to lay tracks from Peabody square via the Dublin district, so called, to the Salem line.”<sup>11</sup> The Naumkeag soon conquered its upstart colleague which by 1892 was “inoperative and not paying.”<sup>12</sup> The nearby Beverly & Danvers Street Railway formed another electric competitor—with a twist. Beverly & Danvers used storage battery technology, as opposed to overhead wires, to power its electric streetcars. The company was led by a powerful Beverly selectman (and soon its first mayor), the Hon. John I. Baker.<sup>13</sup> The Naumkeag Street Railway accommodated its greater network for overhead electricity, extending to Peabody in 1890,<sup>14</sup> Marblehead in 1891,<sup>15</sup> and Danvers in 1892,<sup>16</sup> while Beverly proved a holdout<sup>17</sup> with venerable Mr. Baker’s objections. Storage batteries, however, proved for unreliable traction.<sup>18</sup> As his company went defunct,<sup>19</sup> the demand for Naumkeag’s trolleys was great and service came to Beverly in summer 1893.<sup>20</sup> The

---

<sup>8</sup> Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> “Thompson-Houston Motors for Cars,” *Lynn Daily Evening Item*, May 21, 1888, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 178.

<sup>11</sup> “Massachusetts, New England News,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 25, 1889, 2.

<sup>12</sup> “Street Railway Hearings,” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1892, 2.

<sup>13</sup> “Beverly’s First Mayor,” *Beverly Evening Times*, February 18, 1897, 1.

<sup>14</sup> “Electric Line to Peabody,” *Boston Globe*, September 29, 1890, 1.

<sup>15</sup> “Notes,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 12, 1891, 6.

<sup>16</sup> “Electricians Will Run Through Danvers,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 13, 1892, 3.

<sup>17</sup> “Discussing Street Railway Extensions in Beverly,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 20, 1891, 5.

<sup>18</sup> “Street Cars Were Idle,” *Boston Globe*, July 20, 1891, 2.

<sup>19</sup> “Discussing Street Railway Extensions in Beverly,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 20, 1891, 5.

<sup>20</sup> “By Trolley Wire,” *Beverly Citizen*, August 18, 1893, 2.

electrification of the Salem streetcar network, connecting the city to its vicinity, provides a further example of the North Shore's embrace of electric street railways.

The Naumkeag Street Railway monopolized the street railroads of its district, but the 1890s saw the Salem-centered street railroad absorbed into a conglomerate of companies that created a truly regional network. A group of New York businessmen formed the North Shore Traction Company in 1892, and Naumkeag was one of its acquisitions.<sup>21</sup> Under the conglomerate's control, the Naumkeag Street Railway came under the ownership of the neighboring Lynn & Boston Railroad.<sup>22</sup> Lynn & Boston subsequently changed names to the Boston & Northern Street Railway in 1901, became part of the Bay State Street Railway in 1911, and, in 1919, changed to the Eastern Massachusetts Street Railway.<sup>23</sup> Beyond Salem or Lynn, riders entered into a greater system of affordable transport with the ability to ride a streetcar to Boston under one network.

While Gloucester was quite late to having horse railway service, it was only slightly behind Salem and Lynn in electric implementation. Agitation for the electrics was present by 1890, and a letter to the editor of the *Gloucester Daily Times* made a case for Gloucester trolleys: "The electric railroad has come to stay, and it will prove a great benefit to the city, as well as a convenience to the great mass of people."<sup>24</sup> By the next year, the street railway expanded electric traction through Gloucester, and the *Daily Times* lyrically reported the development of a line between the city's Rocky Neck and Annisquam districts:

At last we can go from 'Squam to Rock Neck by Electricity  
No more horse cars, no more tow horses  
They are both superseded by the all-powerful spark.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> "Boston, Mass.," *Street Railway Journal* 10, American Street Railway Investments (1894): 858.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Jen Ratliff, "Salem's Street Railway," Salem State Archives and Special Collections, October 29, 2020.

<sup>24</sup> "The Electric Railroad Track," *Gloucester Daily Times*, May 1, 1890, 4.

<sup>25</sup> "All Electrics," *Gloucester Daily Times*, August 26, 1891, 1.

By 1898, Cape Ann, with Gloucester and its peripheral town of Rockport, was served by four independent street railway lines. At this point, the fishing industry had gone into a period of decline and the summer resort trade was rising in prominence.<sup>26</sup> The Gloucester Street railways consolidated and joined the Lynn & Boston street railway in 1900,<sup>27</sup> bringing Gloucester into a larger network of service.

The turn of the twentieth century brought the exciting prospect of an interurban on the North Shore. Interurbans were electric trolleys that ran between cities on dedicated rights-of-way, providing a new competitor to established steam railroads. While not a true interurban, Boston & Northern constructed a new line down the city's Highland Avenue for rapid transit. While Highland Avenue was an existing road, it passed through the undeveloped pastures of southwestern Salem. As such, its remoteness allowed for higher speeds than routes in established suburbs. Boston & Northern received the *Street Railway Journal* coverage, in December 1906, that "a new and shorter line suitable for high speed has been completed between Lynn and Salem. Its earnings since it was opened in May have been most satisfactory."<sup>28</sup> While the line gave those going to Lynn a direct route to their destination, those also seeking Boston faced a more accessible route than before.

The rural extension of Boston & Northern, however, was nothing compared to the interurban dream of the Boston & Eastern Electric Railroad. Proposed in 1906 by street railroad engineer John H. Bickford, Boston & Eastern promised a direct high-speed line from Boston to

---

<sup>26</sup> "Street Railway Conditions and Financial Results in Metropolitan Boston," *Street Railway Journal* 14, no. 9 (1898): 480.

<sup>27</sup> Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts*, 210.

<sup>28</sup> "Report of Massachusetts Electric Companies for Year Ended Sept. 30," *Street Railway Journal* 28, no. 24 (1906): 1134.

Beverly. Bickford planned for his railroad to be located on wholly dedicated track<sup>29</sup> and to feature speeds of up to sixty-seven miles per hour.<sup>30</sup> The exciting prospect of the Boston & Eastern was similar to other contemporary projects of vaunted high-speed trolleys, such as the ill-fated Air Line proposed to connect Chicago and New York.<sup>31</sup> The central element of the Boston & Eastern interurban was its suburban service, and it accordingly projected for suburban displacement of the steam railroad (though it forecasted that increased population in the territory would make up for it).<sup>32</sup> The Boston & Maine Railroad (B. & M.), which then tendered Salem's steam line, unsurprisingly opposed the interurban's construction as an unnecessary development.<sup>33</sup> The grand vision of the Boston & Eastern stumbled. It not only faced B. & M.'s opposition, but it contended with the complicated matter of laying a tunnel under Boston Harbor (it originally planned to terminate at Charlestown, but it later shifted to Boston's Post Office Square)<sup>34</sup> and the great cost of the project. While it finally received a state charter,<sup>35</sup> the diversion of funds caused by World War One dashed the hopes of Boston & Eastern. While it received an extension after the war,<sup>36</sup> the line had lost its traction.

While a true interurban did not come true for the North Shore, streetcar service continued to prove attractive for the region's development in the early 1900s. In Salem's southernmost area along the Forest River, a group of enterprising gentlemen took the old Loring Farm and turned it into "Pickman Park."<sup>37</sup> Pickman Park was a real estate development designed to attract

---

<sup>29</sup> "Boston & Eastern Hearings Resumed," *Street Railway Journal* 29, no. 24 (1907): 1084.

<sup>30</sup> "The Plans of the Boston & Eastern Electric Railroad," *Street Railway Journal* 30, no. 3 (1907): 62.

<sup>31</sup> Rowsome, *Trolley Car Treasury*, 134.

<sup>32</sup> "The Plans of the Boston & Eastern Electric Railroad," 64.

<sup>33</sup> "Final Hearings on Projected Boston & Eastern Road," *Electric Railway Journal* 36, no. 5 (1910): 196.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> "Boston & Eastern Railroad Charter Granted," *Electric Railway Journal* 41, no. 6 (1913): 264.

<sup>36</sup> "The Proposed Road is Getting An Extension," *Beverly Evening Times*, May 16, 1921, 1.

<sup>37</sup> "New Suburb at Salem," *Beverly Evening Times*, February 24, 1904, 8.

tenement-dwellers eager to have a home of their own.<sup>38</sup> While its presence along the B. & M. line hoped to garner it a station of its own,<sup>39</sup> this prospect proved fruitless. It was, however, conveniently placed on Salem's Loring Avenue streetcar line. The company, with agents sited on the corner of Loring and Jefferson Avenues,<sup>40</sup> invited prospective homeowners to take the cars down to see the new development for themselves.<sup>41</sup> The development represented a case of the street railroad as a real estate facilitator.

Up in Beverly, in its suburban district of Ryal Side, a humble summer colony prospered on the Danvers River with the help of street railway service. In 1892, the *Beverly Citizen* advertised Ryal Side as an attractive residential section, comparing the beauty of riverfront views from the district's bluffs to that of "the far-famed Hudson."<sup>42</sup> Beverly clerk<sup>43</sup> Ephraim M. Bates took advantage of Ryal Side's situation to establish his own summer residence on the shore around 1879,<sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> and, by the 1890s, he went into the business of furthering the summer trade of Ryal Side as a developer. On a piece of riverfront salt marsh<sup>46</sup> and alongside piney woods,<sup>47</sup> Bates laid out a new real estate development called "Bates Park"<sup>48</sup> with house lots for summer

---

<sup>38</sup> "Tenant!," *Beverly Evening Times*, January 16, 1907, 2.

<sup>39</sup> "New Suburb at Salem," *Beverly Evening Times*, February 24, 1904, 8.

<sup>40</sup> "Buy Pickman Park," *Beverly Evening Times*, April 13, 1907, 5.

<sup>41</sup> "Tenant!," *Beverly Evening Times*, January 16, 1907, 2.

<sup>42</sup> "Ryall Side," *Beverly Citizen*, March 5, 1892, 21.

<sup>43</sup> "Beverly Directory," *The Naumkeag District Directory for Salem, Beverly, Danvers, Marblehead, Peabody Containing a List of the district and Other Matters of General and Local Interest* (Salem, Mass.: Henry M. Meek & Francis A. Fielden, 1882-83), 277.

<sup>44</sup> "Cottages All Illuminated at Bates Park," *Beverly Evening Times*, August 18, 1900, 1.

<sup>45</sup> "Serious," *Beverly Evening Times*, September 17, 1900, 8.

<sup>46</sup> Southern Essex Registry of Deeds, Massachusetts, Book 1240: 262.

<sup>47</sup> "Cottage Living," *Beverly Evening Times*, April 28, 1902, 4.

<sup>48</sup> "A Fine New Summer Cottage," *Beverly Evening Times*, May 3, 1898, 3.

cottages.<sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> In this resort area, the street railway was a benefit. The district's Elliott Street had a line connecting Beverly and Danvers, and street railway coverage was bolstered when its central Bridge Street received a route in 1906.<sup>51</sup> While Ephraim Bates desired an unfulfilled streetcar line directly across the Ryal Side shore,<sup>52</sup> the Bridge Street line allowed Bates Park to advertise that "electric cars pass the property every few minutes."<sup>53</sup> Bates's keen embrace of the Ryal Side streetcar was in stark contrast to the resistance of Beverly Farms on the opposite side of Beverly. Different demographics desired different transport, and the modest summer colony at Ryal Side was apt to embrace the street railway.

In the early 1900s, the town of Nahant, a seaside resort south of Lynn and one of the last holdouts against street railway service, gained an electric railway. Its summer residents were resistant and had no need of it; from Boston, they could directly access Nahant by sea from the town wharf.<sup>54</sup> By the early twentieth century, however, wealthy Nahanters could not enjoy total exclusivity. An amusement section existed at Bass Point in the town's western section, and it attracted large groups from outside town.<sup>55</sup> Commuters from Lynn accordingly used large omnibuses, called barges, to access Nahant.<sup>56</sup> The summer residents preferred the existing barges over the increased power of trolleys, and they promoted the barge owners in the hopes that they would fight against streetcar intrusion. The town's Village Improvement Society supported the

---

<sup>49</sup> "City of Beverly. Part of Ward 1" [scale 800 feet to the inch], *Atlas of the City of Beverly, Essex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: Geo. H. Walker & Co., 1897), plate 24.

<sup>50</sup> "Plan of House Lots at Ryall Side. Property of Ephraim Mr. Bates. Beverly" [scale 1 inch = 30 feet] (Blackmer and Porter, September 1894). Southern Essex Registry of Deeds, Massachusetts, Plan Book 12: 29.

<sup>51</sup> "Through to Danvers," *Beverly Evening Times*, May 9, 1906, 1.

<sup>52</sup> "Hearing on the B. & H. Railway," *Beverly Evening Times*, November 17, 1904, 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Saturday Morning Citizen* (Beverly, Mass.), September 15, 1905, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Suzanne Hamill and Ken Wilkie. *Golden Age of the Trolley: A History of the Nahant & Lynn Street Railway Company* (Nahant, Mass.: Nahant Historical Society, 2002), 10.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 8–9.

summer residents, and it spread the fear that the summer residents would take their money and run if trolleys came to Nahant.<sup>57</sup> They were countered by the Organization of Permanent Citizens of the Town of Nahant,<sup>58</sup> a group seeking to represent the permanent residents of Nahant, and this group successfully made the case for trolleys over the relatively uncomfortable and inconvenient barges.<sup>59</sup> Since the barges (even experimental automobile barges)<sup>60</sup> could not compete with the prospect of an electric railroad, and the weight of affordable transport was so strong, opposition faltered. In September 1903, at a special town meeting, Nahant voted for trolleys with 120 in favor and 88 opposed.<sup>61</sup> Street railway service between Nahant and Lynn began on July 20,<sup>62</sup> 1905, and it was well-patronized with 10,000 passengers in 17 hours on July 23.<sup>63</sup> In 1906, the Nahant & Lynn Street Railway counted 659,903 passengers.<sup>64</sup> Despite resistance, Nahant embraced the electric development of street railways and their capacity for efficient and affordable transport.

As demonstrated by the provided examples, the North Shore embraced electric street railroads to surpass the amenities of the horsecar. Electrics provided new efficiency and new comfort, contributing to an increase in service and promoting increased suburban development. Optimism in electric railway service, with the improvement of freeing trolleys from the busy street, peaked in support of the ill-fated Boston & Eastern interurban. Dreams of dedicated rights-of-way aside, almost every town on the North Shore, with Nahant as a late addition, welcomed street railway service. Yet almost was not total. While the attraction of the trolley was

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 37.

strong, resistance could be fierce. Though Nahant succumbed to the trolley's allure, the defense of Manchester proved more formidable, and electric development met its match at the heart of the Gold Coast.

## Chapter Five: The Gold Coast vs. the Trolley

As electric street railways developed across the North Shore, amplifying the consumer advantages of the horsecar, the question of Gold Coast expansion sprang forth once again. When electric streetcars became a sensation, it had been less than a decade since Thornton K. Lothrop's horsecar-inspired manifesto for Beverly Farms independence. The sensation of the electrics was so great, and the business potential of a convenient route between Beverly and Gloucester so enticing, that the Gold Coast once again was attacked by street railway desires. To meet these desires on the battlefield of press and politics, the shore resistance mobilized.

At Beverly Farms, rumors and remarks on traction were present by late 1890. Edgar J. Bliss, the outspoken former editor of the *Beverly Farms Advocate* newspaper,<sup>1</sup> which championed the Farms's separation from Beverly, floated the question of an "electric road" to the Farms in the *Beverly Times*, republished in the *Manchester Cricket* on December 13, 1890. The legislature defeated the division movement of Beverly Farms for the last time earlier in the year, and Bliss turned his sardonic editorialism to the new trolley prospect.

In spite of repeated efforts to show that we are under the eaves of the town hall, the fact remains that four long and unrelenting miles separate us from the electric lights of Cabot street, and the magnetic people that throng the busy streets of Beverly. No Yankee wit can dig the earth away, but if a nice line of electric cars can be made to cover those four miles, then may we not be able to attend the monthly town meetings, and now and then enjoy the advantages derived by intercourse with the highest types of civilization and cultivation.<sup>2</sup>

Bliss, in continuing the position of the *Advocate* that the Farms was a neglected region of Beverly, advocated for the electric streetcars as a modern amenity denied to his village. At this point, the Naumkeag Street Railway was still independent of the Lynn & Boston Railroad, and

---

<sup>1</sup> "Gone Into the Lecture Field," *Beverly Citizen*, November 17, 1888, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Edgar J. Bliss, "Turning from Aboriginal Times," *Manchester Cricket*, December 13, 1890, 5.

the company that earlier dared to build a horsecar line to the Cove was seen as the natural provider of electric cars to the Farms.

Bliss knew that his call for the trolley was an unrealistic request, not only due to Beverly proper's known resistance to overhead-wired trolleys but also considering continual resistance from summer residents. If a horsecar was bad enough to ignite a municipal civil war, then an electric line through the shore was an unfathomable prospect. Bliss did not spare time in responding, by the December 20 issue of the *Manchester Cricket*, to the sensation of a proposed Farms trolley:

The reference in last week's issue to the advisability of favoring an electric road to the Farms, has yielded a larger crop to the acre, than any seed we ever sowed before. First came the Boston papers, announcing the actual existence of a petition and gravely stating the proposed location. Then came the long line of believers, who swallow everything they read in the Boston papers. Then there went up a cry from Marshall's Corner<sup>3</sup> to the old State House, "The enemy are upon us!" This hoax is a sort of double header. It fooled those who believed what the Boston papers said, as well as those who believe that an electric road would possibly be built to Beverly Farms. I understand one gentleman says that if the petition is not withdrawn, certain people "will run an electric road right though the Farms."

If that gentleman would come to me, I could whisper something into his ear that would set him thinking, an exercise he evidently did not engage in before making that remark. Any one who will take the trouble to look at the suggestion made last week, will confer a favor upon the writer, by communicating to him any objection that can be found to the plan proposed. At the same time, the probability of getting an electric road to the Farms is about as far distant, as the occasion when the Pope of Rome will preach in the First Baptist church, Beverly.<sup>4</sup>

Bliss unsurprisingly, given his divisionist history, dug against his old adversary of high-and-mighty Beverly for its reluctance to adopt overhead wires.<sup>5</sup> If even the main town, for all its

---

<sup>3</sup> Central location in Beverly Farms.

<sup>4</sup> Edgar J. Bliss, "West Beach Beach Nuts," *Manchester Cricket*, December 20, 1890, 5.

<sup>5</sup> One may recall, from the chapter on electric-streetcar development, that Beverly initially favored selectman John I. Baker's ill-fated battery-powered streetcars.

progress and development, rejected the trolleys, then the traction risk to the Farms was nil. For the time being, the shore residents could rest easy.

Street railway resistance on the North Shore, in the electric era, emerged in the poetry of Oliver Wendell Holmes's 1890-copyrighted<sup>6</sup> "The Broomstick Train." Holmes was a summer resident of Beverly Farms, with his house on Hale Street,<sup>7</sup> and this put him at close proximity to controversy over the street railway's potential intrusion. "The Broomstick Train" connects the myth of Salem witches to electric traction, playing with the apparent similarity of trolley poles and a mythical witch's flying broomstick, with the witches having returned to wreak havoc through the regional trolley network. Holmes alludes to disruption in those places having embraced electrics, while noting the fearful resistance of streetcar service on the North Shore:

The Swampscott fishermen still relate  
 How a strange sea-monster stole their bait ;  
 How their nets were tangled in loops and  
     knots,  
 And they found dead crabs in their lobster-  
     pots.  
 Poor Danvers grieved for her blasted crops,  
 And Wilmington mourned over mildewed  
     hops.  
 A blight played havoc with Beverly beans,—  
 It was all the work of those hateful queans !  
 A dreadful panic began at "Pride's,"  
 Where the witches stopped in their midnight  
     rides  
 And there rose strange rumors and vague alarms  
 'Mid the peaceful dwellers at Beverly Farms.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> "Notes to the online edition" in "The Broomstick Train," Ibiblio.org.

<sup>7</sup> "Beverly Directory," *The Naumkeag District Directory for Salem, Beverly, Danvers, Marblehead, Peabody Containing a List of the District and Other Matters of General and Local Interest* (Salem, Mass.: Henry M. Meek & Francis A. Fielden, 1890–91), 469.

<sup>8</sup> Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The One Hoss Shay with its Companion Poems How the Old Horse Won the Ben & The Broomstick Train* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1895), 73.

Holmes did not contribute to street railway resistance; rather, he made light of it. He was in awe of electric conveyance, seeing it as a modern miracle that might as well have been witch's magic.<sup>9</sup> Though a summer resident of the Farms, he took a humble approach; when his Manchester friends addressed themselves as from Manchester-by-the-Sea, he responded with the address of Beverly Farms-by-the-Depot.<sup>10</sup> Whether Holmes actually supported a street railway on Hale Street is unclear, but he was not afraid of poking fun at his neighbors. The appellation "broomstick train" was popularly used, meanwhile, in favor of electrics; in 1895, the *Boston Evening Transcript* incorporated the reference in the title of a trolley traveler's guide called *By Broomstick Train: Little Journeys About Boston's Suburbs on the Electric Cars*. Using humor, Holmes's poem provides a literary reference to trolley fears on the North Shore.

Adding credence to Oliver Wendell Holmes's verse, the witches were on a North Shore offensive in 1892. By late that year, rumors were spreading of a new project meant to connect Beverly and Gloucester. In December, a petition was finally submitted to the state legislature to charter the Gloucester, Manchester, & Beverly Street Railway Company. The incorporators were North Shore "men of wealth"<sup>11</sup> and the *Manchester Cricket* predicted that "money will not be wanting to build and equip the road if the charter is granted."<sup>12</sup> The road, with the route not yet clear, intended to bring electric streetcars to the Gold Coast of Manchester and Beverly Farms. It hoped to do so without injuring the shore drives held so dearly by the summer residents, though the *Manchester Cricket* was skeptical that such an idea was possible. The paper theorized that costly improvements on the thoroughfares of Manchester and Gloucester were a conspiracy to

---

<sup>9</sup> "The Electric Witch: A Quaint Fancy. By Oliver Wendell Holmes," *Review of Reviews* 2, no. 8 (August 1890): 154.

<sup>10</sup> Billy Baker. "By-the-Way: It's Not Just 'Manchester': There's a Little More to the Mass. Town, but Many Residents Can Do Without." *Boston Globe*, Sep 20, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> *Manchester Cricket*, December 10, 1892, 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

accommodate streetcars.<sup>13</sup> While the *Cricket* referenced a *Beverly Times* report that the summer residents were consulted and would not oppose the project, the *Cricket's* resistance suggested otherwise.

In Beverly Farms, the street railway resistance mounted its defense at the meeting place of Marshall's Hall. A group convened there on Friday night, December 23, 1892, with Augustus P. Loring, Esq., presiding. Loring read the petition of the electric railroad and interpreted it as dangerously broad. It threatened to cut across the scenic shore, according to Loring, and this was to ruin the Farms' most valuable asset. He claimed that the whole venture, furthermore, was a scheme by the conglomerate North Shore Traction Company, and it was not a benefit to the impacted communities.<sup>14</sup> The Beverly Farmers ultimately voted to join their fellow shore villagers of Manchester and Magnolia in appointing committees to combat the traction plan.<sup>15</sup> They opposed the petition on account of its breadth and vagueness, and they were determined to prevent a shoreline route.

In the new year of 1893, contention regarding the Gloucester, Manchester, & Beverly electric railroad swirled in the town of Manchester. A petition of remonstrance circulated in the town against the company, and the *Manchester Cricket* charged the electric railroad company with providing insufficient information as to how the streetcars were to benefit the exclusive summer resort. "We all understand what this town relies upon and is dependent on for weal or woe," stated the *Cricket*, invoking the valuable service economy of the town, "There is not a man who would knowingly vote for a thing that would to deprecate her value or destroy her beauty."<sup>16</sup> Though the company hinted that they would avoid damage to the resort, with its pretty

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "Petition Too Broad," *Beverly Citizen*, December 23, 1892, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "The Electric Railroad," *Manchester Cricket*, January 28, 1893, 8.

village and delightful drives, the Manchester people needed assurance. As mentioned in the earlier Beverly Farms division crisis, the permanent residents, as dependent on the economy of the shore people, practically reflected their desires.

The opposition of even the Farms alone was enough to redirect the petitioners of the Gloucester, Manchester, & Beverly Street Railway, and they changed course to avoid the Gold Coast. To complete a line from Beverly to Gloucester, they looked north. Omitting Manchester, the incorporators adopted the name of Gloucester, Essex, & Beverly (G. E. & B.). According to the Essex section of the *Manchester Cricket*, “The stockholders evidently saw a quicker return of their expenditures if they could have passed through the Farms to Gloucester but the remonstrance was so strong that the Farms route was abandoned.”<sup>17</sup> The company was incorporated in March 1893 with an important provision protecting the interests of the shore residents. The act of incorporation dictated:

...nor shall any railway, in any event, be constructed or operated upon Hale street, nor south thereof, in said town of Beverly, nor within five hundred yards north of said Hale street, between Chapman's corner in said Beverly and the easterly boundary of said Beverly, nor in the town of Manchester on or south of what is known as the old Wenham road leading from Pleasant street, nor in said Manchester beyond a radius of one mile from the extreme northwest corner thereof...<sup>18</sup>

The opponents to the street railway succeeded, as Joseph Garland noted in his history, in banning the street railway at Manchester. The old fears of Thornton K. Lothrop, in the horsecar era, were honored and codified in the time of the trolley. As the provision was interpreted beyond the current incorporators of the G. E. & B., no company, barring legal overturn, could ever run a street railway on this section of the Gold Coast.

---

<sup>17</sup> “Essex,” *Manchester Cricket*, March 4, 1893, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Massachusetts, *1893 Chap. 0159. An Act to Incorporate the Gloucester, Essex and Beverly Street Railway Company* (Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1893), 798.

For its part, the old town of Essex, quietly facing the marshes north of Cape Ann, largely welcomed the coming of the electric railroad. The town had its own skeptics, fearful that the electric road would not benefit Essex,<sup>19</sup> but they were in the minority. To Essex, Manchester's loss was their gain, and they were ready for the trolleys. The line did not quickly materialize, but the town was agreeable to waiting for progress. By 1895, it was assured of its ready construction, as reported with awe by the Essex section of the *Cricket*, January 26, 1895:

It really looks now like having electrics through town from Gloucester to Beverly. Gentlemen were in town Wednesday and were seen in company with the selectmen, looking over the ground with a view to laying the track which they informed one of our citizens would be begun in March. We are all waiting patiently for the day but it seems hardly possible that our hitherto quiet old town will so soon be made the connecting link between two cities.<sup>20</sup>

Essex waited through the summer for the trolleys, and the street railroad line through the town, from Gloucester to Beverly, was completed by late August.<sup>21</sup>

Trolleys connected Essex to its neighbors and benefited its summer resort trade, unlike Manchester and like Ryal Side in Beverly. Before their arrival, the trolleys were happily anticipated at Chebacco Lake as encouragement for cottage-building,<sup>22</sup> and at least five homesteads in South Essex advertised sale based on electric road proximity.<sup>23</sup> After the trolleys arrived, their presence at Conomo Point encouraged new houses and visitors.<sup>24</sup> For the social set, the trolley allowed easy access to parties in Beverly and Gloucester.<sup>25</sup> The reception of the

---

<sup>19</sup> "Essex," *Manchester Cricket*, March 4, 1893, 5.

<sup>20</sup> "Essex," *Manchester Cricket*, January 26, 1895, 5.

<sup>21</sup> "Beverly," *Manchester Cricket*, August 17, 1895, 4.

<sup>22</sup> "Essex," *Manchester Cricket*, November 3, 1894, 4.

<sup>23</sup> "Essex," *Manchester Cricket*, April 7, 1893, 4.

<sup>24</sup> "Essex," *Manchester Cricket*, May 2, 1896, 8.

<sup>25</sup> "Essex," *Manchester Cricket*, January 18, 1896, 8.

trolley in Essex was best explained in the December 14, 1895, issue of the *Manchester Cricket*: “The electrics are proving more and more popular as the days go by.”<sup>26</sup>

Extension of the Gloucester, Essex, & Beverly Street Railway to Ipswich in 1896 further benefited Essex’s regional interconnectedness. “It would seem that no one in this town that no one in this town need stay at home this summer,” reported the Essex section of the *Cricket*, “but can spend all their spare time riding in the electrics.”<sup>27</sup> Ipswich traders took advantage of the new connection, gaining considerable business from the Essex people.<sup>28</sup>

Essex’s street railway embrace reflected its situation as a small, quiet, and isolated town with an inclusive summer resort trade. Though Essex already had its own steam railroad branch, its experience as a conduit for interurban transit between two cities was new. The strangers introduced to the town were therefore a welcome sight. The summer colonies, whether on the seaside marshes at Conomo Point or on the wooded lake shore of Chebacco in South Essex, benefited from the trolleys since they were used by Essex’s modest summer resident demographic. Essex did not possess the rugged coast of the North Shore at Beverly Farms, Manchester, and Magnolia which encouraged the creation of its exclusive summer resort. Ergo the benefits of the electric street railway to Essex, based on increased regional interconnectedness, were anathema to the Gold Coast.

While it had established a route through Essex, the street railway industry had not given up the prospect of Gold Coast service. Legal prohibitions, after all, could be taken as they were given. The Essex route was secure, but it was a detour from the prized shore. A new attempt was forthcoming to breach the Coast and particularly within its crown jewel “by-the-Sea.” Rumors

---

<sup>26</sup> “Essex,” *Manchester Cricket*, December 14, 1895, 8.

<sup>27</sup> “Essex,” *Manchester Cricket*, May 30, 1896, 8.

<sup>28</sup> “Essex,” *Manchester Cricket*, December 26, 1896, 8.

spread in 1897 that the G., E., & B. was to make another attempt at breaching Manchester. The story went that the electric railroad's president was eyeing a branch road down from Essex. Unlike the Wenham road, the old road to Essex was not included in the street railway prohibition of 1893, and so the company had a theoretical avenue for expansion to Manchester, albeit not on a shore route. The *Manchester Cricket* predicted the resumption of the trolley controversy in its July 24, 1897, issue: "This is a very serious question to Manchester and the introduction of electrics will be met with the strongest opposition, though of course there will be another element that favors it."<sup>29</sup> The paper predicted the opposition of the summer residents as a dominant issue, though the more humble permanent residents had cause to welcome the benefits of the trolley. Proponents would be disappointed whether the rumor of potential expansion was true or not, as a Manchester trolley on the old Essex road did not realize.

As the trolley question remained on the minds of Manchester men, its Young Men's League debated whether introducing the trolley would benefit the town. To tackle the issue, the group met on the Friday evening of December 17, 1897, with sides for and against a Manchester trolley. Albert Cunningham affirmatively posed the opening argument, and he argued in favor of the trolley on account of its inclusivity and developmental encouragement. Not only would it encourage regional interconnectedness ("Let us be more in touch with our neighbors and friends, within at least four miles of us") but a wood route from Essex would permit democratic enjoyment of the forest: "How many of our townspeople themselves realize the beauties of Essex Woods?—only our summer colony, who can drive there to their hearts' content." According to Cunningham, opponents overestimated the risk of road accidents caused by electric streetcars, and the trolley would provide improved roads, help Manchester trade, and perform as the "poor

---

<sup>29</sup> "Manchester," *Manchester Cricket*, July 24, 1897, 1.

man's friend." Henry O. Allen countered Cunningham that the trolleys would put the town in debt, "spoil our beautiful drives," spoil the aid of the summer people, spoil the trade of the servants, and lower the morals of their town. The next debater, Thomas Andrews, took the positive argument, making the case that the trolleys would bring tourists to Manchester, double its summer trade, spur residential development, raise land values, and light the town's streets. Like Cunningham, Andrews argued that electric cars would encourage regional interconnectedness and affordable transport. Alex Lodge closed the formal debate in the negative by saying that the electrics threatened to raise taxes, and this would ruin the town: "Do you wish to destroy that which helps the citizens to obtain a living? Can the town afford to lay out a large sum of money on the streets? Do the citizens want the rate of taxation increased? No! Then we cannot have electric cars."

The Young Men's League, after additional informal debate, followed the course of Manchester's dominant opinion in voting against electrics by a measure of thirteen to seven.<sup>30</sup> Despite going against trolley service, the debate's favorable parties showed that the trolleys indeed had cause for support on the Gold Coast. Positive arguments aside, the debate showed how the preservation of Manchester's exclusiveness, as a provider of leisure to high society, was a more powerful force than the trolley's inclusive prospects.

Within a few years of the Young Men's League debate, a syndicate of "wealthy Boston gentlemen" launched a new initiative to bring electric cars onto the Gold Coast. While a route directly on the shore roads through Beverly Farms, Manchester, and Magnolia was an impossible task, in the context of existing opposition, the planned route meant to cover as much of these communities as possible. In the east, its terminal was the West Gloucester station, where the

---

<sup>30</sup> "Electric Cars Not a Benefit to Manchester," *Manchester Cricket*, December 18, 1897, 4.

syndicate also planned a branch line to Coffin's Beach (also known as Wingersheek Beach) to develop it as a resort. For their main line, the company planned to use Magnolia Avenue to access the Magnolia village summer resort while avoiding its core at Magnolia Point. The planned route then was to take the path of least resistance to Manchester where it avoided the village in favor of a close circumferential path on the town's Lincoln Street, Vine Street, School Street, and Friend Court through Pine Street; an alternative route was proposed using Pleasant and Pine Streets if the initial plan received too much opposition. The company then planned to build through the wood roads between Manchester and Beverly, avoiding the hotbed of opposition at Beverly Farms, and connect with the Montserrat steam railroad station. To achieve its plan, the trolley syndicate, under the name of the North Shore Street Railway Company,<sup>31</sup> petitioned the state legislature to repeal the provision of 1893 which forbade electrics in Manchester south of Pleasant Street. In response to this petition, the selectmen of Manchester called for a town meeting on Monday, January 5, 1903.<sup>32</sup>

The Manchester people were thoroughly alarmed by the trolley question, and, before the January 5 meeting, a great sensation coursed through the veins of the town. While talks of a trolley were rumored for some time, it was thought that the matter of the streetcars would resume at some distant period. The matter was before them, however, and it was the talk of the town. Prominent citizens spoke for and against the coming of trolleys to Manchester, and the summer residents expectedly were altogether opposed. They predicted ruin and calamity if the town permitted electrics, and they threatened to pull out of town in the first year of service. To them, the trolleys meant an idyllic landscape tarnished by urbanity and the invasion of the shore by the masses. Realizing the importance of the summer people to the local economy, permanent

---

<sup>31</sup> "Public Hearing," *Beverly Evening Times*, February 25, 1903.

<sup>32</sup> "Electric Street Railroad Hearing," *Manchester Cricket*, December 27, 1902.

residents followed suit in saying that the trolleys would be bad for Manchester. At Beverly and Beverly Farms, meanwhile, a petition circulated to prevent the franchise.<sup>33</sup> While the resistance to trolley service was prominent, the trolley nevertheless had supporters who favored its inclusiveness. The newfangled automobile too emerged in the controversy, in the context of Manchester: if the town already permitted the wild nuisance of these motor vehicles, so went townsman J. F. Rabardy, then “electrics will be no worse.”<sup>34</sup> The trolley proponents were faced, however, with a robust resistance.

The January 5 meeting at Manchester’s town hall to discuss the trolley scheme was, according to the *Manchester Cricket*, a tremendous event. The paper introduced the subject according to epic proportions, as it emphasized the event’s immense importance and extraordinary reception:

Monday evening saw the culmination of one of the most trying periods in the town’s history. Never has public sentiment been so stirred and wrought up over any proposed scheme as that which electric cars has produced. It has been on every one’s tongue and practically monopolized the people’s attention, but like other matters of great public importance with which the town has had to contend the issue has been met squarely and settled, it would seem, for all time.<sup>35</sup>

The monumental meeting was so well-attended that the *Cricket* reported it to be “one of the largest town meetings ever held.” Though it was held in the winter, the summer residents appeared in full force; about one hundred of them arrived from Boston on a special train. Such was the intensity evoked by the trolley question that the occasion of town politics exploded with interest. It is understood that the petition of the trolley syndicate “met a waterloo” at the fateful meeting, and it was defeated by a count of 228 against and eighty-one for the 1893 provision’s repeal.

---

<sup>33</sup> “Locals,” *Manchester Cricket*, January 3, 1903, 5.

<sup>34</sup> “Manchester Electrified,” *Manchester Cricket*, January 3, 1903, 5.

<sup>35</sup> “Met a Waterloo,” *Manchester Cricket*, January 10, 1903, 5.

The adversity offered to the shore trolley in Manchester was shared at Beverly. In that city, the North Shore Street Railway hoped to see the prohibition lifted on a Hale Street railroad in the Farms. Yet opposition was forthcoming, and the city's committee of street railways reported, in March 1893, "leave to withdraw"<sup>36</sup> the petition of the North Shore company. After a two-week tabling of the report along with lively discussion, the leave to withdraw was approved by the city aldermen.<sup>37</sup> The North Shore trolley petition was derailed.

Though the *Manchester Cricket* reported that the great town meeting of 1903 settled the trolley question "for all time," the issue resurfaced in the following year. On February 6, 1904, the *Cricket* reported that the "fight for electrics" was "on again," and a petition was circulating in Beverly to repeal the 1893 provision. The paper reported negatively on its prospects. "In fact," wrote the *Cricket*, "if it were possible, the feeling of opposition is even more pronounced now than it was at that time."<sup>38</sup> The steam railroad was sufficient for Manchester's needs, per the paper, and the people would not dare kill "the goose that laid the golden egg"<sup>39</sup> in their reliance on an exclusive summer resort for succor. The publication reported that a Boston paper erroneously implicated Manchester's state representative, Franklin K. Hooper, as a signer of the petition. As a continual objector to a street railway in Manchester, the horrified Hooper pledged to fight the petition in the legislature.

The trolley petition passed the House on rules favorably, and it subsequently went before the Senate committee on February 20, 1904. The petitioners failed to make a showing, but the remonstrants turned out for the occasion. In this effort, the fateful Manchester town meeting of January 5, 1903, was produced as the last word on the subject, for Col. William D. Sohier of

---

<sup>36</sup> "Leave to Withdraw on Petition," *Beverly Evening Times*, March 18, 1903, 1.

<sup>37</sup> "George P. Brown Confirmed," *Beverly Evening Times*, April 1, 1903, 1.

<sup>38</sup> "Fight for Electrics on Again," *Manchester Cricket*, February 6, 1904, 4.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

Beverly “produced a certified copy of the action of the town at that meeting.” He was supported by Representative Hooper who stated that the issue was even less popular at the present time, when business was slower, than at the time of the mentioned meeting. According to the *Manchester Cricket*, Hooper argued that, “With the business depression people have come to look at it differently and have come to realize that Manchester’s future prosperity lies wholly in developing its resources as a summer resort.”<sup>40</sup> The Senate committee was certainly convinced, and it voted to “non-concur with the action of the house in admitting the petition of the rules.”<sup>41</sup> At the end of the line, the resurrected petition returned to its grave.

As demonstrated against the trolley, resistance to a North Shore street railway reached its peak at Manchester. By the end of the nineteenth century, this section of the shore formed the core section of the Gold Coast, championing rest and relaxation for an exclusive few. The steam railroad was a necessity for this region, as it allowed wealthy outsiders to access the North Shore prior to the introduction of the automobile. The street railway, on the other hand, supplied light rail service unneeded by the well-to-do. As a modest demographic was the focus of street railway development, the wealthy resisted its introduction to preserve their retreats. The monied towns of Swampscott and Nahant succumbed to the streetcars, despite such resistance, but the opposition held out on the North Shore toward Cape Ann.

How did this section of the North Shore keep the streetcars away? The answer lies in the region’s comparative isolation and consummate dedication to the summer resort trade of high society. Swampscott and Nahant were wealthy suburbs but, ultimately, too close to Lynn’s factory workers to resist the allure of affordable transport. The permanent residents of the suburbs desired connection to the greater city, and the residents of the greater city desired to take

---

<sup>40</sup> “No Electrics for Manchester,” *Manchester Cricket*, February 20, 1904, 4.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

in the beauty of the suburbs. While Nahant appeared as a resolute bastion of Boston Brahminism from early days of the North Shore's summer settlement, it also hosted amusement parks for the less fortunate. Ergo, around the time of Manchester's rejection of the streetcar, Nahant embraced it. In Beverly Farms, Manchester, and Magnolia, the concept of an amusement park was repugnant to the exclusivity of the rugged shore. In the time of the trolley, providing the attraction of interconnectedness on the North Shore, the region toward Cape Ann was firmly Gold Coast territory. As all that glittered was not for the Gold Coast, the street railway never breached the fine drives and village of Manchester-by-the-Sea.

## Conclusion

At its height, the street railway was no small matter on the North Shore. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was an important transport link for the region's urban centers. Most of its towns and cities embraced it, and this mirrored the embrace of Massachusetts and the wider United States. The earlier horse railroads and later electric railways facilitated suburbia, promoted popular recreation, and allowed for the growth of inclusive urbanity. The street railway nevertheless had its detractors, and street railway resistance was a formidable force in exclusive resorts like the North Shore's Gold Coast, for summer residents were successful in keeping streetcars away at Beverly Farms and Manchester. Inclusive cities grew through trolleys, but exclusive resorts relied on a sense of tranquil splendor that streetcars threatened to tarnish.

As it so happened, the sudden decline of the street railway industry eventually made its embrace and resistance moot points on the North Shore. The 1910s were a difficult period for street railroads as they suffered from rising costs and competition with automobiles. Street railway lines had expanded with optimism into little trafficked districts, and these proved unable to be maintained. The tangential route in Beverly Cove, which so rankled summer residents in the horsecar era, closed in 1913.<sup>1</sup> The rise of jitneys, unregulated and regulated auto bus routes offering affordable transport, subverted the power of the trolleys. In 1918, street railways received permission to run automobile buses,<sup>2</sup> and, from then on, the industry gradually substituted the bus for the trolley. Gloucester and Rockport switched to buses in 1920,<sup>3</sup> and tracks on the route through Essex were being ripped up in 1922.<sup>4</sup> The southern cities of the North

---

<sup>1</sup> "\$25,000 Fire in the Beverly Cove District," *Beverly Evening Times*, March 20, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts*, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas J. Humphrey, "Origin and Development of the Fixed-Route Local Bus Transportation Network in the Cities and Towns of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority District as of December 31, 1973: Revised Edition." NETransit, 2020.

<sup>4</sup> "The Essex Echo, Est. 1889," *Manchester Cricket*, June 3, 1922, 5.

Shore held out through the 1920s, but the end was near. In 1937, streetcar service ended in Beverly, Salem, and Lynn.<sup>5</sup> By 1940, the time of the trolley was over on the North Shore.

Was the street railway resistance vindicated? The end of the trolley did not safeguard the Gold Coast from intrusion, for the automobile was the ultimate threat to its exclusivity. The Gold Coast today is serviced not by a trolley route but by Route 128 and, as Joseph Garland declared, “a new giant has stretched forth its arm and laid, literally, a hand of tar upon the bosom of Essex County.”<sup>6</sup> With the highway bringing motorists within minutes of the Boston metropolis, the resort district was unable to keep away the “relentless day tripper”<sup>7</sup> that summer residents once feared would come on the streetcar.

The only trolley that one may find on the North Shore today is a tourist one, but a new possibility has surfaced. In 2018, a trolley was proposed between Salem and Peabody as a feeder line to Salem’s MBTA commuter station.<sup>8</sup> As it was planned to run on a dedicated right-of-way, it would have been more akin to an interurban than a street railway, but it would have been a true trolley nonetheless—with overhead wires and all. The project, limited by regulations and funding, has currently come to naught. Its proposal, nevertheless, reveals a renewal of interest in the region’s light rail. Though it may encounter resistance, perhaps someday the North Shore will embrace the trolley once again.

---

<sup>5</sup> Humphrey, “Origin and Development of the Fixed-Route Local Bus.”

<sup>6</sup> Garland, *The North Shore*, 354.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ethan Forman, “Study: Trolley link possible in Peabody, but could cost \$35M,” *Salem News*, December 11, 2018.

## Bibliography

“\$25,000 Fire in the Beverly Cove District.” *Beverly Evening Times*, March 20, 1931.

“A Fine New Summer Cottage.” *Beverly Evening Times*, May 3, 1898.

“A Project.” *Boston Post*, June 6, 1876.

“All Electrics.” *Gloucester Daily Times*, August 26, 1891.

*Arguments of Fred H. Williams: And Testimony of Petitioners and Remonstrants Presented Before the Committee on Towns of the Massachusetts Legislature, Relative to the Incorporation of the Town of "Beverly Farms," Jan. 20 to Feb. 8, 1886. For Petitioners, Fred H. Williams. For Remonstrants, H.P. Moulton, D.W. Quill, Joseph Bennett [and] W.D. Sohier.* Boston: Stanley & Usher, 1886.

Axelrod, Alan. *The Gilded Age: 1876-1912, Overture to the American Century.* Sterling Publishing Co., 2017.

Baker, Billy. "By-the-Way: It's Not Just 'Manchester': There's a Little More to the Mass. Town, but Many Residents Can Do Without." *Boston Globe*, September 20, 2014.

Beaucher, Steven. *Boston in Transit: Mapping the History of Public Transportation in the Hub.* Cambridge, Mass., and London, England: The MIT Press, 2023.

“Beverly.” *Manchester Cricket*, August 17, 1895.

*Beverly Citizen*, October 3, 1863.

*Beverly Citizen*, November 15, 1879.

“Beverly Directory.” *The Naumkeag District Directory for Salem, Beverly, Danvers, Marblehead, Peabody Containing a List of the District and Other Matters of General and Local Interest.* Salem, Mass.: Henry M. Meek & Francis A. Fielden, 1882-83.

“Beverly Directory.” *The Naumkeag District Directory for Salem, Beverly, Danvers, Marblehead, Peabody Containing a List of the District and Other Matters of General and Local Interest.* Salem, Mass.: Henry M. Meek & Francis A. Fielden, 1890-91.

Beverly Historical Society. *Historic Beverly.* Beverly, Mass.: Beverly Chamber of Commerce, 1937.

“Beverly's First Mayor.” *Beverly Evening Times*, February 18, 1897.

“Beverly’s Town Meeting.” *Boston Daily Globe (1872-1922)*, May 10, 1885.

- Bliss, Edgar J. "Turning from Aboriginal Times," *Manchester Cricket*, December 13, 1890.
- Bliss, Edgar J. "West Beach Beach Nuts," *Manchester Cricket*, December 20, 1890.
- Blouin, Francis X. *The Boston Region, 1810-1850: A Study of Urbanization*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1980.
- "Boston, Mass." *Street Railway Journal* 10, American Street Railway Investments (1894).
- "Boston & Eastern Railroad Charter Granted," *Electric Railway Journal* 41, no. 6 (1913).
- "Boston & Eastern Hearings Resumed," *Street Railway Journal* 29, no. 24 (1907).
- Boston & Northern and Old Colony Street Railway Companies. *Tri-State Trolley Map*. 1910.
- Bradlee, Francis B. C. *The Eastern Railroad: A Historical Account of Early Railroading in Eastern New England*, 2nd ed. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1922.
- Brayley, Arthur. "In Stage Coach Days." *Boston Daily Globe 1872-1922*, May 19, 1900.
- "Brief Locals." *Boston Evening Transcript*. July 9, 1886.
- "Buy Pickman Park." *Beverly Evening Times*, April 13, 1907.
- "By Trolley Wire." *Beverly Citizen*, August 18, 1893.
- "City of Beverly. Part of Ward 1" [scale 800 feet to the inch]. *Atlas of the City of Beverly, Essex County, Massachusetts*. Boston: Geo. H. Walker & Co., 1897.
- "Discussing Street Railway Extensions in Beverly." *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 20, 1891.
- "Electric Cars Not a Benefit to Manchester." *Manchester Cricket*, December 18, 1897.
- "Electric Line to Peabody." *Boston Globe*, September 29, 1890.
- "Electrics Will Run Through Danvers." *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 13, 1892.
- "Essex." *Manchester Cricket*, March 4, 1893.
- "Essex." *Manchester Cricket*, April 7, 1893.
- "Essex." *Manchester Cricket*, November 3, 1894.
- "Essex." *Manchester Cricket*, January 26, 1895.

- “Essex.” *Manchester Cricket*, December 14, 1895.
- “Essex.” *Manchester Cricket*, January 18, 1896.
- “Essex.” *Manchester Cricket*, May 2, 1896.
- “Essex.” *Manchester Cricket*, May 30, 1896.
- “Essex.” *Manchester Cricket*, December 26, 1896.
- “Excursion.” *Salem Gazette*, July 15, 1864.
- “Fight for Electrics on Again.” *Manchester Cricket*, February 6, 1904.
- “Final Hearings on Projected Boston & Eastern Road.” *Electric Railway Journal* 36, no. 5 (1910).
- Forman, Ethan. “Study: Trolley link possible in Peabody, but could cost \$35M.” *Salem News*, December 11, 2018.
- Foster, E. C. “Early Electric Railroading in New England.” *Street Railway Journal* 24, no. 15 (1904).
- Connolly, Michael J. *Capitalism, Politics and Railroads in Jacksonian New England*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2003.
- “Cottage Living.” *Beverly Evening Times*, April 28, 1902.
- “Cottages All Illuminated at Bates Park.” *Beverly Evening Times*, August 18, 1900.
- Cousins, Frank. “Salem, Salem Willows, Pavilion.” Glass Negative, 8” x 10”, Digital Commonwealth.
- Garland, Joseph. *The North Shore: A Social History of Summers Among the Noteworthy, Fashionable, Rich, Eccentric and Ordinary on Boston’s Gold Coast, 1823-1929*. Beverly, Mass.: Commonwealth Editions, 1998.
- “George P. Brown Confirmed.” *Beverly Evening Times*, April 1, 1903.
- “Gloucester Street Railway Co.” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, August 13, 1886.
- “Gone Into the Lecture Field.” *Beverly Citizen*, November 17, 1888.
- Hamill, Suzanne, and Ken Wilkie. *Golden Age of the Trolley: A History of the Nahant & Lynn Street Railway Company*. Nahant, Mass.: Nahant Historical Society, 2002.

Harmond, Richard. "The Time They Tried to Divide Beverly," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. 104 (1968).

"Hearing on the B. & H. Railway." *Beverly Evening Times*, November 17, 1904.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *The One Hoss Shay with its Companion Poems How the Old Horse Won the Bet & The Broomstick Train*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1895.

"Horse Cars—Increased Accommodations." *Beverly Citizen*, November 21, 1863.

"Horse Rail Road." *Beverly Citizen*, September 5, 1863.

"Horse Rail Road Speculations." *Salem Gazette*, April 9, 1861.

"Horse Rail Road Speculations." *Salem Gazette*, April 12, 1861.

"Horse Railroad." *Salem Gazette*, September 11, 1863.

"Horse Railroad in North Salem." *Beverly Citizen*, October 10, 1868.

"Horse Railroad Matters." *Beverly Citizen*, September 19, 1863.

"Horse Railroad Notice." *Beverly Citizen*, May 28, 1864.

Humphrey, Thomas J. "Origin and Development of the Fixed-Route Local Bus Transportation Network in the Cities and Towns of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority District as of December 31, 1973: Revised Edition." NETransit, 2020.

Jarvis, Clive. *The Story of Pequot*. Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., 1929.

Juniper Point and Willows. *Salem Evening News*, June 18, 1881.

"Leave to Withdraw on Petition." *Beverly Evening Times*, March 18, 1903.

"List of Joint Stock Corporations to Whom Certificates of Incorporation Have Been Issued Since January 1, 1875." *Boston Globe*, October 5, 1875.

"Locals." *Manchester Cricket*, January 3, 1903.

Lothrop, Thornton K. "Communication," *Beverly Times*, April 22, 1885.

"Lynn." *Beverly Citizen*, July 6, 1861.

"Manchester." *Manchester Cricket*, July 24, 1897.

"Manchester Electrified." *Manchester Cricket*, January 3, 1903.

*Manchester Cricket*, December 10, 1892.

Mason, Edward S. *The Street Railway in Massachusetts: The Rise and Decline of an Industry*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932.

Massachusetts. 1869 Chap. 164. *An Act to Change the Name of the Salem and South Danvers Railroad Company, and to Enlarge the Time for Expanding Its Tracks*. Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1869.

Massachusetts. 1881 Chap. 279. *An Act to Incorporate the Gloucester Street Railway Company*. Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1881.

Massachusetts. 1893 Chap. 0159. *An Act to Incorporate the Gloucester, Essex and Beverly Street Railway Company*. Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1893.

“Massachusetts, New England News.” *Boston Evening Transcript*. July 25, 1889.

“Met a Waterloo.” *Manchester Cricket*, January 10, 1903.

“Miscellaneous Items.” *Beverly Citizen*, September 14, 1861.

McCabe, James D. *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition*. Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and Columbus, Ohio: National Publishing Co., 1876.

McShane, Clay, and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Middleton, William. *The Time of the Trolley: The Street Railway from Horsecar to Light Rail*, 2nd ed. San Marino, Calif.: Golden West Books, 1987.

“Millionaires On Strike!!” *Beverly Citizen*, February 26, 1887.

Morgan, William C. “Shoemaking in Beverly,” *Beverly Citizen*, October 23, 1901.

Newhall, James, and Alonzo Lewis. *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant*, Vol. 1. Lynn: Published at the Bookstore of George C. Herbert, 1890.

“New Suburb at Salem.” *Beverly Evening Times*, February 24, 1904.

“No Electrics for Manchester.” *Manchester Cricket*, February 20, 1904.

“Note and Comment.” *Beverly Citizen*, May 4, 1889.

“Notes.” *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 12, 1891.

- O’Connell, James C. *The Hub’s Metropolis: Greater Boston’s Development from Railroad Suburbs to Smart Growth*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2013.
- “Off-Hand Local Jottings.” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, August 23, 1878.
- “Off-Hand Local Jottings.” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, June 11, 1886.
- “Off-Hand Local Jottings.” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, June 18, 1886.
- “Petition Too Broad.” *Beverly Citizen*, December 23, 1892.
- “Plan of House Lots at Ryall Side. Property of Ephraim M. Bates. Beverly” [scale 1 inch = 30 feet]. Blackmer and Porter, September 1894. Southern Essex Registry of Deeds, Massachusetts, Plan Book 12.
- “Population of Civil Divisions Less than Counties,” *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883.
- “Population of the 90 Largest Urban Places: 1830,” U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 15, 1998.
- “Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1860,” U.S. Bureau of the Census, June 15, 1998.
- Pringle, James R. *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts*. Gloucester, Mass.: Published by the Author, 1892.
- “Public Hearing.” *Beverly Evening Times*, February 25, 1903.
- Puleo, Stephen. *A City So Grand: The Rise of an American Metropolis, Boston 1850–1900*. Boston.: Beacon Press, 2010.
- Rantoul, Robert. *The Autobiography of Robert Rantoul: A Memoir Made at Beverly, November 1848*, editor Charles E. Wainwright, transcriber Jeffrey E. Dausat. Beverly, Mass.: Historic Beverly, 2018.
- Ratliff, Jen. “Salem’s Street Railway,” Salem State Archives and Special Collections, October 29, 2020.
- “Report of Massachusetts Electric Companies for Year Ended Sept. 30.” *Street Railway Journal* 28, no. 24 (1906).
- Rowsome, Frank. *Trolley Car Treasury: A Century of American Streetcars—Horsecars, Cable Cars, Interurbans, and Trolleys*, technical editor Stephen D. Maguire. New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956.

“Ryall Side.” *Beverly Citizen*, March 5, 1892.

“Salem.” *Beverly Citizen*, April 12, 1873.

“Salem, Mass.—Grotto at the Willows.” Stereoscopic View, Salem State University Archives and Special Collections.

*Saturday Morning Citizen* (Beverly, Mass.), September 15, 1905.

“Serious.” *Beverly Evening Times*, September 17, 1900.

Shurtleff, Benjamin. *History of the Town of Revere*. Boston: Beckler Press, 1938.

Southern Essex Registry of Deeds, Massachusetts, Book 1240.

“Street Cars Were Idle.” *Boston Globe*, July 20, 1891.

“Street Railway Hearings.” *Boston Globe*, February 25, 1892.

“Street Railway Conditions and Financial Results in Metropolitan Boston,” *Street Railway Journal* 14, no. 9 (1898).

Swindell, Matthew. “Beverly: A Resort City from Ryall Side to the Farms.” Salem State University, 2021.

Swindell, Matthew. “Division! The Crisis of the Commonwealth in Beverly’s Civil War.” Salem State University, 2021.

Swindell, Matthew. “How Streetcars Shaped Salem: An Analysis of the Effect of Street Railroads on Salem, Massachusetts.” Salem State University, 2023.

Teachout, Zephyr. “The Gilded Age” in *Corruption in America: From Benjamin Franklin's Snuff Box to Citizens United*. Harvard University Press, 2014.

“The Broomstick Train.” Ibiblio.org.

Tappan, William H. “Manchester,” *History of Essex County*, vol. 2. Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888.

“Tenant!”, *Beverly Evening Times*, January 16, 1907.

“The Essex Echo, Est. 1889.” *Manchester Cricket*, June 3, 1922.

“The Electric Railroad.” *Manchester Cricket*, January 28, 1893.

“The Electric Railroad Track.” *Gloucester Daily Times*, May 1, 1890.

“The Electric Witch: A Quaint Fancy. By Oliver Wendell Holmes.” *Review of Reviews* 2, no. 8 (1890).

“The Horse Cars.” *Salem Gazette*, February 2, 1864.

“The Horse Railroad.” *Salem Gazette*, July 24, 1863.

“The Horse Railroad.” *Salem Gazette*, September 28, 1863.

“The Plans of the Boston & Eastern Electric Railroad.” *Street Railway Journal* 30, no. 3 (1907).

“The Proposed Road is Getting An Extension,” *Beverly Evening Times*, May 16, 1921.

“The Scarcity of Tenements and the Remedy.” *Cape Ann Advertiser*, December 15, 1882.

“The Willows.” *Salem Evening News*, May 8, 1881.

Thompson, Waldo. *Swampscott: Historical Sketches of the Town*. Lynn: Press of Thos. P. Nichols, 1885.

“Thomson-Houston Motors for Cars.” *Lynn Daily Evening Item*, May 21, 1888.

“Through to Danvers.” *Beverly Evening Times*, May 9, 1906.

*Visitors' Guide to Salem*. Salem, Mass.: Henry P. Ives, 1880.

White, Richard. *The Republic For Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2017.