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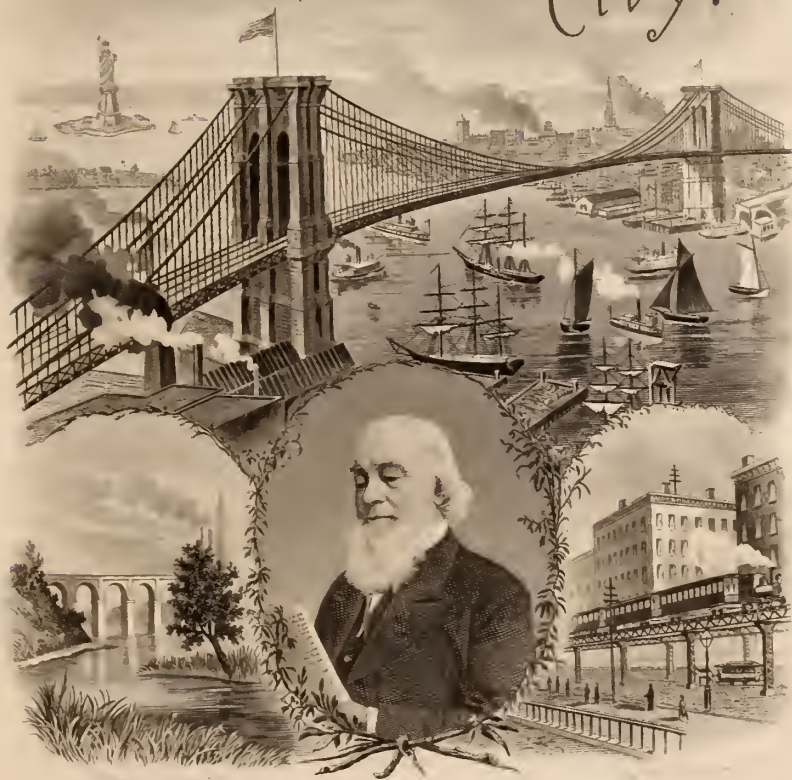
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NEW YORK

History of New York City.



Benson J. Lossing

HISTORY
OF
NEW YORK CITY,

EMBRACING

AN OUTLINE SKETCH OF EVENTS FROM 1609 TO 1830, AND A FULL
ACCOUNT OF ITS DEVELOPMENT FROM 1830 TO 1884.

BY

BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D.,

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*"Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," "The War of 1812," and "The Civil War in
America;" "Mount Vernon and its Associations;" "Illustrated History of the
United States;" "Cyclopedia of United States History;" "Our Country;"
"Story of the United States Navy, for Boys." etc., etc.*

Illustrated with Portraits, Views of Parks, Buildings, etc.,

ENGRAVED ON STEEL EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK

BY GEORGE E. PERINE.

VOLUME I.

NEW YORK:

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P R E F A C E .

THIS work is designed to be an outline picture of life in New York and of the city's material progress during the past sixty years. It is prefaced by a brief history of the city from the date of its foundation until 1830, when the impetus which produced its most marvellous development began to be powerfully felt.

No attempt has been made by the author to give details of the commerce, finances, mechanic arts, and manufactures of the city, for the scope and limits of the work would not permit. A few notices of particular commercial, manufacturing, and other establishments have been given, only as illustrations of the enormous expansion of all kinds of business within the period of a quarter of a century.

The work is essentially a *social* history of the city of New York. It contains an account of society there in its various aspects of home life, business activities, and social organizations, during a period of two generations. In it may be found brief records of the growth of the city in area, from time to time: changes in its architectural features; its amusements; its increase in population, commerce, manufactures, and other industries; the transformations in the aspects of society and in municipal affairs; its judiciary, educational systems, and its government; its politics and its journalism; its inventors and discoverers; the disturbances and disasters which have afflicted it, and other events which have made it famous; the origin and work of the principal educational, religious, scientific, literary, artistic, benevolent, and charitable institutions with which the city abounds, together with the names of the projectors, corporators, and present officers of the various institutions.

In this work may also be found the portraits and brief bio-

graphical sketches of nearly one hundred citizens, who by their enterprise, intelligence, and character have materially assisted in the promotion of the prosperity and good name of New York, and in its elevation to the high position of the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere. They are the portraits of men whom their fellow-citizens delight to honor. These portraits and the materials for the biographical sketches have been obtained only through the earnest solicitations of the author.

There are also numerous views of parks, public and private buildings, and other objects. These, like the portraits, are engraved on steel in the best manner, expressly for the work. The backgrounds of all the plates are of uniform size, causing an unique symmetry in the illustrations, particularly noticeable. The vignette views are after original India-ink drawings by Mr. J. Lawrence Giles. The illustrations are uniformly distributed through the work at equal distances apart, for the sake of regularity, and therefore could not, as a rule, be inserted where reference is made to them in the text. The reader, by referring to the list of portraits and other illustrations, may readily find their places in the work indicated; and by a reference to the general index will as readily find the relevant biography or description sought.

It has been observed that the scope and limits of this work would not permit minute details; only a general view of the topics introduced. This, it is believed, will be more acceptable to the general reader than a narrative overburdened with the dry details of statistics, methods, and technicalities. The publisher has projected another work, in which will be given a full account of the commerce, finances, mechanic arts, manufactures, and other industries, statistical and technical, in the city of New York from its foundation until now. That work will be a complement to this.

The author gratefully acknowledges the uniform kindness and courtesy of the managers of institutions and of all others who have cheerfully aided him in gathering the materials for this work, and to these he tenders his sincere thanks.

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A

HISTORY OF NEW YORK CITY.

OUTLINE HISTORY, 1609-1830.

CHAPTER I.

IT was a warm day in early September, 1609, when the yacht *Half-Moon*, of ninety tons burden, the hull of which bore many scars of wounds received in battle with ice-floes in polar seas, anchored in a bay now known as the harbor of New York. She had a high poop after the fashion of the times, strong masts, and ample spars and sails. She was commanded by Henry Hudson, an expert English navigator, then employed by the Dutch East India Company in searching for a passage through arctic waters to far-off China and the adjacent islands of the sea.

Hudson had failed to penetrate the polar ice, and now sought the "strait below Virginia," spoken of by his friend Captain Smith, which might bear his vessel to the "South Sea" or Pacific Ocean. He had failed to find it; but now, looking up the broad stream northward from his anchorage, in which the tide ebbed and flowed, his hopes revived, and he ascended the smooth waters toward the high mountains dimly seen in the hazy distance. But as he drew near these lofty hills, and the water freshened more and more, he was satisfied that it was a great river and not a connecting strait between the two oceans.

Hudson sailed up the river to the head of tidewater, more than one hundred and fifty miles, finding dusky inhabitants everywhere. He was charmed with the beauty of the country and its promise of wealth and renown to whatever people should occupy it. Returning to the ocean, he sailed away for Europe to tell his employers what a magnificent prize he had won for them. He had not reached India by the way of the Arctic Circle, but he had discovered a great river running through a magnificent country heavily timbered, abounding with fur-bearing animals, and occupied by half-naked barbarians only.

Hudson's wonderful story aroused the commercial cupidity of the Dutch merchants of Amsterdam, who had already established a very profitable fur trade with the northern Russias. Very soon Dutch vessels from the Texel, among them the discovery yacht, appeared in the waters where Hudson first anchored the *Half-Moon*; and not long afterward Captain Christiansen, as agent for the merchants, accom-

panied by expert trappers and traders, built a redoubt, four log huts, and a storehouse on the slope west of (present) Broadway, just above the Bowling Green. This was the seed of the commercial metropolis of America, planted in 1612, at the southern extremity of a long, rocky, and swampy island which the barbarians called Man-na-hat-ta.

Among the bold Dutch navigators who came to Man-na-hat-ta or Manhattan was Adrien Block, in the schooner *Tigress*. When she was laden with bear-skins and was about to depart for the Texel late in 1613, she took fire and became a blackened wreck. Before the next spring, oaks that had sheltered bears where Wall Street "bulls" now contend with financial bruns, were fashioned into a trim-built yacht of sixteen tons, which was filled with skins and sailed for the Texel. She was named the *Onrust*—the "Restless"—a prophecy of that unresting activity which now marks the island of Manhattan. Such was the beginning, in 1614, of the vast merchant marine of the city of New York.

In accordance with an ordinance lately passed by the Government of Holland, the Amsterdam merchants hastened to obtain a special license for trading in the newly discovered region. They procured a charter which gave them the monopoly of the trade for four years, and the region was named New Netherland. They enlarged their storehouse at Manhattan, built forts as trading stations near the site of Albany, and the little seed planted at the mouth of the river by Christiansen germinated into a thriving plant of empire—a village which they called Manhattan. Finally, in 1621, these merchants and others obtained from the States-General (the Congress) of Holland a charter for a Dutch West India Company. It made it a great commercial monopoly, possessing almost regal powers to colonize, govern, and defend, not only that little domain on the Hudson, but the whole unoccupied coasts of America from Newfoundland to Cape Horn, and from the Cape of Good Hope far northward along the coast of Africa. The charter contained all the guarantees of freedom, in social, political, and religious life, necessary to the founding of a free state, and which characterized the institutions of Holland. No stranger was to be questioned concerning his nativity or his creed. "Do you wish to build, to plant, and to become a citizen?" was the sum of the catechism when a new-comer appeared.

Before the company was fairly organized, the menacing growls of the lion of England induced them to adopt measures for making a permanent settlement in New Netherland, and place an industrious colony there who should found a state. In 1623 the company sent over the *New Netherland*, a stanch ship of two hundred and sixty tons, bearing

thirty families of Walloons, Protestant refugees from (present) Belgium, who spoke the French language and who had settled in Holland. They consisted of one hundred and ten men, women, and children. They brought with them agricultural implements, cows, horses, sheep, and swine, and a sufficiency of household furniture to make them comfortable. Captain May, who commanded the *New Netherland*, was constituted their first or temporary governor.

These immigrants—the first of a vast multitude who have come to our shores in the course of more than two hundred and fifty years—landed from the *New Netherland* in small boats, at the rocky point on which Castle Garden now stands, and is the receptacle of thousands of emigrants who enter the harbor of New York every year. It was a beautiful morning in May, 1623, when they ascended the bank in their picturesque costumes, every man carrying some article of domestic use, and many of the women carrying a baby or a small child in their arms. They were cordially received by the traders and friendly Indians, and were feasted under a tent made of sails stretched between several trees. A Christian teacher accompanied them, who, before they partook of their first meal, offered up fervent thanks to Almighty God for his preserving care during their long voyage, and implored his blessing upon the great undertaking before them. Captain May then read his commission as governor of the colony and the country; and so the germ of the city and State of New York was planted in a fruitful soil.

These immigrants were immediately scattered to different points to form settlements. Some founded the city of Brooklyn on Long Island, and near what was known as the Wallabout (now the Navy-Yard). Sarah Rapalje, the earliest born in New Netherland of European parents, first saw the light of life. Some went up the Connecticut River and built Fort Good Hope, just below the site of Hartford; others planted themselves at Esopus, in Ulster County, N. Y., and on the site of Albany; and four young married couples went to the Delaware and began a settlement on the New Jersey side of that stream, a few miles below Philadelphia. New Netherland was constituted a county of Holland, its official seal bearing the figure of a beaver with the coronet of a count for its crest.

When the *New Netherland* returned to the Texel with furs valued at over \$10,000, and her commander reported the colonists in good heart and prosperous, there was as much excitement as was possible in the staid Dutch towns in Holland. People longed to go to the pictured paradise. The members of the West India Company were delighted. They commissioned Peter Minuit, one of their number, First Director

or governor ; sent other ships with emigrants, stock, and agricultural implements ; and when the new governor arrived, in 1626, he opened negotiations with the barbarians for the purchase of Manhattan Island. It contained, it was estimated, about twenty-two thousand acres of land, and it was bought for the sum of twenty-four dollars, which was paid in cheap trinkets, implements of husbandry, and weapons. Each party was satisfied, for each felt it had made a good bargain.

When the purchase was completed, an engineer staked out the lines of a fort at the southern extremity of the island, near the site of the modern " Battery." The specification called for a work " faced with stone, having four angles," by which the Bay in front and the Hudson and East rivers on its flanks might be commanded by cannon. The fort, which was nothing more than a strong redoubt surrounded by cedar palisades, was finished the next year, and was named Fort Amsterdam. Each settler protected by it owned the house he lived in, kept a cow, tilled the land, and traded with the Indians. There were no idle persons. The traders delivered all their furs at the trading-house of the company (a large stone building thatched with reeds), and the year when the fort was completed furs were sent to Holland valued at almost twenty thousand dollars. As yet there was neither a clergyman nor a schoolmaster in the colony, but there were two appointed " consolers of the sick," whose duty it was to read the Scriptures and the creeds to the people on Sundays, who were gathered in a large loft of a horse-mill. A tower was erected, in which were hung Spanish bells captured by the company's fleet at Porto Rico the year before—the first " church-going bells" heard on Manhattan Island.

It was during the building of the fort that an event occurred which caused much embarrassment and misery to the colony afterward. An Indian, his nephew, and another barbarian, members of a tribe in Westchester County, came to Manhattan with beaver-skins to barter with the Dutch. The beaten trail of the Indians from the Harlem River was along the shores of the East River to Kip's Bay, and then diverging westward passed by a large pond where the halls of justice, or The Tombs, now stand. At that pond they were met by three farm servants of the governor, who robbed and murdered the men with the peltries. The boy escaped. This deed was long unknown to the Dutch authorities, and the guilty men probably escaped punishment. But the young barbarian vowed he would avenge the murder of his uncle. It was done with fearful usury years afterward. This atrocious deed made the surrounding Indians, who were disposed to be friendly with the Europeans, jealous, suspicious, and vengeful.



De Witt Clinton

The little colony flourished, and the village which grew up under the protecting wing of the fort was called Manhattan, which name it retained until Stuyvesant came in 1647. The community at Manhattan became cosmopolitan in its composition, as New York now is, because of the freedom enjoyed there, and finally gave to the State and nation a race in whose veins course the blood of Teuton, Saxon, Celt, and Gaul. Their passion for far-reaching commerce and adventurous enterprise has been a characteristic of the inhabitants of Manhattan Island from that time until the present, through all their social and political vicissitudes.

Within twenty years after Hudson's discovery of the island the people there turned their attention to ship-building, and in 1631 they actually completed a ship, named *New Netherland*, of six hundred or eight hundred tons, and sent it to Holland. It was probably one of the greatest merchant vessels then in the world. It was a costly experiment, and was not repeated; and it was nearly two hundred years afterward when the shipwrights of Manhattan began to build merchant vessels of such large proportions.

The West India Company, in order to encourage emigration to New Netherland and increase the population and strength of the colony, granted to some of the directors large tracts of land, and invested each with the privileges of a "lord of the manor," on condition that he should, within a specified time, have on his estates fifty bona-fide settlers. These proprietors were called *patroons*. One of the most extensive landholders among these directors was Killian Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant in Amsterdam, whose domain lay on each side of the Hudson River at or near Albany.

In the warehouse of the company at Amsterdam was a clerk named Van Twiller, who had married Van Rensselaer's niece. He was narrow-minded and inexperienced, but he had served Van Rensselaer well in shipping cattle to his American domain. Through that director's influence Van Twiller was appointed governor of New Netherland, to succeed Minuit. He was a sleek, rotund, bullet-headed Dutchman, who loved ease of mind and body; was dull of intellect, yet shrewd and cunning; always courageous where there was no danger, and undecided and wavering. He came to New Amsterdam in 1633, and was a dead weight upon the prosperity of the colony for four years; yet it flourished in spite of him. With him came Everardus Bogardus, the first clergyman who appeared in the colony; also a schoolmaster.

Bogardus was an able, earnest, and bold man. Faithful to his

mission, he did not hesitate to reprove Van Twiller for his shortcomings in his official, moral, and religious duties. On one occasion he called him a "child of the devil" to his face, and told him that if he did not behave himself he would "give him such a shake from the pulpit" the next Sunday as would make him tremble like a bowl of jelly. Van Twiller lost the respect of all the citizens, and was recalled. This was a severe disappointment to him, for he had dreamed of living in ease and dying in New Netherland. He had bought Nutten Island, in the harbor, and there he proposed to retire when the cares of government should become too burdensome for him, and vegetate in luxurious comfort. That little domain has been known as "Governor's Island" ever since.

Van Twiller was succeeded by William Keift, an energetic, rapacious, and unscrupulous man, who brought serious trouble upon the colony. He endeavored to concentrate all power in his own hands, and began a tyrannous rule. A small colony of Swedes had settled on the Delaware. With these Keift quarrelled. He incurred the enmity of the English on the Connecticut, and of the Indians all around. Under a flimsy pretence he sent an armed force to attack the Raritan Indians in New Jersey. Many of them were killed. Savage vengeance did not slumber long. The Raritans ravaged outlying plantations and murdered their occupants. Keift prepared for war. The colonists, alarmed, boldly opposed him. They held him responsible for their troubles. Hitherto they had lived peaceably with their barbarian neighbors; now these were all hostile. Keift yielded to popular clamor for the moment. He requested the inhabitants to choose twelve men, heads of families, with whom he might consult on public affairs. It was done, and this was the germ of representative government in the State of New York. The Twelve not only refused to sanction Keift's war schemes, but took cognizance of public grievances, when he dismissed them.

Some River Indians fled before the fiery Mohawks and took refuge with the Haakensacks at Hoboken. Keift, burning with a cruel desire to "chastise savages," sent over a body of armed men at midnight in February, 1643, who fell upon the sleeping fugitives and before the dawn massacred a hundred men, women, and children, and returned to New Amsterdam with the heads of several of the slain. By this savage act the fierce hatred and thirst for vengeance of all the surrounding barbarians were aroused. A furious war was kindled. Villages and farms were desolated, and white people were butchered wherever the Indians found them. For two years the colony of New Netherland

was threatened with destruction. The war finally ceased. The people clamored for the recall of the governor, and he was summoned to Holland. He perished by shipwreck while on his way with a large fortune, and was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant in 1647, late governor of Curaçoa, a soldier of eminence, and possessed of every requisite for an efficient administration of government.*

Stuyvesant was too frank and bold to conceal his opinions and intentions. At the very outset he frowned at every expression of republican sentiment, defended Keift's rejection of the interference of the Twelve, and plainly told the people, "If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way. . . . It is treason to petition against one's magistrate, whether there be cause or not." With such despotic sentiments Stuyvesant began his iron rule. He was a tyrant; yet honesty and wisdom marked all his acts. He set about reforms with vigor. The morals of the people, the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians, the support of religion, and the regulation of trade received his immediate attention, and he imparted much of his own energy to the citizens. Enterprise took the place of sluggishness. He treated the Indians so kindly, and so soon won their respect and friendship, that the foolish story went abroad that he was forming an alliance with the savages to exterminate the English at the eastward.

Stuyvesant found the finances of the colony in such a wretched condition that taxation was necessary. For two centuries a political maxim of Holland had been, "Taxation without representation is tyranny"—a postulate copied by our patriots when they began the old war for independence. Stuyvesant dared not disregard this great principle, for it would offend his masters the States-General, so he called a meeting of citizens and directed them to choose eighteen of their best men, of whom he might select nine as representatives of the taxpayers, who should form a co-ordinate branch of the local government. He was careful to hedge this popular council about with restrictions. The

* Peter Stuyvesant was the last Dutch governor of New Netherland. He was born in Holland in 1602, and died in the city of New York (formerly New Amsterdam) in August, 1682. Serving as a soldier in the West Indies, he became governor of Curaçoa. He lost a leg in battle. Returning to Holland, he was sent to New Netherland as First Director or Governor, in 1647, where he ruled tyrannically but righteously until 1664, when the province was taken possession of by the English. After that event he went to Holland to report in person the misfortunes of the colony. He returned to New York, and resided on his farm, which lay along the East River on Manhattan Island. His wife was Judith Bayard, by whom he had two sons. He was dignified, honest, and brave.

first nine selected were to choose their successors, so as to prevent the people having a direct voice in public affairs. But the Nine proved to be more potent than the Twelve. They nourished the prolific seed of democracy, and gave Stuyvesant much uneasiness.

The inhabitants of Manhattan asked the States-General for a municipal government. It was granted in 1653, under the corporate title of New Amsterdam. Its government was modelled after that of old Amsterdam, but with somewhat less political freedom in its features. The soul of Stuyvesant was troubled by this "imprudent trusting of power with the people." The burghers wished for more power, but it could not then be obtained. A silver seal was given to the authorities of the new city, and a painted coat-of-arms was sent to them.

A new trouble disturbed Stuyvesant. In the fall of the same year when New Amsterdam was incorporated, a convention of nineteen delegates, chosen by the people of eight villages or communities, assembled at the town-hall in the city, ostensibly to take measures against the depredations of savages and pirates. The governor tried to control their action, but failed. When they adjourned they invited the governor to partake of a collation with them. Of course he would not so sanction their proceedings, and refused, when they plainly told him he might do as he pleased; they should hold another convention soon, and he might prevent it if he could. Stuyvesant stormed and threatened these incipient rebels, but prudently yielded and issued a call for another convention, and so gave legality to the measure. They met on December 10, 1653. Many English people were now settled among the Dutch, and had intermarried with them, and of the nineteen delegates chosen ten were of Dutch and nine of English nativity. This was the first real representative government in the great State of New York, now an empire with a population of over five millions.

Now and here was fought the first battle between democracy and despotism on the soil of New York. The convention adopted a remonstrance to the States-General against the tyrannous rule of the governor, and sent it to him, with a demand for a categorical answer to each of the several counts. He met it with his usual pluck. He denied their authority. He blustered and threatened. They told him plainly that if he refused to comply with their demand they would appeal to the States-General. At this threat, uttered by the lips of a bold messenger—Beekman, of Brooklyn—the governor took fire, and seizing his cane ordered him to leave his presence. The ambassador folded his arms and silently defied the wrath of Stuyvesant. When his anger cooled he asked Beekman to pardon his sudden ebullition of

feeling, but he ordered the convention to disperse instantly. They did no such thing, but executed their threat by sending an advocate to Holland with a list of their grievances, and asked for redress. So republicanism, like any other truth, has remarkable vitality, and is fostered by persecution. It never receded from the position it assumed in New Amsterdam at Christmas, 1653.

Stuyvesant was a faithful servant of the Dutch West India Company, watching and defending its interests at all points. The Swedes on the Delaware became aggressive; he made war upon them, conquered them, and as did Alfred of England with the Danes, he absorbed them politically, and they became loyal subjects of the Dutch. This accomplished, the long peace with the Indians was suddenly broken by the murder of a squaw by a citizen of New Amsterdam, who detected her stealing his peaches. The fury of her tribe was fiercely kindled. Before daybreak one morning, about two thousand River Indians appeared before New Amsterdam in sixty canoes. They landed, and searched for the murderer of the squaw. Stuyvesant summoned their leaders to a conference at the fort. They were promised justice, and agreed to leave the island. They did not, and at midnight they invaded the city and shot the murderer, whom they knew. The people flew to arms and drove the barbarians from the city. The Indians crossed the surrounding waters and ravaged New Jersey and Staten Island. Within three days a hundred white inhabitants were killed, fifty were made captive, and three hundred estates were utterly desolated by the dusky foe. Stuyvesant finally restored order, and then issued a proclamation directing those who lived in secluded places in the country to gather themselves into villages for mutual defence.

Another and more serious crisis for New Amsterdam and New Netherland came. The British always claimed the whole territory of New Netherland as their own. The British monarch granted the domain to his brother, the Duke of York. In 1664 the duke sent ships of war and troops to take possession. The people of New Amsterdam were quite willing to exchange Dutch rule for "English liberty," and counselled submission when the armament appeared. Stuyvesant held out, but was finally compelled to yield. The English took possession. The name of the fort was changed from Amsterdam to James, and the name of the city and province were changed to New York. The city was held temporarily by the Dutch awhile afterward, when New Netherland became a permanent English possession. But the people soon found "English liberty" not so easy to bear as "Dutch tyranny,"

for their new masters taxed them almost without stint. Yet they prospered, and were comparatively happy.

Republicanism grew apace in the city and province of New York. Many of that faith had fled from persecution to America, and inoculated the people here with its doctrines. The people of New York clamored for a representative government, and in 1683—about thirty years after the Dutch of the same city made a similar demand—their request was granted. Governor Dongan, an enlightened Roman Catholic, favored their wishes, and on the 17th of October, 1683, was established the first General Assembly of the Province of New York, which sat three weeks and passed fourteen acts which became laws. The first of these was entitled “The Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by his Royal Highness to the inhabitants of New York and its Dependencies.” It was ratified by the duke. The day of that assembling is a memorable one in the history of New York.

Before we proceed further, let us take a brief glance at the social condition of New York before its surrender to the English. At that time it contained about three hundred houses and about fifteen hundred inhabitants. The city was then one of considerable wealth, and many of the inhabitants were enjoying the comforts which riches bring. But riches is a thing of relative estimate. A citizen then worth a thousand dollars was esteemed a rich man. At first their houses were of logs, the roofs thatched with reeds and straw, the chimneys made of wood, and the light of the windows entered through oiled paper. Their tables were made of rough planks; their platters were of wood or pewter; the spoons of the same; and carpets were unknown until the time of the revolution in 1688. Finally the unsafe thatched roofs and wooden chimneys gave place to tiles and shingles and brick. The better houses were built of brick imported from Holland until some enterprising citizens established a brickyard on the island during the administration of Stuyvesant.

Every house was surrounded with a garden, in which cabbage was the chief vegetable cultivated, and tulips the principal flowers. Good horses were rare until they began to import them from New England, but their cows and swine were generally of excellent quality. There were no carriages until after the revolution, and the first hackney coach was introduced into the city of New York in 1696. It is said that the first carpet—a big Turkey rug—seen in the city belonged to Sarah Oort, the wife of the famous Captain Kidd. The clean floors were daily strewn with white beach-sand wrought into artistic forms by the skilful motion of the broom. Huge oaken chests filled with

household linen were seen in a corner of a room in every house, and in another corner a triangular cupboard with a glass door, in which was displayed shining pewter or other plates. As wealth increased a few had china tea-sets, and solid silver tankards, punch-bowls, porringers, and ladles. Tea had only lately found its way to New York when the revolution of 1688 occurred.

Clocks and watches were almost unknown, and time was measured by sun-dials and hour-glasses. The habits of the people were so regular that they did not need clocks and watches. At nine o'clock they all said their prayers and went to bed. They arose at cock-crowing, and breakfasted before sunrise. Dinner-parties were unknown, but tea-parties were frequent. These ended, the participants went home in time to attend to the milking of the cows. In every house were spinning-wheels, and it was the pride of every family to have an ample supply of home-made linen and woollen cloth. The women spun and wove, and were steadily employed. Nobody was idle. Nobody was anxious to get rich, while all practised thrift and frugality. Books were rare luxuries, and in most houses the Bible and Prayer-book constituted the stock of literature. The weekly discourses of the clergymen satisfied their intellectual wants, while their own hands, industriously employed, furnished all their physical necessities. Knitting and spinning held the place of whist and music in these "degenerate days," and *utility* was as plainly stamped upon all their labors and pleasures as is the maker's name on our silver spoons. These were the "good old days" of simplicity, comparative innocence, and positive ignorance, when the "commonalty" no more suspected the earth of the caper of turning over like a ball of yarn every day than Stuyvesant did the Puritans of candor and honesty.

CHAPTER II.

THE Duke of York became King of England as James II. in 1685. As king he refused to confirm the "Charter of Liberties" which, as duke, he had granted to the inhabitants of New York. He ordered a direct tax, forbade the use of a printing-press in the province, and filled the public offices with Roman Catholics, whose faith he had embraced and avowed. The liberal and just Governor Dongan stood by the people as long as he could, but in the spring of 1688 he was ordered to surrender the government of New York into the hands of Sir Edmund Andros, a supple tool of the king, who had a viceregal commission to rule that province and all New England. Andros was received in New York by Colonel Bayard's regiment; and in the midst of rejoicings among the royalists—the aristocracy—because of his arrival, news came that James's queen had given birth to a son and heir to his throne. The event was celebrated that evening by a banquet at the City Hall, while bonfires blazed in the streets. At the festive table Mayor Van Cortlandt became hilarious, and testified his loyalty and joy by making a burnt sacrifice of his hat and periwig, waving the blazing offerings over the banquet-table on the point of his straight sword.

Republicanism had grown apace in New York, and there was great disappointment among the Protestant republicans; for in case of failure of an heir on the part of King James, his daughter Mary, who had married the Protestant Prince William of Orange, would be his successor. Their disappointment was soon turned to joy when news came that James had been driven from the throne, was an exile in France, and William and Mary were joint monarchs of England. The people seized Fort James, at the foot of Broadway. Their leader was Jacob Leisler,* a popular and leading shipping merchant, who had come to

* Jacob Leisler was a native of Frankfort, in Germany. He came to America in 1660, resided awhile in Albany, New York, when he became a merchant in the city of New York. While on a voyage to Europe in 1678, he, with several others, were made prisoners by Turks, and paid a high price for their ransom. He entered public life under Governor Dongan, and as a military leader he was at the head of an insurrec-

A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey

Drawn by James Oglethorpe



FAISIMILE of an original map made 1708 Reprinted by John S. Taylor, No. 204 Chatham Square, New York

New Amsterdam a soldier in the service of the West India Company, and was captain of one of the militia companies of the city. He was a warm friend of William of Orange and an ardent republican. The aristocratic party of New York, led by Mayor Van Cortlandt, Colonel Bayard, and other members of the council, hated Leisler because of his political principles, and when, obedient to the wishes of the people, he assumed the functions of governor of the province in the absence of a representative of royal authority, they were enraged by this democratic movement, led by "an insolent plebeian and foreigner." They resolved on his destruction; and when a royal governor (Sloughter) came, they procured Leisler's arrest on a charge of treason. He was unfairly tried and condemned. The governor hesitated to sign his death-warrant before the pleasure of the sovereigns should be known. Sloughter was made drunk at a feast, and in that condition was induced to sign the fatal document. Before he was sober, Leisler and his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, were hanged. His enemies thought they had crushed democracy in New York. Swift disappointment overtook them. The Earl of Bellomont came as governor, and under orders from the Privy Council and his king he gladly aided in reversing the attainder of Leisler and procuring the restoration of the victim's confiscated property to his children. The tables were now turned. Democracy obtained a stronger foothold in New York than ever. Under the very law enacted for the purpose of bringing Leisler to trial for treason, Colonel Bayard, its chief promoter, was tried for the same offence, found guilty, and saved from the gallows only by the death of Bellomont and the accession of Edward Hyde, a profligate man and a bitter enemy of republicanism in any form. He liberated Bayard.

We have now come to a period in the history of New York when the political and social forces known respectively as *Democracy* and *Aristocracy* were organized for the great conflict which resulted in the triumph of the former at the close of the old war for independence in 1783. From the accession of Governor Lovelace in 1708, to that of Governor Cosby in 1732, democracy prevailed in the General Assembly of New York, and the royal representatives were compelled to yield to the will of the people as expressed by that assembly.

A new social element had just been introduced into the city of New

tionary movement in the city of New York after the accession of William and Mary. He assumed the functions of governor of the colony, but on the arrival of a royally appointed governor he was arrested, condemned as a traitor, and hanged on May 16, 1691, with his son-in-law, Milborne. Leisler purchased New Rochelle for the Huguenots.

York by Governor Hunter. Louis XIV. had caused the expulsion from their country of Protestant Rhenish Palatines, who besought the British Government to give them homes in America. It was done, and £10,000 were appropriated to defray their expenses, they pledging themselves to produce materials for the royal navy in the way of reimbursement. By command of Queen Anne, three thousand of the German Palatines accompanied Governor Hunter to New York. A considerable number of them remained in the city; others went up the Hudson River to Livingston's manor and settled the region known as Germantown; others went to the Mohawk Valley and founded the settlement of the German Flats; while the greater portion made homes in Pennsylvania, and so laid the foundations of the German population which forms so large and influential an element in the social fabric of that commonwealth. These Germans were industrious and frugal. Those who remained in the city soon built a Lutheran church on Broadway, on the site of the first Grace Church, near Trinity. This was the beginning of the vast German emigration to America.

In 1725 a new element of power in the realm of opinion appeared in New York. William Bradford,* who had set up the first printing-press in the province, issued the first newspaper published in that colony in October of that year. He entitled it the *New York Weekly Gazette*. It became the organ of the aristocratic party.

When Governor Montgomerie died, in 1731, Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council, took charge of public affairs until the arrival of Governor Cosby the next year. The latter was avaricious and arbitrary by nature. On his arrival he demanded of Van Dam an equal share in that officer's salary while acting as governor. It was refused, and Cosby sued him in the Supreme Court. A majority of the judges were of the aristocratic party, and gave judgment against Van Dam. The chief justice (Morris) decided against the governor, and the latter removed him and put James De Lancey in his place. The sympathies of the people were with Van Dam. They wanted an

* William Bradford was a Friend or Quaker, and a printer by trade. He was born in Leicester, England, in 1659, and at the age of 23 years emigrated to America, landing on the spot where Philadelphia was begun. He had learned his trade in London, and set up a press (the first) in Pennsylvania. There was a quarrel among the chief religionists of Pennsylvania. Bradford having become unpopular with the dominant party, he removed to New York, where he introduced printing into that province in 1693. That year he printed the laws of the colony. He established the first newspaper in New York, called the *New York Gazette*, in the fall of 1725, and in 1728 he established a paper-mill at Elizabeth, N. J. He was printer to the government for fully fifty years, and the only one in the colony for thirty years.

organ, and they persuaded John Peter Zenger,* who had been an apprentice with Bradford and his business partner for a while, to establish an opposition newspaper. He did so in November, 1733, giving it the title of the *New York Weekly Journal*. Van Dam, who was a leading merchant, stood behind Zenger as his financial supporter.

This organ of the democratic party made vigorous war upon the governor and his political friends, and finally it charged him and them with violating the rights of the people, the assumption of tyrannical power, and the perversion of their official stations for selfish purposes. When they could not answer nor endure these attacks any longer, Zenger was arrested on a charge of libelling the government, and the council ordered his papers containing these alleged libels to be burned by the common hangman.

After lying in jail several months Zenger was brought to trial. Meanwhile a republican association called "Sons of Liberty" worked assiduously for Zenger, and his friends employed the venerable Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, then eighty years of age and the foremost lawyer in the colonies, as the prisoner's counsel. The case excited widespread interest and attention, for it involved the great question of liberty of speech and of the press.

At that famous trial Chief-Justice De Lancey presided. The courtroom was crowded. The citizens generally sympathized with Zenger. The prisoner pleaded "Not guilty," admitted the publication of the alleged libel, and offered full proof of its justification. The attorney-general rose to oppose the admission of such proofs. At that moment the venerable Hamilton entered the room. Rumors had gone abroad that he would be there. The multitude rose to their feet and welcomed him with waving of hats and loud huzzas. With his long white hair flowing over his shoulders, this Nestor of the bar in a few eloquent words scattered all the legal sophistries of the prosecution to the winds. He declared that the jury were themselves judges of the facts and the law; that they were a part of the court; that they were competent to judge of the guilt or innocence of the accused; and he reminded them

* John Peter Zenger was a German, a son of a widow among the Palatines who came to New York in the reign of Queen Anne. He was apprenticed to William Bradford, the printer, became his partner, and in 1733 began a weekly newspaper in the city of New York, called the *Weekly Journal*. For some strictures on the conduct of the governor, Zenger was prosecuted for a libel, and was imprisoned thirty-five weeks. His trial was a famous one. He was defended by the great lawyer, Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, and was acquitted. His acquittal was regarded as a vindication of the freedom of the press. Zenger died in New York in 1746.

that they were the sworn protectors of the rights, liberties, and privileges of their fellow-citizens, which, in this instance, had been violated by a most outrageous and vindictive series of persecutions. The chief-justice's charge to the jury was wholly averse to this doctrine of the great advocate, but after a brief conference they returned a verdict of "Not guilty." A shout of triumph went up from the multitude, and Hamilton was borne from the court-room upon the shoulders of the people to an entertainment prepared for him. The citizens gave him a public dinner the next day, and a few weeks later the corporation of New York gave Hamilton their thanks and the freedom of the city in a gold box. He had served a righteous cause without a fee, because it was a righteous cause.

To the city of New York is due the imperishable honor of first vindicating the freedom of the press in the English-American colonies, and it has ever maintained the exalted position of a champion of liberty and the rights of man under all circumstances.

The population, industries, and wealth of New York City had rapidly increased since the beginning of the century. In about thirty years the population had expanded from five thousand to almost nine thousand. Already the shipping employed in trade gave the city the character of a commercial metropolis, and its merchants were noted for enterprise, intelligence, wealth, and probity. For a while they had serious difficulties to contend with. At the close of the seventeenth century the ocean swarmed with pirates. They entered the harbor of New York and seized vessels lying at anchor. It is believed that men in high official station there were confederated with the buccaneers, shared their booty, and shielded them from punishment. Finally a worthy shipmaster of New York, Captain Kidd,* was employed by a

* William Kidd was a prominent shipmaster in New York at the close of the seventeenth century. His wife was Sarah Oort. Kidd was the son of a Scotch Nonconformist minister, and had followed the sea from his youth. He was regarded as the boldest and most enterprising mariner of New York, about 1695, when he was appointed captain of a privateer, owned by King William, Governor Bellomont, Robert Livingston, and several of the English nobility, and was fitted out for the suppression of piracy. He received his commission from King William. He sailed in the *Adventure Galley* from Plymouth, England, in 1696, for the Indian seas, where, after scattering the pirates, he became one himself, or rather was compelled by his crew to become the commander of a pirate ship. He returned to New York with large booty in 1698. The piratical partners of the *Adventure Galley* raised such a hubbub in England, that her owners, to escape the odium of Kidd's conduct, made him a scapegoat. With virtuous pretensions Lord Bellomont caused Kidd's arrest on the charge of piracy and murder. He was convicted and hanged at Plymouth, England, on May 24, 1701. The charge of piracy was not proven, and the killing for which he suffered was undoubtedly accidental.

company to disperse or destroy the pirates. He succeeded, but finally, through great temptation, he turned pirate himself in distant seas, and was hanged in England, an unfortunate scapegoat for his more guilty titled confederates.

Intellectual forces of much strength were early at work in the city of New York. The third printing-press in the English-American colonies was set up there by William Bradford, and in 1693 he printed the laws of the colony in a small folio volume. This was the first publication of a book in that city, where millions are now issued every year.

Episcopacy had been made the leading ecclesiastical system in New York by the fiat of royal governors, and on the establishment of Trinity Church, in 1696, public worship was conducted in the English language instead of the Dutch, excepting in the Reformed Dutch Church. Trinity Church edifice—a small, square structure with a very tall spire—was completed in 1697, and in 1703 Queen Anne granted to it the “King’s Farm” on the west side of Broadway—the famous “Trinity Church property” claimed by the alleged heirs of Annetye Jans-Bogardus.

The first attempt had been made in 1697 to light the streets of New York by hanging a lantern from a pole projecting from a window in every seventh house. A night watch of four men had been established at the same time, and two men were appointed to inspect the hearths and chimneys of the six hundred houses in the city once a week. A public ferry between New York and Long Island had been established by the city authorities, and in 1707 Broadway had been first paved from the Bowling Green to Trinity Church. In 1709 it was levelled as far as Maiden Lane. In that year a slave-market had been established on the site of the old block-house at the foot of Wall Street, where most of the shipping was moored. Rigorous municipal laws concerning the slaves were strictly administered, which caused occasional outbreaks.

The first hospital for the poor had been established in 1699, and in 1705 the first grammar school in New York had been authorized, but was not established for some time because a competent teacher could not be found in the city. The first Presbyterian church built in the city had been erected in 1719, on Wall Street near the City Hall; and the previous year the first ropewalk in New York—the beginning of a very flourishing industry—had been set up on Broadway between Barclay Street and Park Place.

Public matters in New York had presented no phase of special importance until the arrival of John Montgomerie as governor in the

spring of 1728, when he was received with more cordiality and granted more favors than any other magistrate since Bellomont. The chief event of his administration was the granting an amended charter for the city in 1730. The first charter given to the city under English rule had been granted in 1686. Others have been granted from time to time. By the new charter the limits of the city were fixed; the power of establishing ferries, and the possession of the ferries, market-houses, docks, etc., and all profits arising from them, were granted to the city. Provision was made for the establishment of courts, and the privileges and duties of all public officers were defined. The jurisdiction of the city was fixed to begin at the King's Bridge, near the upper extremity of the island, extending to Long Island, including small islands at the mouth of the Harlem River, thence on that side of the East River to Red Hook, and thence, embracing the islands in the harbor, up the Hudson River to Spuyten Duyvel Creek to the place of beginning.

While this charter gave the authorities of the city of New York jurisdiction over the whole of Manhattan Island and adjacent islands, the streets of the city were laid out only as far north on the west side as Courtlandt Street on the border of the King's Farm, and on the east side as far as Frankfort and Cherry Streets. There were only scattered houses above Maiden Lane. But the city was then so densely populated below Wall Street that in 1729 the Dutch Reformed Church, in Garden Street below Wall, was so crowded that a portion of the congregation colonized and built the "Middle Dutch Church," on the corner of Nassau and Liberty Streets, used (until a few years ago) for the city Post-Office for many years. Wall Street had been so named because along its line, from river to river, had extended the palisades or wooden walls of the city of New Amsterdam.

Pauperism became prevalent and troublesome during Montgomerie's administration, and measures were taken for providing a public almshouse, which should also be a workhouse. One was erected in the rear of the present City Hall in 1734. It was well supplied with spinning-wheels for the women and shoemakers' tools and other implements of labor for the men. It was made a sort of self-sustaining institution.

Nothing of special public importance occurred in the city of New York after the trial of Zenger until 1741, when the famous "Negro Plot" produced a reign of terror there for some time. A similar occurrence, but of smaller proportions, had taken place in 1712, when the population of the city was about six thousand, composed largely of slaves. There was a suspicion of a conspiracy of the negroes to burn the city

and destroy the inhabitants. During the panic that prevailed nineteen slaves suspected of the crime perished.

In 1741 a suspected negro plot to destroy the city and its inhabitants produced great disaster. New York then contained about ten thousand inhabitants, nearly one fifth of whom were negro slaves. The city literally swarmed with them. There were growing apprehensions among the people of a servile insurrection. The slave-market was at the foot of Wall Street ; the calaboose was in the "common" or City Hall Park. The slaves were under rigorous discipline, and were keenly watched as apprehensions of danger from them increased.

In the early spring of 1741 some goods and silver were stolen from a merchant. Suspicion fell upon the keeper of a low tavern to which negroes and thieves resorted, but on searching the police found nothing. A maid-servant of the publican told a neighbor that the goods were there, and very soon she, her master, and his family were brought before the court. Then the servant accused a negro with being the thief and his master the receiver of the stolen goods. A part of the property was found under his master's kitchen floor and returned to the owner, and here the matter rested for a while.

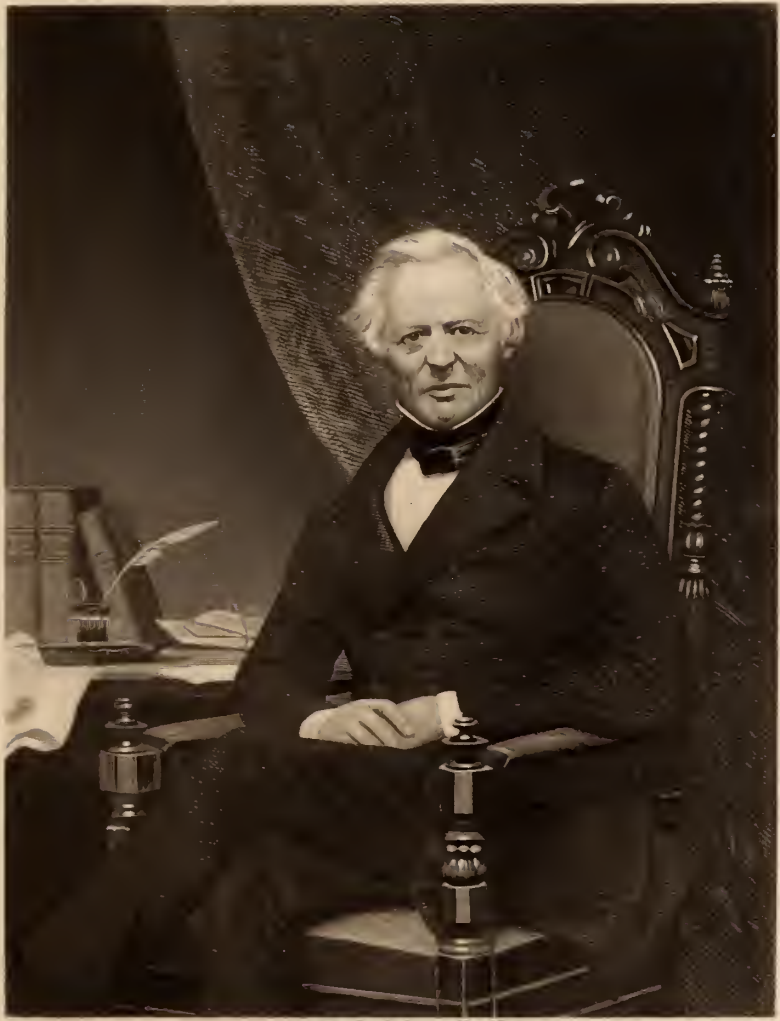
Two or three weeks later the governor's house in the fort was laid in ashes. Within a few days afterward other fires in different parts of the city occurred. These fires, breaking out in such rapid succession, alarmed the people, and a rumor that the negroes had plotted to burn the city took wing and flew to every dwelling in the course of a few hours. For several days the slaves had been suspected of meditating the crime ; now suspicion was changed to confirmation.

It was now noted that a Spanish vessel, manned in part by negroes, had recently been brought into port as a prize, and the black men had been sold at auction for slaves. They were naturally exasperated by this inhuman treatment, and had let fall some stifled threats. No one now doubted that these desperate fellows were leaders in the horrid plot. There was a general cry of "Arrest the Spanish negroes !" They were seized and cast into prison. On the same afternoon the magistrates met, and while they were in consultation the storehouse of Colonel Phillipse was discovered to be on fire. Magistrates and people were panic-stricken, for the busy tongue of rumor positively declared the negroes were about to fire the city, murder the inhabitants, and possess themselves of their masters' property. Negroes were seized indiscriminately, and very soon the prisons were filled with them.

The Common Council offered a reward of one hundred pounds and a full pardon to any conspirator who should reveal the plot and the

names of the incendiaries. The imprisoned servant of the tavern-keeper spoken of took advantage of this offer to gain her liberty and fill her purse, and told a most ridiculous story of negroes whom she named bringing stolen goods to her master, and talking about their design to burn the city and destroy the inhabitants, and the riches and power they would possess afterward. The excited and credulous magistrates received this absurd story as truth, and persons arrested were induced to make all sorts of confessions in the hope of averting danger to themselves. There was a reign of terror throughout the city. The victims of the lying servant's pretended revelations were imprisoned, tried, condemned, and executed. Among these were her master and his wife. On her testimony alone many negroes were from time to time accused and imprisoned, and in May several of them were burned alive in a green vale on the site of the (present) Five Points. In June others were burned, and before the middle of August one hundred and fifty-four negroes and twenty-four white people had been imprisoned. Of these four white persons were hanged; fourteen negroes were burned alive, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one were transported. The last victim was Ury, a schoolmaster, who was accused by the lying servant (Mary Burton) of being concerned in the plot. He was suspected of being a Roman Catholic priest. The bigoted magistrates took advantage of an old unrepealed law for hanging any priest who should voluntarily come into the province, and Ury was doomed. They seemed to be hungry for his life. In vain he offered to prove that he was a clergyman of the Church of England. Mary Burton was considered infallible, and poor Ury was hanged. Then the "state's witness" became bolder, and accused "persons of quality;" and, as in the case of "Salem witchcraft," when leading citizens, who had been active in persecuting the poor negroes, were implicated, men took measures to end the tragedy—"stop the delusion." It was done, and the 24th of September was set apart as a day of thanksgiving for the great deliverance. The "Negro Plot" may be classed among the foremost of popular delusions.

It was at about this time that a few men who played important parts in the social and political drama of the city of New York appeared conspicuous upon the stage — Dr. Cadwallader Colden, James De Lancey, Philip Livingston, Peter Schuyler, Abraham De Peyster, Frederick Phillipse, William Smith the elder, and a few others. Some of these, like Colden, were lovers of science and literature. So absorbed in trade, and in efforts to increase the wealth and material property of themselves and the city had the citizens become, that edu-



William Jay

cation was neglected. Some of these gentlemen clearly perceived the evils to be feared from such a want, and set about supplying it. There were then but few collegians in the province; Messrs. Smith and De Lancey were the only ones in the legal profession. There was a small public library, but it was little used. The chaplain of Lord Bellomont (Rev. John Sharp) had presented to the city a collection of books in 1700, for a "Corporation Library," and in 1729 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts added to these, for the same purpose, 1622 volumes, which had been given to them by Rev. John Millington, of England. The first librarian appointed died; the books were neglected, and their very existence was almost forgotten until 1754, when some public-spirited citizens organized and founded the "Society Library." The Common Council added the "Corporation Library" to the institution, and for several years the books of the Society Library were kept in the City Hall.

Meanwhile £2250 had been raised by lottery for the foundation of a college. This sum was increased, and in 1754 King's (now Columbia) College was chartered. Sectarianism was then rampant in the city, and there was a sharp struggle for the denominational control of the institution between the Episcopalians, headed by James De Lancey, and the Presbyterians, led by Philip Livingston. The former gained the mastery.

In 1752 the first merchants' exchange in New York was erected at the foot of Broad Street. Beekman Street was opened the same year, and St. George's Chapel was erected on it by Trinity Church corporation.

This period in the history of the city of New York is particularly distinguished for political and theological controversies. The lines between sects in religion and politics were sharply drawn. Bigotry and intolerance were rampant. The Jews had been allowed to establish a cemetery near the present Chatham Square, east side; now they were disfranchised. The Moravians, who closely resembled the Episcopalians in the form of their liturgical worship, and who had built a church on Fair (now Fulton) Street* and established a mission in Dutchess County, were persecuted as Jesuits in disguise. In the colonial assembly political controversies became bitter. This bitterness was augmented by the conduct of the royal governor, Admiral Sir George Clinton, who speedily made himself unpopular with the leaders of all

* On the west side of Broadway it was called Partition Street, the partition line between the King's Farm and others.

parties. His best supporter at the beginning of his administration was Chief-Justice De Lancey. Clinton soon offended him and allied himself to Dr. Colden,* who was then a power in the province; but De Lancey, who was more prominent socially and politically than Colden, made war upon the governor. He engendered a fierce contest between Clinton and the assembly. The governor soon offended Colden, who joined the opposition. At length the admiral, wearied with the contest and becoming more and more unpopular, left the office, and was succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborne.

At the first meeting of his council Osborne laid his instructions before them, when they said, "The assembly will never yield obedience." "Is this true?" he asked William Smith. "Most emphatically," replied the councillor. "Then what am I come here for?" said Osborne musingly. The next morning his dead body was found suspended by a handkerchief from the garden wall of his lodgings. He had destroyed himself in despair. James De Lancey,† the lieutenant-governor, assumed the direction of public affairs. The political leaders had zealous partisans among the citizens, and New York for many years was a seething caldron of adverse opinions.

The quarrel of De Lancey with Clinton ‡ had caused the former to

* Cadwallader Colden was a native of Scotland; was born at Dunse, February 17, 1688, graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1705, and in 1708 emigrated to America, and died at his country seat on Long Island, September 28, 1776. He was a physician and skilful mathematician. He practised medicine in Pennsylvania a few years, and went to England in 1715. The next year, after visiting Scotland, he returned to Pennsylvania, but at the request of Governor Hunter settled in New York in 1718, when he was appointed surveyor-general, a master in chancery, and in 1720 a member of the King's Council. Obtaining a patent for lands in Orange County, he settled there. He was acting governor of New York from 1760 until his death. During the Stamp Act excitement in New York in 1765, the populace destroyed his carriage and burned him in effigy. When Governor Tryon returned to New York in 1775, Colden retired to Long Island. He wrote a history of the Five Nations of Indians.

† James De Lancey was born in New York in 1703, the son of a Huguenot emigrant from Caen, Normandy. He was educated at Cambridge, England, and returned to America in 1729, soon after which he was made a justice of the Supreme Court of New York. In 1733 he was elevated to the seat of chief justice. De Lancey was acting governor for nearly seven years, from 1753 to 1760. He was an astute lawyer, a sagacious legislator, a skilful intriguer, and a demagogue of great influence and political strength. These qualities and vast estates secured to him triumphs when most other men would have failed.

‡ Admiral George Clinton was governor of New York for ten years—1743-1753. He was the youngest son of the sixth Earl of Lincoln, and was appointed commodore and governor of Newfoundland in 1732. His administration in New York was a stormy one, for he did not possess qualifications for the position, or any skill in civil affairs. He found in De Lancey a most annoying opponent. Colden was Clinton's champion on all

oppose the governor's unpopular schemes, and so made himself a favorite with the people. The representative "aristocrat" became, by the legerdemain of party politics, the representative "democrat" of the hour; and the late royalist faction, composed of the wealthiest and most influential citizens, was now arrayed on the side of the people's rights. But De Lancey found it difficult to maintain that position and render obedience to royal instructions. He was soon relieved of the embarrassment by the arrival of Admiral Hardy as governor, when De Lancey resumed his seat as chief justice. He soon afterward became acting governor again, and was performing its duties when, on the morning of July 30, 1760, he was found dying in his study, the victim of chronic asthma.

The French and Indian war then in progress had taxed the patriotism and the resources in men and money of the citizens of New York. The war was raging on the northern frontier of their province, and they cheerfully and generously responded to every reasonable call. At the same time, jealous of their political rights, they warmly resented any violation of them. Lord Loudoun, the commander of the British forces in America, sent a thousand troops to the city of New York with orders for the authorities to billet them upon the inhabitants. This was an infraction of their rights. The city authorities quartered the soldiers in the barracks on Chambers Street, leaving the officers to take care of themselves. The angry Loudoun hastened to New York and commanded the authorities to find free quarters for the officers, and threatened if it were not done he would bring all the soldiers under his command and billet them upon the inhabitants himself. The governor was disposed to comply, but the indignant people refused, and defied the general. The matter was finally adjusted, to avert serious trouble, by furnishing free quarters to the officers by means of a private subscription. This demand was afterward several times repeated, and was one of the principal grievances which impelled the citizens of New York to armed resistance to royal authority.

On the accession of George III. in 1760, followed by ministerial schemes for burdening colonial commerce with restrictions, the murmurs of the king's subjects in America, which had been heard in almost inaudible whispers by his immediate predecessors, became loud and menacing. As occasions for complaint multiplied, the colonists showed symptoms of absolute resistance to acts of Parliament, and in this none

occasions. Clinton was made vice-admiral of the rear in 1745, and vice-admiral of the fleet in 1757. He died governor of Newfoundland in 1761.

were more prompt and defiant than the citizens of New York. Unwise and oppressive navigation laws were put in force, and these weighed heavily upon New York, then become a decidedly commercial city. These laws were at first mildly resisted. The collectors of customs finally called for aid, and writs of assistance were issued, by which these officers or their deputies might enter every house they pleased, break locks and bars if necessary in search of dutiable goods, and in this way become the violators of the great principles of Magna Charta, which made every Englishman's house his "castle." These writs were denounced everywhere, and were followed soon afterward by the famous and obnoxious Stamp Act, which required every piece of paper, parchment, or vellum containing a legal document, such as a promissory note or a marriage certificate, to have a stamp affixed upon it, for which a specified sum was to be paid to the government of Great Britain.

This indirect system of taxation was very offensive, and the scheme was stoutly opposed everywhere on the continent, but nowhere with more firmness than in the city of New York. Dr. Colden, then nearly eighty years of age, was acting governor of the province, and duty to his sovereign and his own political convictions compelled him to oppose the popular movements around him. When, late in October (1765), stamps arrived at New York consigned to a "stamp distributor," the "Sons of Liberty," recently reorganized, demanded that agent's resignation; Colden upheld and protected him, and had the stamps placed in the fort. This covert menace exasperated the people.

Though British ships of war riding in the harbor, as well as the fort, had their great guns trained upon the city, the patriots were not dismayed, and appearing in considerable number before the governor's house at the fort, demanded the stamps. The demand was refused, and very soon the large group of orderly citizens was swelled into a roaring mob. They bore to The Fields (the City Hall Park) an effigy of the governor, which they burned on the spot where Leisler was hanged three fourths of a century before because he was a republican. Then they hastened back to the foot of Broadway, tore up the wooden railing around the Bowling Green, piled it up in front of the fort, dragged the governor's coach out and cast it upon the heap, and made a huge bonfire of the whole. After committing other excesses, and parading the streets with a banner inscribed "England's Folly and America's Ruin," they dispersed to their homes.

Earlier in the same month a colonial convention known as the "Stamp Act Congress" assembled in New York, discussed the rights

of the colonists, and adopted a Declaration of Rights, a Petition to the King, and a Memorial to both Houses of Parliament. Already the idea of union had been suggested by a newspaper called the *Constitutional Courant*, bearing the device of a snake separated into several parts, each with an initial of a colony, and bearing the injunction, JOIN OR DIE! Only one issue of the *Courant* was made, but its suggestion was potent. The idea of the device was like an electric spark that kindled a flame which was never quenched. The merchants of New York immediately "joined" in creating a Committee of Correspondence instructed to solicit the merchants of other cities to join with them in a solemn agreement not to import any more goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act should be repealed. There was general acquiescence. This measure produced a powerful impression upon the commercial interests of Great Britain. The people at the centres of trade there clamored for a repeal of the obnoxious act, and in the course of three months this much-desired measure was effected. Then the citizens of New York, in the plenitude of their gratitude and joy, caused a leaden equestrian statue of the king to be erected in the centre of the Bowling Green, and a marble one to Pitt (who had effected the repeal) in the attitude of an orator, at the junction of Wall and William Streets.

To New York merchants is due the honor of having invented those two powerful engines of resistance to the obnoxious acts of the British Parliament, and with so much potency at the beginning of the old war for independence—namely, the *Committee of Correspondence* and the *Non-importation League*.

CHAPTER III.

FROM the period of the Stamp Act until the beginning of the old war for independence, in 1775, the merchants of New York bore a conspicuous part in political events tending toward independence. They were leading "Sons of Liberty." For a while the liberal character of the administration of the new governor, Sir Henry Moore,* allayed excitements and animosities; but the stubborn king and stupid ministry, utterly unable to comprehend the character of the American people and the loftiness of the principles which animated them, continued to vex them with obnoxious schemes of taxation, and kept them in a state of constant irritation.

Before the echoes of the repeal rejoicings had died away, troops were sent to New York, and under the provisions of the Mutiny Act they were to be quartered at the partial expense of the province. They were sent as a menace and as a check to the growth of republican ideas among the people there. Led by the Sons of Liberty, the inhabitants resolved to resist the measure for their enslavement. The Provincial Assembly steadily refused compliance with the terms of the Mutiny Act, and early in 1767 Parliament passed an act prohibiting the governor and Legislature of New York passing any bill for any purpose whatever. The assembly partially yielded, but a new assembly, convened early in 1768, stoutly held an attitude of defiance, and the colony was made to feel the royal displeasure. But the assembly remained faithful to the cause of liberty down to the death of Governor Moore, in 1769. Then Dr. Colden again became acting governor, and an unnatural coalition was formed between him and James De Lancey, son of Peter De Lancey, who was a leader of the aristocracy in the assembly.

Meanwhile the city had been almost continually disquieted by the insolent bearing and outrageous conduct of the troops, who were

* Sir Henry Moore was a native of Jamaica, W. I., where he was born in 1713. He became governor of his native island in 1756, and was created a baronet as a reward for his services in suppressing a slave insurrection there. From 1764 until his death, in September, 1769, he was governor of New York. He arrived in New York in the midst of the Stamp Act excitement in 1765, and acted very judiciously.

encouraged by their officers. On the king's birthday, in 1766, the citizens, grateful for the repeal of the Stamp Act, celebrated it with great rejoicing. On that occasion they erected a flagstaff which bore the words "The King, Pitt, and Liberty." They called it a *Liberty Pole*, and it became the rallying-place for the Sons of Liberty. This New York idea became popular, and liberty poles soon arose in other provinces as rallying-places for political gatherings of the patriots. When the soldiers came to New York this pole became an object of their dislike, and they cut it down. When, the next day, the citizens were preparing to set up another, they were attacked by the troops, and two of the leading Sons of Liberty were wounded. But the pole was set up. It, too, was soon prostrated, and a third pole was raised, when Governor Moore forbade the soldiers to touch it.

The next spring the citizens of New York celebrated the first anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act around the liberty pole. That night the soldiers cut it down. Another was set up the next day, protected from the axe by iron bands. An unsuccessful attempt to cut it down, and also to prostrate it with gunpowder, were made. The Sons of Liberty set a guard to watch it, and Governor Moore again forbade interference with it. That liberty pole stood in proud defiance until January, 1770, when, at midnight, soldiers issued from the barracks on Chambers Street, prostrated it, sawed it in pieces, and piled them up in front of the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty. The bell of St. George's chapel was rung, and the next morning three thousand indignant people stood around the mutilated liberty pole, and by resolutions declared their rights and their determination to maintain them. The city was fearfully excited for three days. In frequent affrays with the citizens the soldiers were generally worsted, and in a severe conflict on Golden Hill, an eminence near Burling Slip at Cliff and Fulton Streets, several of the soldiers were disarmed. When quiet was restored another liberty pole was erected on private ground, on Broadway near Wall Street. This fifth flagstaff remained undisturbed until the British took possession of the city in 1776, when it was hewn down by Cunningham, the notorious provost marshal. That fight on Golden Hill in the city of New York between its citizens and royal troops was the *first battle of the Revolution*. The last battle of that war was fought there between Cunningham and Mrs. Day, at the foot of Murray Street.

With the coalition between Colden and De Laneey a gradual change in the political complexion of the Provincial Assembly was apparent. The leaven of aristocracy had begun a transformation. A game for

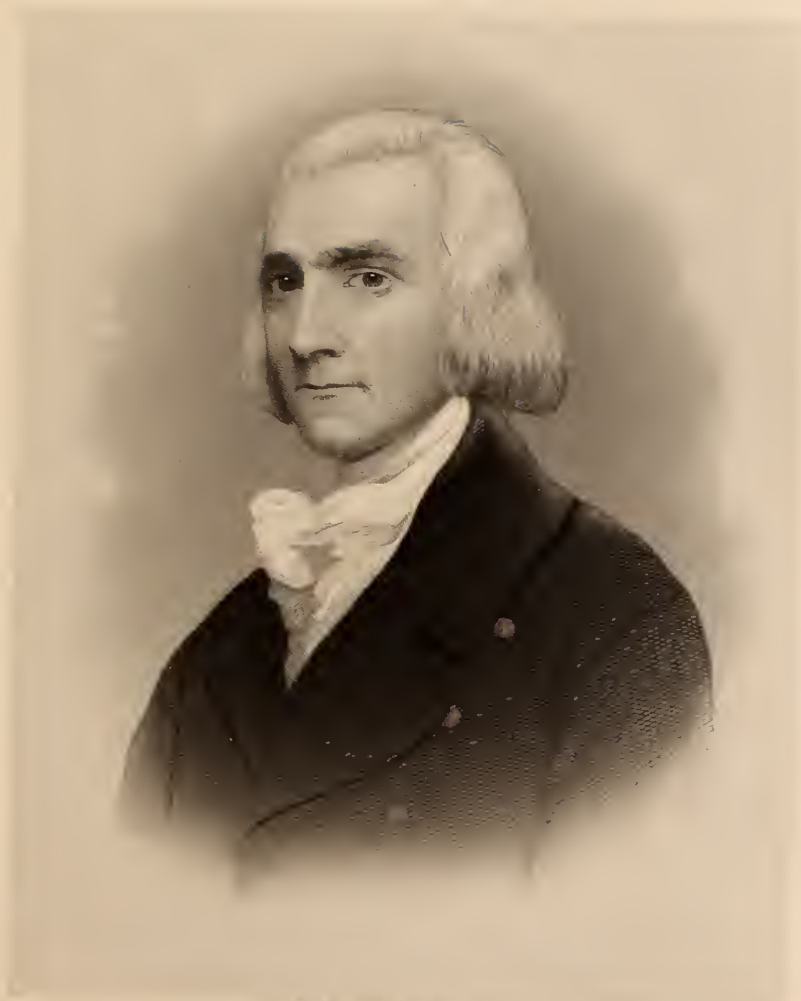
political power, based upon proposed financial schemes, was begun. A grant for the support of the troops was also made. These things menaced the liberties of the people. The popular leaders sounded the alarm. Among the most active at that time were Isaac Sears, John Lamb,* Alexander McDougall,† and John Morin Scott ‡—names which will be ever associated as efficient and fearless champions of liberty in the city of New York when the tempest of the Revolution was impending.

In December, 1769, a handbill signed "A Son of Liberty" was posted throughout the city calling a meeting of "the betrayed inhabitants" in the Fields. It denounced the money scheme and the assembly, and pointed to the coalition as an omen of danger to the State. The call was heeded, and the next day a large concourse of citizens assembled around the Liberty Pole, where they were harangued by John Lamb, one of the most ardent patriots of New York. By unani-

* John Lamb was born in New York on January 1, 1735, and died there May 31, 1800. He was at first an optician, but in 1760 he engaged in the liquor trade. In the ten years' quarrel between the American colonists and the British ministry, Lamb was an earnest and active patriot. He accompanied Montgomery to Quebec in 1775, where he was wounded and made prisoner. He was then a captain of artillery. Exchanged the next summer, he returned to New York, was promoted to major, and attached to the regiment of artillery under General Knox. From the expedition to Quebec at the beginning of the war to the siege of Yorktown at the end of it, Lamb was a gallant and most useful officer. He became a member of the New York Assembly. He was appointed collector of customs at the port of New York by President Washington, which office he held until his death.

† Alexander McDougall was born in Scotland in 1731; died in New York June 8, 1786. He came to New York about 1755, and was a printer and seaman when the quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies was progressing. He issued an inflammatory address in 1769, concerning the action of the Provincial Assembly, headed "To the Betrayed Inhabitants of the Colony," and signed "A Son of Liberty." This, the assembly declared, was an infamous and seditious libel. McDougall was put in prison, and was there visited and regaled by patriotic men and women. He was finally released, and became one of the leading men in civil and military life throughout the war for independence. He entered the army as colonel, and was a major-general in 1777. A delegate in Congress in 1781, he was soon appointed "Minister of Marine" (Secretary of the Navy), but did not hold the office long. He returned to the army. He was chosen a senator of the State of New York in 1783, and held that position at the time of his death.

‡ John Morin Scott was born in New York in 1730; died there September 14, 1784. He was a graduate of Yale College, became a lawyer, and holding a forcible pen, he joined William Livingston in writing against ministerial measures for years before the breaking out of the war for independence. He was a most active and influential member of the Provincial Congress of New York, and of committees. In 1776 he was made a brigadier-general, and fought in the battle of Long Island. In 1777 he was chosen State senator; was Secretary of the State of New York, and was a member of Congress 1780-83.



Eng. by G. B. Smith - N.Y.

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mous vote the proceedings of the assembly were disapproved. A committee presented the proceedings of the meeting to the assembly, and were courteously received. Another handbill from the same hand, signed "Legion," appeared the next day, in which the action of the assembly was denounced as "base and inglorious," and charged that body with a betrayal of their trust. This second attack was pronounced a libel by the assembly, only the staunch patriot Philip Schuyler voting No. They offered a reward for the discovery of the writer. The printer of the handbills, menaced with punishment, told them it was Alexander McDougall, a seaman, who was afterward a conspicuous officer in the Continental army. He was arrested, and refusing to plead or give bail, was imprisoned many weeks before he was brought to trial. Regarded as a martyr to the cause of liberty, his prison was the scene of daily public receptions. Some of the most reputable of the citizens sympathizing with him frequently visited him. Being a sailor, he was regarded as the true type of "imprisoned commerce." On the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, his health was drunk with honors at a banquet, and the meeting in procession visited him in his prison. Ladies of distinction daily thronged there. Popular songs were written, and sung under his prison bars, and emblematic swords were worn. His words when ordered to prison were, "I rejoice that I am the first to suffer for liberty since the commencement of our glorious struggle." He was finally released on bail, and the matter was wisely dropped by the prosecutors. McDougall was a true type of what is generally known as the "common people"—the great mass of citizens who carry on the chief industries of a country—its agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and arts—and create its wealth.

Comparative quiet prevailed in New York from the time of the McDougall excitement until the arrival of the news of Lord North's famous Tea Act, which set the colonies in a blaze. The people everywhere resolved to oppose, and not allow a cargo of tea to be landed anywhere. The earliest public meeting to consider the reception that should be given to the tea-ships, which had actually sailed for America, was held in the city of New York on the 15th of October, 1773. Intimations had reached the city on the 11th that a tea-ship had been ordered to that port; and at the meeting held at the Coffee-House in Wall Street, grateful thanks were voted to the patriotic American merchants and shipmasters in London who had refused to receive tea as freight from the East India Company.

When the tea-ship (*Nancy*) arrived at Sandy Hook (April 18, 1774) the captain was informed by a pilot of the drift of public sentiment in

New York, and he wisely went up to the city without his vessel. He found that sentiment so strong against allowing him to land his cargo that he resolved to return to England with it. While he was in the city a merchant vessel arrived with eighteen chests of tea hidden in her cargo. The vigilant Sons of Liberty discovered them and cast their contents into the waters of the harbor, and advised the captain of the vessel to leave the city as soon as possible. As he and the commander of the *Nancy* put off in a small boat at the foot of Broad Street for their respective vessels, a multitude on shore shouted a farewell, while the thunders of cannon fired in the Fields shook the city, and the people hoisted a flag on the Liberty Pole in token of triumph. This New York Tea Party occurred several months after the famous Boston Tea Party.

At this juncture the state of political society in New York was peculiar. Social differences had produced two quite distinct parties among professed republicans, which were designated respectively *Patricians* and *Tribunes*; the former were composed of the merchants and gentry, and the latter mostly of mechanics. The latter were radicals, and the former joined with the Loyalists in attempts to check the influence of the zealous democrats. Most of the influential merchants were with these Conservatives, and were, as usual, averse to commotions which disturb trade. They hesitated to enter into another non-importation league. They held a public meeting, and appointed a Committee of Fifty-one as "representatives of public sentiment in New York." They publicly repudiated a strong letter which the radicals had sent to their brethren in Boston; and while the people of other colonies approved non-intercourse, New York, as represented by this Grand Committee, stood alone in opposition to a stringent non-intercourse league. The Loyalists rejoiced, and a writer in Rivington's *Gazette* exclaimed with exultation:

"And so, my good masters, I find it no joke,
For *York* has stepp'd forward and thrown off the yoke
Of Congress, Committees, and even King Sears,
Who shows you good nature by showing his ears."

The "Committee of Vigilance" appointed by the Radicals disregarded the action of the Grand Committee. They called a mass-meeting of the citizens in the Fields on the 19th of June, 1774. That meeting denounced the lukewarmness of the Committee of Fifty-one, and resolved to support the Bostonians in their struggle. The port of the latter had been closed to commerce by a royal order. It was an insult

and an injury to the whole continent, and ought to be resented by the whole. Another meeting was called in the Fields at six o'clock in the evening of the 6th of July, "to hear matters of the utmost importance to the reputation of the people and their security as freemen." It was an immense gathering, and was ever afterward known as *The Great Meeting in the Fields*. A strong resolution in favor of non-importation was adopted, and other patriotic measures were approved. In the crowd was a lad, seventeen years of age, delicate and girl-like in personal grace and stature. Some who knew him as a student at King's (now Columbia) College, of much intellectual vigor, urged him to make a speech. After much persuasion he complied. With rare eloquence and logic he discussed the principles involved in the controversy, depicted the sufferings Americans were enduring from the oppression of the mother country, and pointed to the means which might secure redress. All listened in wonder to the words of wisdom from the lips of the youth, and when he ceased speaking there was a whispered murmur in the crowd, "It is a collegian! it is a collegian!" That young orator was Alexander Hamilton.

Preparations were now on foot for a general council of the English-American colonies. The citizens of New York took the first step in that direction. The Sons of Liberty, whom the Loyalists called "The Presbyterian Jesuits," moved by the injustice and menaces of the Boston Port Bill, proposed, in May, 1774, by their representative committee, a General Congress of delegates. They sent this proposition to Boston, urging the patriots there to second the proposal. They also sent the same to the Philadelphia committee, and through them to the southern colonies. There was general acquiescence, and early in September delegates from twelve of the colonies met in Philadelphia and formed the *First Continental Congress*.

This was the beginning of a new era in the world's history. The tempest of revolution which the British king, lords and commons had engendered was about to sweep over the English-American colonies, and by its energy dismember the British Empire and create a new power among the nations of the earth. In the preliminary events which ushered in that era the inhabitants of the city of New York had borne a conspicuous part. They had first planted the seeds of democracy in America, first vindicated the freedom of the press, and first suggested the use of three great forces which led in the successful struggle for the independence of the American people—namely, Committees of Correspondence, Non-importation Leagues, and a General Congress which foreshadowed a permanent union. In that Congress

the city of New York was represented by James Duane,* John Jay, Philip Livingston, and Isaac Low—men who took an important part in its deliberations. One of them (John Jay), then only twenty-nine years of age, wrote the able Address to the People of Great Britain, adopted by the Congress, and formed one of those admirable state papers put forth by that body, concerning which William Pitt said in the British Parliament : “ I must declare and avow that in all my reading and study of history (and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world)—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia.”

At that time the city of New York contained a population of about twenty-two thousand. The city had expanded northward on the narrow island. Streets were opened on the west side of Broadway as far as Reade Street, at which point had just been erected the New York Hospital. It was so far out of town that nobody dreamed the little city would extend so far inland within a hundred years. Up the Bowery Lane (now the Bowery), then running through the open country to Stuyvesant's country seat, the streets were laid out as far as Hester Street, and up Division Street, then also a country road, as far as Orchard Street.

There were three newspapers published in the city at that time—Hugh Gaine's *New York Mercury*, John Holt's *New York Journal*, and James Rivington's *New York Gazette*. The two former were in sympathy with the patriots ; the latter favored the royal side in political discussions. The *Journal* was the successor of Zenger's *Journal*, revived by Holt in 1767. When the war for independence broke out, and the British took possession of the city, Gaine and Holt fled, the first to New Jersey, the second up the Hudson River to Kingston, and resumed the publication of their respective papers at the places of

* James Duane was born in the city of New York, February 6, 1733 ; died in Duanesburg, N. Y., February 1, 1797. He began a settlement in 1765 on the site of Duanesburg, a part of a large estate which he inherited. His wife was a daughter of Colonel Robert Livingston of the “ manor.” An active patriot, he was chosen a delegate to the first Continental Congress in 1774 ; was a member of the New York Provincial Convention, and was on the committee that drafted the first Constitution of the State of New York. After the British evacuation in 1783 he returned to the city of New York, and was elected the first mayor under the new Constitution. In 1783-84 he was a member of the council and State Senator, and was also a member of the convention of the State of New York which adopted the National Constitution. Mr. Duane was United States District Judge from 1789 to 1794.

their exile. At that time John Anderson, a Scotchman, was publishing a small Whig newspaper entitled the *Constitutional Gazette*. He fled to Connecticut. Rivington, who had become zealous in the cause of the crown, remained. His vigorous, sharp, and witty thrusts at the patriotic party so irritated the Sons of Liberty that Isaac Sears,* in the fall of 1775, at the head of a hundred light-horsemen from Connecticut, went to the city at noonday, entered Rivington's printing establishment at the foot of Wall Street, destroyed his press, and putting his type into bags carried them away and made bullets of them.

The First Continental Congress took a strong position in opposition to the obnoxious measures of the British Government. They adopted a general non-importation league under the name of "The American Association." They denounced the slave trade, put forth some able state papers, above mentioned, and sent a copy of their proceedings to Dr. Franklin, then in England. Vigilance committees were appointed to see that the provisions of the association were not evaded. The Congress adjourned to meet again the following May, if public necessity should require them to do so.

The patriotic party in the New York Assembly tried in vain to have that body officially sanction the proceedings of the Continental Congress. The leaven of loyalty was at work in that body, and there was much timidity exhibited as the great crisis approached. Conservatism was too strong for the patriots in that body to effect more than the adoption of a remonstrance, but it was so bold in its utterances that Parliament refused to accept it.

When the assembly adjourned in April, 1775, it was final. It never met again. The people in the city took public matters into their own hands. They had appointed a committee of sixty to enforce the regu-

* Isaac Sears was born at Norwalk, Conn., in 1729; died in Canton, China, October 28, 1786. He was one of the most zealous and active of the Sons of Liberty in New York, when the war for independence was a-kindling. When political matters arrested his attention, Sears was a successful merchant in New York, carrying on trade with Europe and the West Indies. Previous to engaging in trade he commanded a privateer. He lost his vessel in 1761, and then settled in New York. In the Stamp Act excitement he became a leader of the Sons of Liberty, and so bold and active did he become that he received the name of "King Sears." The Tories and the Tory newspaper (Rivington's) maligned, ridiculed, and caricatured him without stint. Sears retaliated on Rivington. One day in November, 1775, he entered the city at the head of a troop of Connecticut horsemen, and in open day destroyed Rivington's printing establishment. He became General Charles Lee's adjutant in 1776, but did not remain long in the military service. When the war was ended his business and fortune were gone, and in 1785 he sailed for Canton as a supercargo. He sickened on the passage, and died soon after his arrival in China.

lations of the association. The assembly having refused to make provision for the appointment of delegates to the Second Continental Congress, it was determined to organize a Provincial Congress. Delegates from the several counties met in New York on the 20th of April and appointed delegates to the Congress—namely, Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, John Jay, Simon Boernum, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Lewis Morris, Francis Lewis, and Robert R. Livingston.

When news of the conflicts at Lexington and Concord reached New York, five days after their occurrence, the citizens were greatly excited. All business was suspended. The Sons of Liberty, who had gathered arms, distributed them among the people, and a party formed themselves into a revolutionary corps under Captain Samuel Broome, and assumed temporarily the functions of the municipal government, for it was known that the mayor was a loyalist. They obtained the keys of the Custom-House, closed it, and laid an embargo upon every vessel in port. This done, they proceeded to organize a provisional government for the city, and on the 5th of May the people assembled at the Coffee-House, chose one hundred of their fellow-citizens for the purpose, invested them with the charge of municipal affairs, and pledged themselves to obey the orders of the committee. It was composed of the following substantial citizens :

Isaac Low, chairman ; John Jay, Francis Lewis, John Alsop, Philip Livingston, James Duane, Evert Duyckman, William Seton, William W. Ludlow, Cornelius Clopper, Abraham Brinkerhoff, Henry Rensen, Robert Ray, Evert Bancker, Joseph Totten, Abraham P. Lott, David Beekman, Isaac Roosevelt, Gabriel H. Ludlow, William Walton, Daniel Phoenix, Frederick Jay, Samuel Broome, John De Lancey, Augustus Van Horne, Abraham Duryée, Samuel Verplanck, Rudolphus Ritzema, John Morton, Joseph Hallet, Robert Benson, Abraham Brasher, Leonard Lisperard, Nicholas Hoffman, Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Thomas Marsten, Lewis Pintard, John Inlay, Eleazer Miller, Jr., John Broome, John B. Moore, Nicholas Bogart, John Anthony, Victor Bicker, William Goforth, Hercules Mulligan, Alexander McDougall, John Reade, Joseph Ball, George Janeway, John White, Gabriel W. Ludlow, John Lasher, Theophilus Anthony, Thomas Smith, Richard Yates, Oliver Templeton, Jacobus Van Landby, Jeremiah Platt, Peter S. Curtenins, Thomas Randall, Lancaster Burling, Benjamin Kissam, Jacob Lefferts, Anthony Van Dam, Abraham Walton, Hamilton Young, Nicholas Roosevelt, Cornelius P. Low, Francis Bassett, James Beekman, Thomas Ivers, William Dunning, John Berrien, Benjamin

Helme, William W. Gilbert, Daniel Dunscombe, John Lamb, Richard Sharp, John Morin Scott, Jacob Van Voorhis, Comfort Sands, Edward Flemming, Peter Goelet, Gerrit Kettletas, Thomas Buchanan, James Desbrosses, Petrus Byvanck, and Lott Embree.

This committee was composed of the leading citizens of New York, engaged in various professions and industries, the bone and sinew of society at that time. Many of them were conspicuous actors in the important events which ensued ; and thousands of citizens of New York to-day may find among, and point with just pride to, the names of ancestors which appear upon that roll of honor.

This committee immediately assumed the control of the city, taking care to secure weapons for possible use, sending away all cannon not belonging to the province, and prohibiting the sale of arms to persons suspected of being hostile to the patriots, and they were many. They presented an address to Governor Colden explaining the object of their appointment, and assuring him that they should use every effort to maintain peace and quiet in the city.

It was known that royal regiments were coming to New York, and the committee asked the Continental Congress for instructions how to act in the premises. They were advised not to oppose their landing, but not to suffer them to erect fortifications, and to act on the defensive. In the Provincial Congress there was a strong infusion of Tory elements, and they exhibited a timid or temporizing policy on this occasion. The troops landed ; the Provincial Congress obsequiously showed great deference to crown officers ; the *Asia* man-of-war lying in the harbor was allowed supplies of provisions ; some of the acts of the Sons of Liberty were rebuked, and there seemed to be more of a disposition to produce reconciliation than to assert the rights of the people. Edmund Burke, who had been an agent for the province, expressed his surprise "at the scrupulous timidity which could suffer the king's forces to possess themselves of the most important port in America."

When, soon after this, the troops were ordered to Boston, the committee directed that they should take no munitions of war with them, excepting their arms and accoutrements. Unmindful of this order, they were proceeding down Broad Street to embark with several wagons loaded with arms, when they were discovered by Colonel Marinus Willett,* who hastily gathered some of the Sons of Liberty,

* Marinus Willett was born at Jamaica, L. I., July 31, 1740, and died in New York City August 23, 1830. He was graduated at King's (Columbia) College in 1766. He served under Abercrombie and Bradstreet in 1758, and when the quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies began, Willett was one of the most energetic of the

confronted the troops, seized the horse that was drawing the head wagon, and stopped the whole train. While disputing with the commander, the Tory mayor of the city came up and severely reprimanded Willett for thus "endangering the public peace," when the latter was joined by John Morin Seott, one of the Committee of One Hundred, who told him he was right; that the troops were violating orders, and they must not be allowed to take the arms away. The wagons were turned back, and the troops, in light marching order, were allowed to embark.

War had now begun. Blood had flowed at Lexington. Tieonderoga had fallen into the hands of the patriots. Ethan Allen had seized it in the name "of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The battle of Bunker's Hill soon followed. The army of volunteers gathered at Cambridge was adopted by the Congress as a Continental army, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. With his suite he arrived in New York on the 25th of June. The royal governor Tryon had arrived the night before and been cordially received by the Tory mayor (Mathews) and the common council. Here were the representatives of the two great parties in America—Whig and Tory—face to face. The situation was embarrassing, and for a moment the people were at their wit's end. The two municipal governments were hostile to each other. The Provincial Congress then in session in the city came to the rescue by timidly presenting Washington with a cautious address, containing nothing that would arouse the anger of the British lion. For a moment the patriotic heart of the city beat noiselessly, and Washington passed on, sure of the public sympathy, which was only suppressed, and on the 3d of July he took formal command of the army at Cambridge.

The Continental Congress ordered New York to raise regiments of troops and to fortify the passes in the Hudson Highlands. The Provincial Congress directed the great guns of the Battery, in the city, to be removed and sent up the river. This order brought matters to a crisis. Captain Lamb, with some Sons of Liberty and other citizens,

opponents of the ministry. A leading Son of Liberty, he was a leader in the rebellious movements in New York City. He entered McDougall's regiment as captain, and participated in the invasion of Canada. Promoted to lieutenant-colonel, he was ordered to Fort Stanwix, in May, 1777, and participated in the stormy events of that neighborhood during the summer. In June, 1776, he joined the army under Washington, and was active in the military service during the remainder of the war. At the close he was chosen sheriff of the city of New York, and filled the office eight years. In 1807 he was chosen mayor of the city. Colonel Willett was created a brigadier-general in 1792, but never entered upon the duties of that rank.



John W. Francis

proceeded to execute the order on a pleasant night in August. While so engaged, a musket was fired upon them from a barge belonging to the *Asia*. The fire was returned by Lamb's party, killing one of the crew and wounding several others. The *Asia* opened a cannonade upon the town, which caused great consternation and the flight of many of the inhabitants. Lamb and his men persisted in this work in spite of the cannonade, and took away the whole twenty-one cannon from the Battery. After that the *Asia* was denied supplies from the city, and Governor Tryon, perceiving his danger, took counsel of his fears and fled for refuge on board a British man-of-war in the harbor, where he attempted to exercise civil government for a while. After these events the city enjoyed comparative quiet until the following spring, disturbed only by Sears's raid upon Rivington's printing establishment, already mentioned.

CHAPTER IV.

A BRITISH army commanded by General Howe had been besieged in Boston during the winter of 1775-76, and in March was compelled to fly to Halifax, N. S., by sea, leaving New England in possession of the "rebels." Meanwhile the British ministry had conceived a plan for separating New England from the rest of the colonies by the establishment of a line of military posts in the valleys of the Hudson and Lake Champlain, between New York and the St. Lawrence. To do this New York must be seized.

Aside from this scheme, New York appears to have been a coveted prize for the British, and early in 1776 Howe despatched General Clinton secretly to attack it. Suspecting New York to be Clinton's destination, Washington sent General Charles Lee thither; and on the evacuation of Boston in March, the commander-in-chief marched with nearly the whole of his army to New York, arriving there at the middle of April. He pushed forward the defences of the city begun by General Lord Stirling. Fort George, on the site of Fort Amsterdam, was strengthened, numerous batteries were constructed on the shores of the Hudson and East rivers, and lines of fortifications were built across the island from river to river not far from the city. Strong Fort Washington was finally built on the highest land on the island (now Washington Heights), and intrenchments were thrown up on Harlem Heights. In the summer Washington made his headquarters at Richmond Hill, then a country retreat at the (present) junction of Charlton and Varick streets.

On the 10th of July copies of the Declaration of Independence were received in New York. The army was drawn up into hollow squares by brigades, and in that position the important document was read to each brigade. That night soldiers and citizens joined in pulling down the equestrian statue of King George, which the grateful citizens had caused to be set up in the Bowling Green only six years before. They dragged the leaden image through the streets and broke it in pieces. Some of it was taken to Connecticut and moulded into bullets.

It was while Washington had his headquarters at Richmond Hill that

a plot, suggested, it is said, by Governor Tryon, to murder him was discovered. One of his Life Guard was bribed to do the deed. He attempted to poison his general. He had secured, as he thought, a confederate in the person of the maiden who waited upon Washington's table. She allowed the miscreant to put the poison in a dish of green peas she was about to set before the commander-in-chief, to whom she gave warning of his danger when she placed them on his table. The treacherous guardsman was arrested, found guilty, and hanged. This was the first military execution in New York.

At the close of June, 1776, a British fleet arrived at Sandy Hook with General Howe's army, which was landed on Staten Island, and soon afterward the British general, who was also a peace commissioner, attempted to open a correspondence with Washington. He addressed his letter to "George Washington, Esq." The latter refused to receive it, as the address "was not in a style corresponding with the dignity of the situation which he held." Another was sent, addressed "George Washington, etc., etc., etc." This was refused, as it did not recognize his public character. The bearer of the letters explained to Washington their purport, which was to "grant pardons," etc. Washington replied that the Americans had committed no offences which needed pardons, and the affair was dropped. Afterward General and Admiral Howe met a committee of Congress on Staten Island to confer on the subject of peace, but it was fruitless of any apparent good.

Soon after Howe's troops had landed they were joined by forces under Sir Henry Clinton, which had been repulsed in an attack upon Charleston, S. C. Hessians—German mercenaries hired by the British Government—also came; and late in August the British force on Staten Island and on the ships was more than twenty-five thousand in number. On the 25th of August over ten thousand of these had landed on the western end of Long Island, prepared to attempt the capture of New York. Washington, whose army was then about seventeen thousand strong, had caused fortifications to be constructed at Brooklyn, and he sent over a greater part of his forces to confront the invaders. The battle of Long Island ensued, and was disastrous to the Americans.

Washington skilfully conducted the remainder not killed or captured, in a retreat across the East River, under cover of a fog, to New York, and thence to Harlem Heights at the northern end of the island. The conquering British followed tardily, crossed the East River at Kip's Bay, and after a sharp battle on Harlem Plains took possession of the

city of New York, or what was left of it. The British had pitched their tents near the city, intending to enter the next morning, and were in repose. Suddenly at midnight arrows of lurid flame shot heavenward from the lower part of the town. A conflagration had been accidentally kindled at the foot of Broad Street. Many of the inhabitants had fled from the city, and few were left to fight the flames, which, in the space of a few hours, devoured about five hundred buildings. The soldiers and sailors from the vessels in the river stayed the flames before they reached Wall Street. The British took possession of the city of New York in September, 1776, and held it until November, 1783. Ex-Governor Colden died a few days after the fire, aged eighty-nine years.

A day or two after the occupation began, Captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, was brought to the headquarters of General Howe in the Beekman mansion at Turtle Bay (Forty-fifth Street and East River), where he was condemned as a spy. He was confined in the greenhouse that night, and hanged the next morning under the supervision of the notorious provost-marshal, Cunningham, who behaved in the most brutal manner toward his victim. Hale is justly regarded as a martyr to the cause of freedom; André, who suffered for the same offence, was the victim of his own ambition.

New York exhibited scenes of intense suffering endured by American prisoners during the British occupation of the city. It was the British headquarters throughout the war. The provost jail (now the Hall of Records) was the prison for captured American officers, and was under the direct charge of Cunningham. The various sugar-houses—the largest buildings in the city—were also used for prisons, and some of the churches were converted into hospitals. Old hulks of vessels were moored in the Hudson and East rivers, and used as floating prisons. There were five thousand Americans suffering in the prisons and prison-ships at New York at one time, and they were dying by scores every day. Ill-treatment, lack of humanity, and starvation everywhere prevailed. “No care was taken of the sick,” wrote one of the victims, “and if any died they were thrown at the door of the prison, and lay there till the next day, when they were put on a cart and drawn out to the intrenchments, beyond the Jews’ burial-ground [Chatham Square], where they were interred by their fellow-prisoners, conducted thither for that purpose. The dead were thrown into a hole promiscuously, without the usual rites of sepulture.”

The “prison-ships,” as the old hulks were called, were, if possible, more conspicuous as scenes of barbarous treatment than the jails on

shore. The most famous (or infamous) of these was the *Jersey*, the largest of the group and the longest retained in that service. She was moored at the Wallabout (now the Navy-Yard at Brooklyn), and was called by the captives "the hell afloat." These captive American sailors composed the bulk of the prisoners. The most wanton outrages were suffered by the poor victims. For example: "One night," said one of them who escaped, "while the men were eagerly pressing to the grate at the hatchway to obtain a breath of pure air while awaiting their turn to go on deck, the sentinel thrust his bayonet among them, killing twenty-five of the number; and this outrage was frequently repeated." The number of deaths in this "hell" from fever, starvation, and even actual suffocation in the pent-up and exhausted air, was frightful; and every morning there went down the hatchway from the deck the fearful cry of "Rebels, turn out your dead!" Then a score, sometimes, of dead bodies covered with vermin would be carried up by tottering half skeletons, their suffering companions, when they were taken to the shore and buried in the sands of the beach.

Such was the fate of *eleven thousand American prisoners*. The remnants of their bones were gathered by the Tammany Society of New York and deposited in a vault near the entrance to the Navy-Yard, with funeral ceremonies, in 1808. By arrangements made by the Continental Congress for an exchange of prisoners, and the humane and energetic exertions of Elias Boudinot, commissary of prisoners, the condition of the captives was much ameliorated during the later years of the war. But the sufferings of the officers in the provost prison, at the hands of the brutal Cunningham, continued. He seemed to be acting under direct orders from his government and independent of the military authorities. In his confession before his execution in England for a capital crime, he said: "I shudder to think of the murders I have been accessory to, *with and without orders from government*, especially while in New York, during which time there were more than two thousand prisoners starved in the different churches by stopping their rations, which I sold!"

In July, 1777, the *State* of New York was organized under a constitution adopted at Kingston on the Hudson. George Clinton was elected governor, and continued in the office about twenty years consecutively. The first session of the Legislature was held at Poughkeepsie at the beginning of 1778.

In the summer of 1778 New York suffered from another great conflagration. About three hundred buildings were destroyed in the neighborhood of Cruger's wharf, on the East River. It broke out in

Pearl Street (then Dock Street), and raged for several hours. The fire companies had been disbanded, and the soldiers who tried to extinguish the flames effected but little, owing to inexperience.

The winter of 1779-80 was remarkable for intense cold. The sufferings in the city of New York, especially among the poor, were fearful. Sufficient fuel could not be obtained, for the city was blockaded on the land side by the Americans. Some of the citizens were reduced to great extremities. There were instances of their splitting up chairs and tables for fuel to cook their breakfasts, and the women and children lay in bed the rest of the day to keep warm. The waters about the city were frozen into a solid bridge of ice for forty days, and the British sent eighty heavy cannon over it from New York to Staten Island to repel an expected invasion.

The arrest and execution of André produced great commotion in New York society in the fall of 1780. The inhabitants were mostly Tories. The Whigs had left the city, and Tory refugees in different parts of the country had flocked back to the city. The Americans were anxious to obtain the person of Arnold and save André. Clinton would not give him up, and an attempt was made to seize him. Sergeant Champe pretended to desert from the American army, and was warmly received by the traitor at Clinton's headquarters. It was arranged for Champe and some comrades to seize Arnold in the garden at night, gag him, take him to a boat, and carry him to Washington's headquarters at Tappan. Unfortunately, Champe was ordered by the British commander to go south with the troops on the very day when the plot was to be executed, and it failed.

On the arrival of the French allies on the banks of the Hudson the next year, the Americans prepared to attack New York, but the whole force finally marched to Virginia, and in October captured Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown. This victory virtually ended the war, but British troops continued to occupy New York for more than a year afterward. It was the last place evacuated by them. Preparations for that event caused a fearful panic among the Tory inhabitants of the city, who dreaded to face the indignation of their Whig fellow-citizens whom they had oppressed, and who would now return in force as victors. So more than a thousand of them left their homes and country, and fled to Nova Scotia in British transports. The troops left the harbor on the 25th of November, 1783—a day yet celebrated in the city each year as "Evacuation Day."

Before the troops left, under the provisions of an honorable treaty, they committed an act unworthy of the British name. They nailed

their flag to the staff in Fort George, unreefed the halliards, knocked off the cleats, and "slushed" the pole to prevent Americans ascending it and unfurling the Stars and Stripes there before the departing troops should be out of sight. They were frustrated by a young American sailor (John Van Arsdale, who died in 1836), who ascended the flagstaff by nailing on the cleats and applying sand to the greased pole. In this way he soon reached the top, hauled down the British colors, and placed those of the United States in the position. This was accomplished while the British vessels were yet in the Lower Bay.

Now occurred the closing scene of the Revolution. In the "great room" of the tavern of Samuel Frauncees, at the corner of Broad and Pearl streets, Washington parted with his officers on the 4th of December, 1783. It was a scene marked by great tenderness of feeling on the part of all present. Filling a glass with wine for a farewell sentiment, Washington turned to the assembled officers and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, and most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He raised the glass to his lips, and continued, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave; but I shall be obliged if each one will come and take my hand." They did so. None could speak. They all embraced him in turn, when he silently left the room, walked to Whitehall, and entered a barge to convey him to Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City), on his way to Annapolis to surrender his commission to the Continental Congress sitting there. What a sublime leave-taking, under the circumstances!

New York now began the task of recuperation. The evil effects of a seven years' occupation by foreign troops were seen on every side. Its buildings had been consumed by fire, its churches desecrated and laid waste, its commerce destroyed by the war, its treasury empty, its people estranged from each other by differences in political opinions; feuds existing everywhere, and criminations and recriminations producing deep bitterness of feeling in society in general. New York was compelled to begin life anew, as it were. The tribute which it had paid to the cause of freedom was large, but had been freely given.

The Whig refugees returned to the city, many of them to find their dwellings in ruins. There was no change made in the city government. The old charter, the organic law, was resumed, and in February, 1784, James Duane, an ardent Whig who had left the city and had returned to his farm near (present) Gramerey Park and found his home burned and his fortune wrecked, was chosen mayor. Although

the vitality of the city had been paralyzed, yet men—high-minded and energetic men, who constitute a state—were left, and their influence was soon manifested in the visible aspects of public spirit and a revival of commerce.

Public improvements were soon projected, but not much was done before the close of the century. The population numbered about 23,000, and there was only here and there a dwelling above Murray Street on the west side, and Chatham Square on the east side. There was not at that time a bank nor insurance company in the city. Wall Street, where they now abound, was then the most elegant part of the city, where the aristocracy resided, and yet most of the buildings were of wood, roofed with shingles. The sides of many were so covered. Brick and stone were seldom used. Between Broadway and the Hudson River, above Reade Street, might be seen hundreds of cows belonging to the citizens grazing in the fields.

The first public improvement begun was the filling in of the "Collect" or Fresh Water Pond, where the Tombs or Halls of Justice, or City Prison, now stand. This task was begun about 1790, but not completed until the close of the century. Duane and Reade streets were opened through the southern portion of the district. At near the close of the century a canal was cut through Lispenard's meadows from the "Collect" to the Hudson River, along the line of (present) Canal Street, forty feet wide, with a narrow street on each side of it. This accounts for the greater width of Canal Street. This canal was spanned at the junction of Broadway and Canal Street by an arched stone bridge, which was subsequently buried when the ground was heightened by filling in, and the canal disappeared. That bridge may be discovered in future ages, and be regarded by antiquarians as a structure belonging to a buried city older than New York.

The "Commons" (City Hall Park) yet lay open, and occupied only by the "New Bridewell," the "New Jail," and the Almshouse at the northern part. Between the latter and the Bridewell stood the gallows.

In 1790 the first sidewalks in the city were laid on each side of Broadway, between Vesey and Murray streets. They were of stone and brick, and were so narrow that only two persons might walk abreast. Above Murray Street, Broadway passed over a series of hills, the highest at (present) Worth Street. The grade from Duane to Canal Street was fixed by the corporation in 1797, and when the improvement was made Broadway was cut through the hill at Worth (formerly Anthony) Street about twenty-three feet below its surface. The streets were first systematically numbered in 1793.



Valentine Holt.

During the deliberations of the State Convention of New York, at Poughkeepsie in the summer of 1788, to consider the National Constitution, the city was much excited by the discussions of opposing factions. On the 8th of July, eighteen days before that instrument was ratified by the convention, a frigate called "The Federal ship *Hamilton*," manned by seamen and marines, commanded by Commodore Nicholson and accompanied by a vast procession, was drawn from the Bowling Green to Bayard's farm, near Grand Street, where tables were spread and dinner provided for about five thousand people. At the head was a table of circular form, somewhat elevated, at which were seated members of Congress, their principal officers, foreign ambassadors, and other persons of distinction. From this table diverged thirteen other tables, at which the great concourse sat. It was the first procession of the kind ever seen in the city.

Greenleaf's *Patriotic Register* spoke so sarcastically of this "Federal procession" that the friends of the Constitution were greatly irritated; and when news came of its ratification, a mob broke into Greenleaf's office and destroyed the type and presses. They next attacked the house of John Lamb, in Wall Street, which was so well defended by the owner and some friends below armed with muskets, and by his daughter, a maiden sister, and a colored servant stationed in the attic with a plentiful supply of Dutch tiles and broken bottles, that the rioters soon raised the siege.

By far the most notable event in the history of the city of New York after the Revolution was the organization of the National Government under the new Constitution, and the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the United States. The National Constitution, framed at Philadelphia in 1787, had been duly ratified in 1788, and elections for electors of President and for members of Congress had been held. The first Congress under the new Constitution was called to meet at New York on the 4th of March, 1789. Only a few members were present on that day, and it was not until the 6th of April that a sufficient number appeared to form a quorum. On that day the electoral vote was counted, and George Washington was declared to be elected President, and John Adams Vice-President.

Adams arrived first. He was met at King's Bridge, near the northern extremity of the island, on the 21st of April, by both houses of Congress, and escorted into the city by several military companies. At the City Hall he delivered an inaugural address. Washington arrived soon afterward. His journey from Mount Vernon had been a continuous triumphal march. He was greeted by the citizens everywhere with

enthusiasm, and his reception at Murray's wharf in New York was an event long to be remembered. He was escorted to his future residence in Cherry Street, near Franklin Square, and dined with Governor Clinton at the same house where he had parted with his officers. In the evening the city was brilliantly illuminated. On the 30th of April, upon the outer gallery of Federal Hall, overlooking Wall and Broad streets, he took the oath of office, administered by Chancellor Livingston in the presence of a large multitude of citizens who crowded the two streets in the vicinity of the hall. When Mrs. Washington arrived, a month later, she was received with a national salute of thirteen guns at the Battery.

The most exciting event in New York from the evacuation of the city until the organization of the National Government was a riot known as "The Doctors' Mob." It occurred in 1788. Graves in the Potter's Field (now Washington Square) and the negro burial-ground (at Chambers and Reade streets, east of Broadway), and in private cemeteries, had been rifled of their contents. The discovery created much public excitement. Rumor exaggerated the facts, and every physician in the city was suspected of the act. The hospital on Broadway, the only one in the city, suddenly became an object of horror, as the suspected recipients of the stolen dead bodies. One day a student there thoughtlessly exhibited a limb of a body he was dissecting to some boys playing near. They told the story. It spread over the city, and very soon an excited multitude appeared before the hospital. They broke into the building and destroyed some fine anatomical preparations, which had been imported. The terrified physicians were seized, and would have been murdered by the mob had not the authorities rescued them and placed them in the jail. The populace, foiled, became comparatively quiet, but the riot was renewed with more violence the next morning. Hamilton, Jay, and others harangued the rioters, but were assailed with bricks and stones. In the afternoon matters became worse, and toward evening the mayor appeared with a body of militia, determined to fire on the rioters if they did not disperse or desist. The friends of law and order tried to prevent bloodshed, and begged the mayor not to fire until every other measure had failed. Again they harangued the mob, and were answered by a shower of missiles. The Baron von Steuben begged the mayor not to fire. At that moment a stone struck and prostrated him. As he was falling he shouted, "Fire! Mayor, fire!" The mayor no longer hesitated. He ordered the militia to fire, and they obeyed. Five of the rioters were killed and several were wounded, when the rest dispersed.

New York was the seat of the Colonial Government until the Revolution, and from 1784 to 1797 it was the State capital, when Albany became permanently so. During that period two sessions of the State Legislature were held at Poughkeepsie, and three at Albany. From 1785 to 1790 it was the seat of the National Government, part of the time under the Confederation, and a part of the time under the new Constitution.

During the residence of President Washington in New York, from April, 1789, until the autumn of 1790, he occupied first the house of Osgood, in Cherry Street, and after February, 1790, a dwelling on Broadway, a little below Trinity Church, which was subsequently used as a hotel called "The Mansion House." His public and private life was marked by much simplicity. His house was plainly furnished; he held public receptions on Tuesdays, had congressional dinner-parties on Thursdays, and on Friday evenings Mrs. Washington held receptions. On Saturday he rode in the country on horseback or in his carriage with the family, often taking the "fourteen-mile circuit" on the island. On Sundays he usually attended divine service, and in the evening read to his family, receiving no visitors.

Washington sometimes attended the theatre on John Street, a small wooden structure used by the British for amateur performances during their occupation of the city. It was then called "The Theatre Royal," and was first opened by them in January, 1777. Its playbills were headed "Charity," and sometimes "For the Benefit of the Orphans and Widows of Soldiers." The British officers were the actors, and feminine parts were played by young subalterns. When Major André was in the city he was actor and scene-painter.

The first regular theatre in New York was erected in 1750, in the rear of the church on Nassau Street, late the Post-Office. Hallam was the manager. When he left it was pulled down. A second was built on Beekman Street, near Nassau Street, which was destroyed by the Sons of Liberty during the Stamp Act excitement. Another was built in 1767 on John Street—an unsightly object painted red. It was used, as we have seen, during the Revolution; and in it was played, in 1786, the first American drama performed on a regular stage by a company of regular comedians. It was called *The Contrast*, and was written by Royal Tyler, of Boston. The first native-born American actor (John Martin) was a New Yorker, and first appeared on the stage in New York as Young Norval, in the winter of 1790. The Park Theatre, which remained until a comparatively few years ago, was first opened early in 1798.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century New York City was scourged by yellow fever. It had appeared there in 1742, when many died of the disease. It broke out in 1791, near Burling Slip, but it was so late in the season that it was soon checked by frosts. It reappeared early in August, 1795, and 792 persons died before frosts ended it. It made a more dreadful visit in 1798, beginning at the latter part of July and ending in November. About 2100 died in the city, besides almost 300 who had fled from it. The population of the city was then about 55,000. It prevailed more slightly in 1799, 1800, 1803 (when over 600 perished), 1805, 1819, 1822, and 1823. When the fever appeared in 1805, so great was the panic that one third of the population, then numbering 75,000, fled to the country. The fugitives were mostly from the four lower wards in the city.

The French Revolution caused the division of the Americans into two great parties—*Federalists*, and *Republicans* or *Democrats*. The latter, led by Jefferson, espoused the cause of the French; the former, led by Hamilton, opposed the influence of the revolutionists. Democratic societies in imitation of the Jacobin clubs in Paris were formed, and in secret promoted violent opposition to Washington's administration. These politicians encouraged "Citizen Genet" in his defiance of our government. He met with an enthusiastic reception in New York. The liberty cap was hoisted on the flagstaff of the Tontine Coffee-House near the foot of Wall Street, tricolored cockades were worn, and the "Marseillaise" was chanted in the streets of New York. The Federalists denounced the conduct of the French minister. They were backed by the Chamber of Commerce, and warmly sustained the President's proclamation of neutrality.

When Jay's treaty was negotiated, the "French party," as the Democrats were called, opposed it with much violence. An anonymous handbill called a mass-meeting in front of the City Hall in Wall Street, on July 18, 1795, to consider the treaty. Both parties attended in full force. Aaron Burr was the chief speaker for the Democrats; Alexander Hamilton was the chief speaker for the Federalists. In the course of the proceedings a scene of violence ensued. Hamilton mounted the "stoop" of a Dutch house at the corner of Broad and Wall streets, and began to speak in favor of the treaty. He was dragged to the ground by the opposing party and roughly handled in the street. Then the Democrats ran to the Bowling Green, shouting and huzzaing, where the treaty was burned under the united folds of the French and American flags to the sound of the Carmagnole.

These turbulent events in New York and elsewhere, and the support

given by the secret Democratic societies to the Whiskey Insurrection the year before, caused Washington to denounce secret associations as dangerous to the public welfare. The Tammany Society or Columbian Order, which had been formed at the beginning of Washington's administration as a patriotic and benevolent institution, regarding itself as pointed at, and being largely composed of Republicans or Democrats, was transformed into a political organization in opposition to the Federalists. It still exists, and plays an important part in the politics of the city and State.

Merchants of New York formed a Tontine Association and built the "Tontine Coffee-House" at the corner of Wall and Water Streets. It was opened in 1794 as a sort of Merchants' Exchange. The shares were \$200 each. Each subscriber might select a nominee for each share held by him, during whose lifetime he or she was to receive an equal proportion of the net profits from the investment of the fund. When the number of nominees should be reduced to seven by death, the property was to be conveyed to the survivors in fee simple. That number was reached in 1876. The longevity of the nominees has been remarkable. Of the two hundred and three at the beginning, fifty-one were living sixty years afterward.

On the south-east side of the Bowling Green a spacious and elegant mansion was built, in 1790, for the purpose of a residence for the President of the United States. It was then supposed New York City would be the permanent seat of the National Government. When that government was transferred to Philadelphia, this mansion was devoted to the use of the governors of the State of New York, while this city was the seat of the State Government. In it Governors Clinton and Jay resided. It was known as the Government House. It was built of red brick, with Ionic columns forming a portico in front. The building was on a slight elevation of ground.

CHAPTER V.

AT the beginning of this century the city of New York contained almost 61,000 inhabitants. The city proper was bounded on Broadway by Anthony Street, on the Hudson River by Harrison Street, and on the East River by Catharine Street. Within these limits the dwellings were much scattered, with gardens and vacant lots between them. Broadway then ended at Astor Place, then the southern boundary of the farm of Captain Randall, afterward the endowment of the Sailors' Snug Harbor.

The old Boston post-road turned eastward below Madison Square, and running along the Rose Hill farm made its crooked way to Harlem. The Rose Hill farm was owned by General Gates. His house stood near the corner of (present) Twenty-second Street and Second Avenue, and there he died in 1806. A weeping-willow tree that stood at the entrance to the lane leading to the mansion flourished on the corner of Twenty-second Street and Third Avenue until a few years ago. Near there a middle road branched off and led directly to Harlem. The Kingsbridge or Bloomingdale Road was a continuation of the Bowery Lane, passing through Manhattanville to Kingsbridge, and was the beginning of the Albany post-road.

Harlem had been founded by the early Dutch settlers of Manhattan Island. There farmers seated themselves and raised vegetables for New Amsterdam, on the fertile Harlem Plains. Greenwich and Chelsea were two little villages on the west side of the island, which, like Harlem, have been swallowed in the voracious maw of the great city. On the site of Washington Square was the Potter's Field, a place of sepulture for the poor and strangers.

Public gardens had now become favorite places of resort, the most famous of which were the "Indian Queen's" and "Tyler's" at Greenwich, "Vauxhall" at the junction of Warren and Greenwich Streets, and afterward "Vauxhall" between Lafayette Place and Fourth Avenue, on the site of the Astor Library. Near the junction of Broadway and Thirty-fourth Street, on the Bloomingdale Road, was the "Strawberry Hill House," and at the junction of Charlton and Varick

streets was the "Richmond Hill" mansion, built in 1770, where Washington had his quarters for a while in the summer of 1776. It was the property and residence of Aaron Burr at the time of his duel with Hamilton, in 1804. He sold it to John Jacob Astor, and it was converted into a house of summer entertainment and the Richmond Hill Theatre. The "Chelsea House" was upon elevated ground not far from the (present) General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Pleasant country seats now adorned the island, some of which became historically famous. On the Ineleberg (Murray Hill) was the fine mansion of the eminent Quaker merchant of the Revolution, Robert Murray, father of the grammarian, whose patriotic wife, by her personal charms, conversation, and wine, detained the British officers on the day they crossed over from Long Island, long enough to allow Putnam, with the remnant of the American army left in the city, to pass by, hidden by intervening woods, and safely join the American army on Harlem Heights. A little further up the Bloomingdale Road is the Apthorpe mansion, where Washington gave instructions to Nathan Hale when he went on his fatal errand to Long Island, and where the commander-in-chief narrowly escaped capture by the troops whose officers were detained by Mrs. Murray. Near Carmansville is "The Grange," the country seat of General Hamilton at the time of his death; and upon Harlem Heights near the High Bridge is the mansion of Roger Morris, used as headquarters by Washington in 1776, both well preserved. It is known as the Jumel estate.

The hospital already mentioned was the only one in the city at the beginning of this century. The corner-stone was laid by Governor Tryon in 1773. A State prison, the second one built in the United States, was completed in 1796. It was a large stone building in Greenwich Village, on the shores of the Hudson. The only medical school in the city was the Medical Faculty of Columbia College, organized in 1768. There was a small city dispensary instituted in 1790 and located in the rear of the present City Hall, fronting on Tryon Row.

Of the benevolent institutions in the city at the beginning of this century, the most prominent were the *Marine Society*, incorporated in 1770; the *Chamber of Commerce*, incorporated the same year, with provisions for benevolent work; the *Humane Society*, founded in 1787; the *Manumission Society*, established chiefly by the Friends, or Quakers, in 1785; the *Sailors' Snug Harbor*, founded by Captain Randall in 1801; the *General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen*, incorporated in 1792, as an almoner for the necessities of the families of its

members ; the *Tammany Society*, or Columbian Order, founded in 1789 ; the *St. Andrew's Society*, and several Masonic lodges.

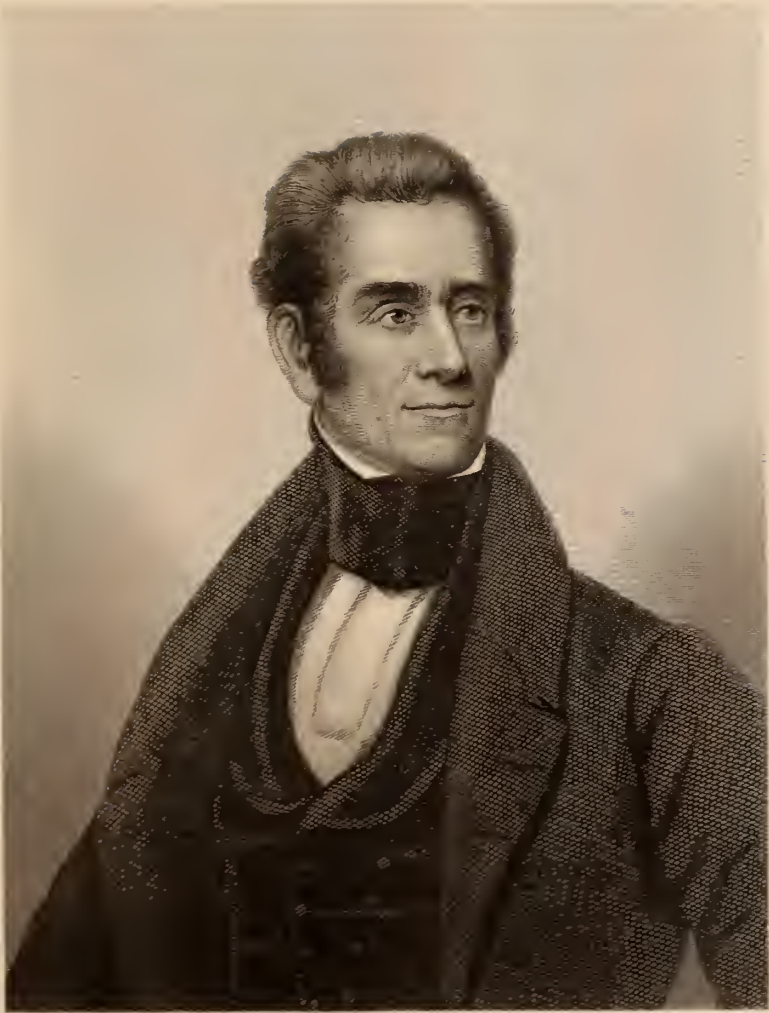
The principal church edifices were the South Dutch Reformed, in Garden Street ; the Middle Dutch Reformed, corner of Nassau and Liberty streets (late the city Post-Office), in which the English service was first introduced in 1764 ;* the North Dutch Reformed, on William Street between Fulton and Ann streets ; Trinity Church, the principal of seven Episcopal churches, the most remote from the City Hall then being St. Mark's, at Eleventh Street and Second Avenue, built in 1795 ; the Lutheran Church, on the corner of William and Frankfort streets ; German Reformed, in Nassau Street near John Street, built in 1765 ; First Presbyterian Church, now on Fifth Avenue ; the " Brick Church," in Beekman Street, at an angular lot known as " the Vineyard," built in 1767 ; the Rutgers Street Church, erected in 1797 ; Scotch Presbyterian Church, on Cedar Street, built in 1758 ; and the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in Chambers Street, erected in 1797.

There were two Baptist churches. The first erected in the city was built of bluestone, in Gold Street near Fulton, in 1790 ; † the second was in Oliver Street, near Chatham Square, built in 1795. The Methodists had three churches—one in John Street, built in 1768 ; another in Forsyth Street, erected in 1790 ; and a third in Duane Street, built in 1795. The Friends had a meeting-house in Greene Street, near Liberty, which they built about 1703. It was rebuilt on a larger scale in Liberty Street in 1802, and was afterward transformed into a seed-store by Grant Thorburn. Their second meeting-house was built on Pearl Street in 1775, and was taken down in 1824. The Moravians had a church in Fulton Street, near William Street, erected in 1751, and the Roman Catholics had one church—St. Peter's—on the corner of Church and Barclay streets, erected in 1786. The Jews had a synagogue on Mill Street, a lane near Hanover Square, built in 1730.

The only public library in the city at the beginning of the century was the Society Library, founded in 1754. The Post-Office was kept in a room of the dwelling of the postmaster (General Theodore Bailey), on the corner of William and Garden streets. It contained about one

* The bell of this church (now used by the Reformed Church in Lafayette Place) was made in Amsterdam in 1731, when many citizens cast in silver coins while the metal was in fusion before the casting. It was the gift of Abraham De Peyster, who was mayor of New York 1691-95, and died in 1728, while this edifice was a-building. He directed in his will that a bell should be procured for it at the expense of his estate.

† The stone of this building was afterward worked into the church edifice on the corner of Mott and Broome streets.



Gilman Lee

hundred boxes. Three banks were in operation in the city, one of which was a branch of the United States Bank, whose capital was \$10,000,000. There were also three insurance companies, and these, like the banks, were in Wall Street. From that time Wall Street has been the financial centre of the city. There were then seven daily newspapers published in the city of New York, one weekly paper, two medical journals (one published quarterly and one semi-annually), and a religious weekly published by T. & J. Swords, who established the first permanent book-publishing establishment in the city of New York.

The Park Theatre was then the only playhouse in the city. There were four principal public market-houses and two ferries—one to Brooklyn, the other to Jersey City. The wells in the city were unwholesome, and water from the "Tea-water Pump," at the corner of Pearl and Chatham streets, was carried about the town and sold for a penny a gallon. The Manhattan Water Company was organized at about this time, with banking privileges. They crected a distributing reservoir on Chambers Street—then "out of town"—pumped the water from wells sunk in the vicinity, and distributed it through bored logs. So early as 1774 Christopher Colles had proposed to bring water into the city from the Bronx River, in Westchester County, but the scheme was not favorably received ; but he was allowed to construct water-works at the public expense on the east side of Broadway, near Anthony Street, in 1776. The water was pumped from wells and the "Collect." The scheme was a failure. These were the forerunners of the grand Croton supply begun in 1842.

The corner-stone of the present old City Hall was laid in 1803, and it was finished in 1812, at a cost of half a million dollars. Meanwhile the most important practical achievement in science and mechanics in modern times, in its influence upon commerce and civilization, occurred. It was the permanent establishment of navigation by steam. Robert Fulton and Chancellor Livingston had constructed the steamboat *Clermont*, and early in September, 1807, she made a successful voyage with passengers to Albany, in spite of wind and tide, and continued regular trips thereafter between New York and Albany. The commercial value of this event to the city of New York cannot be estimated.

During the first decade of this century De Witt Clinton was mayor of New York, and under his auspices the initiatory steps toward the establishment of the free public school system in New York were taken. In 1805 the Public School Society, formed chiefly by the Society of Friends, was incorporated, and Mr. Clinton was its first

president. Their first school was opened on Madison Street near Pearl Street, with forty pupils, gathered chiefly from the humble and destitute families of the city. Many were taught free, and others at a mere nominal price. This society did noble work in the cause of education until 1842, when ward schools were established. This was followed by the present public free school system, under a Board of Education. Then the Public School Society passed out of existence. Its mission was accomplished. Its one school with forty scholars has expanded into almost three hundred schools and a free college, with thousands of pupils.

Until 1810 the ferry-boats at New York were skiffs or row-boats and pirogues. In 1814 the horse-boat—a horizontal treadmill—was introduced, and the same year a steam ferry-boat was placed on the river between New York and Brooklyn. It remained the only steam ferry-boat for many years. The horse-boats disappeared in 1825.

The city was now extending gradually northward, and streets were laid out beyond the Canal Street marsh. The "Collect" was filled up, and the citizens began to covet residences on the wooded hills beyond Canal Street. This movement of the population was stimulated by the yellow fever, which drove a third of the people of the city to the fields and woods north of the "Collect" or Fresh Water Pond in 1805.

From 1811 various causes checked the growth of the city temporarily. Embargoes to force the British Government to be just had fearfully smitten its commerce. In 1811 a fire occurred in Chatham Street, which consumed nearly one hundred houses. In the summer of 1812 war was declared against Great Britain, which gave a check to all foreign commerce, and the chief industry—the mercantile—of the city of New York was paralyzed.

From time to time the people were excited by menaces of attacks by the British forces. They were notably so in the summer of 1814. There was a powerful British force in Chesapeake Bay, and a blockading squadron appeared on the New England coasts. Mayor Clinton issued a stirring address to the people on the immediate danger of an attack, recommending the militia to be in readiness, and calling upon the citizens to aid in completing the defences of the city. A mass-meeting of citizens was held in the City Hall Park on August 9th, when a committee of the common council was chosen, to whom was given ample power to direct the inhabitants in efforts to secure the safety of the city. To this end men of every class in society worked daily in squads, under chosen leaders, on fortifications near Harlem and at Brooklyn. Members of churches led by their pastors, and those of

benevolent societies and the various trades with chosen leaders, went out in groups to the patriotic task, under appropriate banners. These workers were designated as follows by the poet Woodworth, who was a participant in their labors :

“ Plumbers, founders, dyers, tanners, shavers,
Sweeps, clerks and criers, jewellers, engravers,
Clothiers, drapers, players, cartmen, hatters, tailors,
Gaugers, sealers, weighers, carpenters, and sailors.”

The zeal of the people was intense, and very soon New York was well defended by fortifications superintended in their construction by Joseph G. Swift, the first graduate of West Point Military Academy, and by militia, who flocked thither from the river counties.

Although a large proportion of the citizens of New York were opposed to the war at the beginning, once begun their patriotism flamed out conspicuously by public acts. At a meeting held in the Park five days after the declaration of war, they pledged their “ lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor ” in support of their “ beloved country.” They made their words good. Men and money were freely contributed to the cause, and four months after the declaration of war twenty-six privateers, carrying 212 guns, all fully manned, were fitted out in the port of New York. Throughout the entire war the patriotism of the citizens was conspicuously displayed. And when, on Saturday evening, February 11, 1815, the British sloop-of-war *Favorite* arrived at New York with the treaty of peace ratified by the British Government, the unexpected glad tidings created intense joyfulness in the city. The streets were soon thronged with the happy people, and as a placard headed “ PEACE ” was printed at the office of the *Mercantile Advertiser* and was thrown out of a window into the street, it was eagerly caught up and read to the crowd, who received the news with shouts of joy. The immediate effect upon business was wonderful. Coin, which was ten per cent premium, fell to two per cent in forty-eight hours. Sugars fell from \$26 a hundredweight to \$12.50 ; tea from \$2.25 to \$1 a pound.

In 1811 a system of laying out the city above Houston Street was adopted, and surveys were begun. The work was somewhat interrupted by the war. It was completed in 1821. The streets were laid out in rectangles above Houston Street. Beginning at *one*, they were numbered upward to the northern extremity of the island. These were intersected by avenues, numbering westward from the eastern side of the island to the Hudson River. First Avenue was a continuation of

Allen Street. Between it and the East River were Avenues A, B, and C.

The war created utter confusion among politicians. The men of each party, for various reasons, had abandoned old creeds and adopted new ones. The most prominent result was the almost entire dissolution of the Federal party and the breaking up of the Republican party into factions. From the election of Madison to the presidency in 1809 the Republicans in New York were called Madisonians. To this party the Tammany Society adhered, and their hall, built in 1811, was the rendezvous of the Madisonians. At the close of the war the Republican party was split into two great divisions, called respectively Madisonians and Clintonians, the latter being adherents of De Witt Clinton, who in 1818 was elected governor of the State of New York. He had personally urged upon the attention of the people the great scheme for the construction of the Erie Canal; now he brought his official influence to bear upon it, and it was completed in 1825.

The first regular line of packet ships between New York and Liverpool was established in 1817 by Isaac Wright & Son, Francis Thompson, Benjamin Marshall, Jeremiah Thompson, and James Cropper. It was called the "Black Ball Line," and consisted of four ships. A packet sailed the first day of every month. Soon afterward Byrnes, Trimble & Co. established the "Red Star Line," of four ships, one sailing on the 24th of each month. These were soon followed by the establishment of the "Swallow Tail Line," by Fish, Grinnell & Co., of four ships, which sailed on the 8th of each month. Meanwhile four ships had been added to the "Black Ball Line," but in 1818 there was a fleet of sixteen packet-ships sailing from New York, with a weekly departure.

The war had left the country in an impoverished condition, but its recuperation was wonderful. Commerce had rapidly revived. The growth of the city and its trade was abnormal, and a commercial revulsion occurred in 1818-19, in which New York merchants suffered severely.

The yellow fever appeared in 1819. It soon disappeared, but its visit in 1822, and especially in 1823, was very fatal, and produced a great panic. Hitherto it had appeared at first in the vicinity of the East River; now it began in Rector Street, on the Hudson River side, which had always been regarded as a particularly healthy locality. The disease was now regarded with peculiar consternation. All persons who were able fled from the city. The town south of the Park was fenced off and nearly deserted, and all intercourse with the "in-

fectured district," as all within this temporary wall was called, was strictly forbidden. The residents within it who were unwilling to leave their homes were forcibly removed from them by the Board of Health. The city became an almost absolute solitude, broken only by the noise of moving hearses and sad funeral processions of a few near relatives of the dead. The city government fled to Greenwich Village (now the Ninth Ward), and there performed their official duties. The fields and woods beyond Canal Street and at the upper part of Broadway were filled with fugitives, and this panic materially stimulated the improvement of property in that vicinity. The city then contained about 125,000 inhabitants.

In 1824 Lafayette came to the United States as the guest of the nation. He arrived at New York in the ship *Cadmus*, at the middle of August. His visit was a great event in the social history of New York. He first landed on Staten Island on Sunday, and remained there, the guest of ex-Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, until Monday, when he was escorted over the bay by a large naval procession and landed at Castle Garden, while peals of bells and booming of cannon gave him a noisy but hearty welcome. From the Battery he was escorted to the City Hall, where he was received by the corporation and welcomed by Mayor Paulding. During his sojourn in New York he had daily receptions at the City Hall, where thousands of citizens waited upon him. On the evening of the 8th of September there was a grand performance at the Park Theatre in his honor. Some of the playbills were printed on white satin.

The next year New York and its surrounding waters became the theatre of one of the most momentous events in the history of the city and State. The great Erie Canal, dimly dreamed of by prescient minds at the beginning of the century, was completed that year, and the event was celebrated with most imposing ceremonies at New York. It was the consummation of a scheme to connect the waters of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean by means of an artificial river three hundred and sixty miles in length, and the grand stream of the Hudson. The United States Government had been asked to construct it. It refused; when the State of New York, prompted by the energy and foresight of some of its leading citizens, resolved to do the work unaided. The Legislature was induced to appoint a board of Canal Commissioners in 1811, with full power to act. The war of 1812 caused a suspension of the scheme. At the beginning of 1816 it was revived by a few citizens of New York, among the most prominent of whom was De Witt Clinton, who had taken great interest in the

project from the beginning. They called a public meeting ; William Bayard was its chairman, and John Pintard its secretary. A memorial to the Legislature was adopted, and in April a new board of Canal Commissioners was appointed, with Clinton as president. A law was passed authorizing the construction of the canal, and providing funds for the same. It was vehemently opposed. It was ridiculed, during almost the seven years of its progress to completion, as "Clinton's ditch." The ground was first broken on the 4th of July, 1817, near Rome, N. Y. The middle section was completed in the fall of 1819, and the first boat floated upon it between Utica and Rome, with Governor Clinton and others as passengers. When the great work was completed the city of New York was selected as the place for celebrating the triumph. An account of that celebration may be found in a future chapter.

The year 1825 was remarkable for other notable events in the city of New York—namely, the introduction of illuminating gas, the beginning of the erection of the Merchants' Exchange, the first appearance of the Italian opera and the Sunday newspaper, and the first movement toward founding the National Academy of Design. The city then contained 166,000 inhabitants, was divided into twelve wards, and had two hundred and forty avenues, streets, and lanes designated by names. It then began to grow at the rate of 1000 or 1500 houses a year. It contained ninety churches (including a Hebrew synagogue), of which seventy-one belonged to five denominations. The Presbyterians had twenty-one, Episcopalians seventeen, Baptists fourteen, Reformed Dutch twelve, and Methodists seven. There were three public libraries, one college (Columbia), two medical colleges, eight (almost) free schools, two high schools, two medical colleges, one eye infirmary and a city dispensary, two hospitals and one lunatic asylum, one medical society, about twenty-five charitable and benevolent societies, and about twenty societies for the dissemination of the Christian religion. There were ten daily, seven semi-weekly, and eighteen weekly newspapers ; four magazines (two of them religious and one medical), and seven principal book-publishers in the city. In 1825 the first Sunday newspaper published in New York was issued. It was the *Sunday Courier*, published by Joseph C. Melcher at the Tontine Coffee-House, on the corner of Wall and Water streets.

There was, at that time, an Academy of Fine Arts, a Lyceum of Natural History, an Athenæum, a Historical Society (founded in 1804), and a Horticultural Society. There were eleven public markets, five public prisons, a State prison, a House of Refuge, and an almshouse.

There were nineteen banks, and ten marine and thirty-two fire insurance companies, with a well-organized volunteer fire department.

The chief public buildings were the elegant City Hall in the Park, built of marble ; the Masonic Hall, on Broadway, nearly opposite the hospital, and the Merchants' Exchange, then just begun, on Wall Street below William Street. For public amusement the citizens had the American Academy of Fine Arts on Barclay Street, the Rotunda in the Park, where panoramic paintings were exhibited, three museums, three public gardens, two circuses, and four theatres. The commerce and manufactures of the city were now extensive. The value of the total foreign commerce (imports and exports) of the district from 1821 to 1830 averaged about \$58,000,000, or 37 per cent of that of the whole United States. The district embraced the greater portion of Long Island, Brooklyn, Staten Island, the New Jersey shore above Staten Island, including Jersey City and the shores of the Hudson River. The assessed valuation of property in the city of New York in 1825 was above \$100,000,000, on which a little less than \$39,000 taxes were paid annually.

Such was New York City at the end of the first quarter of the present century—the dawn of its new era of growth and prosperity. And here the narrative sketched in brief outline, of its progress from an obscure Dutch trading-post among barbarians, planted early in the seventeenth century, to a great commercial metropolis, with a population of almost 170,000, is ended. Henceforth the story of that growth, until New York has become one of the most populous cities in the world, and destined to become the metropolis of the nations, will be told in much greater detail. That story is divided into *decades of years*, beginning with 1830, the time when the forces back of the great prosperity of the city had gathered potency and were actively at work.

FIRST DECADE, 1830-1840.

CHAPTER I.

I FIRST saw the city of New York in the year 1832. It was then a marvellous sight for the eyes of a rustic lad whose home was in a quiet village on the Hudson River about half way between New York and Albany.

The city limits were then (as now) commensurate with the County of New York, and comprehended the whole of Manhattan Island, which is about fourteen miles in length and from one fourth of a mile to two and a quarter miles in breadth. The city proper—the more thickly inhabited portions of it—extended from the Battery along the Hudson River about a mile and a half, and from the same point along the East River about two miles. The city included the several islands in the harbor north of Staten Island, and those in the East River.

Along Houston Street on the east and Hamersley Street on the west, the inhabitants were essentially suburban. There were about two hundred and fifty streets, alleys, and avenues south of those which are designated by numerals. Many of these streets above Canal Street were very thinly populated. The avenues were then mere prophecies of future population and business. Only the Third and Eighth Avenues were opened to the Harlem River ; the Fourth, Seventh, and Eleventh were not opened at all.

Northward of the inhabited portions of the city limits were several villages and hamlets, the most important of which were Greenwich, Bloomingdale, and Manhattanville on the Hudson River ; Yorkville in the centre of the island ; and on the Harlem River was Harlem, the senior of them all, for it was planted by Dutch emigrants from New Amsterdam (New York below Wall Street) more than two centuries ago. They settled there for the purpose of cultivating cabbages and other “garden truck” for the villagers at the southern end of the island.

The human population of New York City in 1830 was a little more than two hundred thousand in number. Over these citizens and aliens presided, as their chief magistrate, Mayor Walter Bowne, a thrifty hardware merchant in Pearl Street, a gray-haired man of sixty, and

a scion of the Quaker family at Flushing, Long Island, who entertained George Fox, the founder of the sect of Friends or Quakers, late in the seventeenth century.

The half decade of years immediately preceding the year 1830 presented in New York City a most exciting drama to the eye of the social philosopher. These years embraced the great transition period in the life of that city. They were the closing years of the long-reigning dynasty of the "Knickerbockers," as the Dutch element of the population of New York was called, and the successful enthronement of an energetic cosmopolitan spirit, which speedily transformed the hitherto quiet, restful, satisfied, and conservative inhabitants of the staid Dutch town into a wide-awake, bustling, elbowing, and ever-restless and aspiring multitude of men and women, scrambling for the headship of every class in the great school of human activity. This change had been largely wrought by the infusion of a new social element from neighboring communities.

The slumbering city of New York had been surprised and invaded by "Green Mountain Boys," as aggressive as Allen's band, and others from the granite hills of New England, with some congenial spirits from the West. They were all panoplied in the armor of indomitable will and abiding faith, with a determination to conquer every difficulty in their way, and win fortunes by their industry, thrift, wit, and skill. They infused their own spirit into the life of the conservative dwellers in the city, and very soon society became a vast kaleidoscope, presenting at every turn new and startling aspects in the wondrous combinations produced by energetic and well-balanced enterprise. The invaders with rare prescience had interpreted the grand prophecies of the future business possibilities of that island city seated where the Hudson pours its flood into the sea—that beautiful river just wedded, as we have seen, to the Great Lakes, with their magnificent dowry of thousands of square miles of fertile territory.

This was the period of the awakening to new and prosperous life of the whole country. Business of every kind had been readjusted after the great disruption caused by the second war for independence; the national debt had been reduced to less than \$60,000,000 before 1828; the political atmosphere was more serene than it had been since the creation of the Republic, and solid and permanent prosperity seemed to be assured.

The celebration of the most important and propitious event in the history of the city of New York—the completion of the great Erie Canal—deserves more than a passing notice. It occurred in the month



A. Shays

of November, 1825. The day fixed for the celebration in the city of New York was the 4th day of that month.

At ten o'clock on a balmy morning (the 26th of October) the waters of Lake Erie at Buffalo flowed into the "Big Ditch" (as it was contemptuously called by doubters and its opponents) for the first time. The event was hailed with loud huzzas, the swinging of hats, and the waving of handkerchiefs by a multitude assembled on the occasion.

The news of this first inflowing was communicated from Buffalo to New York in the space of one hour and thirty minutes. This was done long before the electro-magnetic telegraph began its marvellous career. The creator of its intelligence was then a portrait painter in the city of New York. That message was conveyed on the wings of sound from booming cannon placed at intervals along the line of the canal and the Hudson River, and a response was returned by the same voices and in the same space of time.

A flotilla of canal-boats, all beautifully decorated, led by a large one named the *Seneca Chief*, left Buffalo on a journey eastward at the moment of the first cannon peal. The *Chief* was drawn by four richly caparisoned gray horses. It bore, as passengers, Governor De Witt Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor General James Tallmadge, General Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Albany *patroon*; General Solomon Van Rensselaer, Colonel William L. Stone,* a delegation from New York City, and numerous invited guests and ladies.

One of the canal-boats named *Noah's Ark* bore a bear, two fawns, two eagles, and a variety of birds and "four-footed beasts," with two Seneca Indian youths in the costume of their dusky nation.

Everywhere along the route from Buffalo to Albany the people gathered in crowds at villages and hamlets, at all hours of the day and night, to see and greet the novel procession. At Rochester, where the canal crossed the Genesee River by an aqueduct supported by stone arches, a little drama was performed. A man in a small boat on the

* William L. Stone was for many years an eminent journalist in New York City. He was born at Esopus, N. Y., April 20, 1792; removed to Cooperstown in 1809, where he assisted his father in the care of a farm, and became a printer. In 1813 he entered upon his career of a newspaper editor, and pursued it in several places, and finally became one of the proprietors and editors of the *New York Commercial Advertiser* in 1838, which he conducted until the time of his death at Saratoga Springs, in August, 1844. Colonel Stone was a genial writer. He published volumes of Tales and Essays, *Memoirs of Brant and Red Jacket*, and had gathered and prepared materials for a life of Sir William Johnson, which was afterward completed by his son. He published other careful books from his own pen. For several years Colonel Stone was superintendent of common schools in the city of New York, and was an efficient worker in the cause of education.

Genesee, stationed ostensibly as a sentinel, called out to the *Seneca Chief* as the flotilla entered the aqueduct :

“ Who comes there ?”

“ Your brothers from the West, on the waters of the Great Lakes,” responded a voice from the *Chief*.

“ By what means have they been diverted so far from their natural course ?” inquired the sentinel.

“ Through the channel of the grand Erie Canal,” answered the *Chief*.

“ By whose authority and by whom was a work of such magnitude accomplished ?” asked the sentinel.

“ By the authority and by the enterprise of the people of New York,” cried many voices as one from the deck of the *Chief*.

At Rochester another canal-boat, *The Young Lion of the West*, joined the flotilla. It had on board, among other products of the West, two living wolves, a fawn, a fox, four raccoons, and two eagles.

The flotilla rested over the Sabbath at Utica, where it arrived late on Sunday morning. The governor and his company were escorted to a place of public worship in the afternoon by a deputation of citizens, and early on Monday morning the grand procession moved on down the beautiful and magnificent Mohawk Valley, the natural and the artificial river running parallel to each other for scores of miles.

At Albany, the State capital and the eastern terminus of the canal, the voyagers were met by a large civic and military procession, which escorted the governor and other projectors and friends of the enterprise to the Capitol, where interesting services were held. People had gathered in Albany from all parts of eastern and northern New York, from Vermont, and even from Canada, to witness the imposing spectacle. A grand public dinner was given by the corporation of Albany, at which the Hon. Philip Hone, the mayor of the city of New York, made a stirring congratulatory speech, and in behalf of the corporation of his city invited that of Albany to accompany the voyagers down the Hudson River and accept the hospitalities of the commercial metropolis. The celebration at Albany ended with a general illumination of the little city of fifteen thousand inhabitants, and an appropriate performance at the theatre, in which was exhibited a picturesque and truthful canal scene, with many boats and horses, locks and other accessories.

From Albany to New York the flotilla of canal-boats was towed by Hudson River steamers. The *Chancellor Livingston* was the “flag-ship” of the fleet, having in tow the *Seneca Chief*, whose distinguished passengers were transferred to her escort, and were joined by many

others. They moved at an early hour in the morning. Groups or crowds of men, women, and children were seen on the shores of the Hudson at many points, and here and there the great aquatic procession was hailed with huzzas, the flinging out of banners, and the thunder of cannon. It was a sort of gala time in the valley of the lower Hudson, that clear, crisp, November day in 1825.

Ample preparations had been made in the city of New York for the celebration of this great event. So early as September 7th the merchants and citizens of New York had held a great meeting in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, in the Tontine Coffee-House, to make arrangements for the celebration. John Pintard was secretary of the meeting, and appropriate resolutions concerning arrangements, embodying a programme, were adopted. They were prepared beforehand by Pintard.

Before the dawn of the morning of November 4th the great fleet, under the command of Charles Rhind as admiral, was anchored off Greenwich Village, then a sort of suburb of New York City. The sky was cloudless, and at sun-rising the day was welcomed by the ringing of the city bells and the roar of cannon. At a signal from the *Chancellor Livingston* flags were run up and unfurled all over the city, and at the naval and military posts in the vicinity.

A few minutes after this demonstration the large and new steamboat *Washington*, bearing aloft the great banner of the corporation displaying the arms of the city on a spotless white field, proceeded to the anchored fleet. On her taffrail was displayed a beautiful design, made especially in honor of Washington and Lafayette. In the centre was a trophy of various emblems of war and peace. This was surmounted by a bald eagle. On the right side of the trophy was the portrait of Washington, and on the left the portrait of Lafayette. The former was crowned with the civic wreath and laurel, the latter with the laurel only. The Genius of America was in the act of crowning Washington, and the incarnated Spirit of Independence, waving a flaming torch, was binding the brow of Lafayette. Near each of these portraits was a medallion bearing emblems of agriculture and commerce. The whole rested on a section of the globe, and the background was a glory from the trophy. Each corner of the taffrail was filled with a cornucopia completing the whole design, "on which," wrote Colonel Stone, the historian of the celebration, "neither painting nor gilding had been spared to enhance the effect."

The *Washington*, with a committee of the corporation and the officers of the governor's guard, proceeded to the fleet. When she came

within hailing distance of the *Seneca Chief*, one of her officers inquired of the strange craft :

“ Where are you from, and what is your destination ?”

The reply was sent back :

“ From Lake Erie, and bound for Sandy Hook.”

The *Washington* then ran alongside the *Chancellor Livingston*, when the committee went aboard the latter and tendered congratulations to the governor in behalf of the citizens of New York, represented by the corporation. These congratulations were presented in a speech by Alderman Cowdry. He finally welcomed the governor and his fellow-travellers, who had come all the way by water from Lake Erie through the heart of the State of New York. They were the pioneers in that new aqueous highway of commerce.

At an early hour the waters at the mouth of the Hudson and of New York Harbor were dotted with floating craft of every kind, from the stately British sloop-of-war to the pirogue and skiff, all alive with human beings. The fine packet-ship *Hamlet*, prepared by the Marine and Nautical Societies, and dressed in the flags of various nations and private signals, appeared in the Hudson River at sunrise. Commodore Chauncey sent an officer and twenty men from the Navy-Yard at Brooklyn to assist Captain Collins in the duties of the ship during the day. The two societies went on board of her soon after eight o'clock.

At about nine o'clock the corporations and invited guests proceeded to the steamboats *Washington*, *Fulton*, and *Providence*, lying at the foot of Wall Street. There was also the steamboat *Commerce*, with the elegant safety-barges *Lady Clinton* and *Lady Van Rensselaer*. These barges had been prepared by the corporation for the use of invited ladies and their attendants. The *Lady Clinton* was profusely decorated with evergreens hung in festoons, interwoven with roses and other flowers. In a niche below the upper deck was a bust of Governor Clinton, with a wreath of laurel and roses encircling the brow. On this barge were the wife of the governor and a crowd of distinguished ladies in their best attire.

The fleet from Albany in the Hudson River, led by the *Chancellor Livingston*, went around to the East River to the Navy-Yard, where a salute was fired. The flagship here took on board the officers of the station with their fine band of music, and were greeted by the officers from West Point, who had been received on the *Livingston* the previous evening. They also were accompanied by their celebrated band. At this time the wharves and buildings and the heights of Brooklyn and the shores of New York from Corlear's Hook to the Battery were

densely crowded with eager spectators. It was an outpouring of the population such as had never been seen on the shores of the East River.

The fleet proceeded to the waters between the Battery and Governor's Island, where it was joined by the gayly-decorated *Hamlet*, in tow by the *Oliver Ellsworth* and *Bolivar*. Other steamboats towed pilot vessels and a small flotilla belonging to Whitehall boatmen. At that point the admiral of the fleet for the occasion (Mr. Rhind) signalled the different vessels to take their appointed stations. This was a most interesting spectacle, and these movements were continually applauded by loud huzzas from the crowded vessels of every kind.

In New York Harbor were two British sloops-of-war, *Swallow* and *Kingfisher*. When everything was in readiness, the fleet, saluted by the guns at the Battery and of the castle on Governor's Island, made a sweep toward Jersey City around these vessels. The latter saluted them with their heavy guns and cheers and the tune of "Yankee Doodle." In response to this compliment the bands on the *Chancellor Livingston* played "God save the King." Then the whole procession, led by the *Livingston*, composed of twenty-nine steam-vessels, and sailing ships, schooners, barges, canal-boats and sail-boats, moved toward Sandy Hook, within which the United States schooner *Dolphin* was moored. As the grand procession emerged from the Narrows after receiving a salute from Forts Lafayette and Tompkins, it was approached by the *Dolphin*, as a deputation from Neptune, to inquire who the visitors were, and what was the object of their coming. A satisfactory answer having been given, the whole fleet formed a circle around the schooner, about three miles in circumference, preparatory to the crowning and most important ceremony of the occasion, namely, the commingling of the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Atlantic Ocean.

The *Seneca Chief* had borne from Buffalo two handsome kegs, painted green, with gilded hoops, and having the device of a spread eagle currying in its beak a ribbon on which were the words "WATER OF LAKE ÉRIE." One of these kegs was taken to the *Chancellor Livingston* and received by the governor, when Admiral Rhind addressed his excellency, saying he had a request to make. He was desirous, he said, "of preserving a portion of the water used on that memorable occasion, in order to send it to our distinguished friend and late illustrious visitor, Major-General Lafayette," to be conveyed to him in bottles in a box made from a log of cedar brought from Lake Erie in the *Seneca Chief*. The governor thanked Mr. Rhind for his suggestion,

and said that a more pleasing task could not have been imposed upon him.

There was now silence and eager watching among the vast multitude floating on the unruffled bosom of the Atlantic Ocean near Sandy Hook. It was the supreme moment of the occasion. Governor Clinton, lifting the keg of Erie water in full view of the spectators, stepped to the side of the *Chancellor Livingston* and poured its contents into the sea, saying :

“ This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York ; and may the God of the heavens and the earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race.” *

The eminent Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, of New York, who possessed water from many countries, concluded the ceremonies on the sea by pouring into its bosom small vials of water from the Ganges, Indus, and Jordan in Asia ; the Nile and the Gambia in Africa ; the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube in Europe ; the Mississippi and Columbia of North America ; and the Orinoco, La Plata, and Amazon of South America. Dr. Mitchill then delivered a long address.

“ While the fleet was here at anchor,” says Colonel Stone in his narrative of the celebration, “ a deputation from the members of the Assembly from different parts of the State, who were on board one of the steamboats as guests of the corporation, preceded by Clarkson Crolius, Esq., † then Speaker, paid a visit to the *Seneca Chief*, to recip-

* The keg from which water from Lake Erie was poured into the Atlantic Ocean is preserved, as a precious memento of the great event, among the collections of the New York Historical Society.

† Clarkson Crolius, Sr., was born in the city of New York just previous to the breaking out of the war for independence—October 5, 1773. His ancestors came from Germany and settled at New York at the close of the seventeenth century. They settled in the ward (the Sixth) in which he was born, which he represented in the municipal legislature, and in which he died. His grandfather established the first stoneware manufactory in the colonies, and that business was pursued by his descendants for several generations. His father was an ardent Whig, and when the British took possession of the city, in the fall of 1776, he left the city. His property fell into the hands of the invaders, and was not recovered by the family until the evacuation of the city by the British troops late in 1783. His brother John was a soldier in the war of the Revolution, and lived to the age of more than 80 years, dying about the year 1835.

rocate congratulations with the Buffalo Committee on the Completion of the Grand Canal, to which the Legislature, of which they were members, had made the last and finishing appropriation."

The great fleet, after several vessels had fired a salute, returned to the city in triumphal procession, the passengers of the steanboats partaking of a collation on the way. Again the grand flotilla swept

Mr. Crolius pursued the business of his father, the manufacturing of pottery, and being of an active temperament and possessed of positive convictions, entered the arena of political strife soon after attaining to his majority. He espoused the cause of the Democratic (or Republican, as it was called) party, founded by Jefferson, and was active in the canvass which raised that great Virginian to the Presidency of the Republic in 1801. He was also an active member of the Tammany Society.

At about the opening of the present century Mr. Crolius was elected a member of the common council, representing the Sixth Ward, in which he was born. As such he officiated at the laying of the corner-stone of the new City Hall, in the Fields, afterward known as City Hall Park, or the Park. In 1842 he was the last surviving member of the common council who were present on that occasion. The city was then divided into nine wards. De Witt Clinton was mayor, and John B. Prevost was recorder. The following are the names of the aldermen and assistant aldermen then present :

Aldermen.—Wynandt Van Zandt, Philip Brasher, John Bogert, John P. Ritter, Jacob de la Montagnie, George Janeway, Mangle Minthorne, Jacob Martin, Jacob Hansen. *Assistants.*—Andrew Morris, Caleb S. Riggs, Jacob Le Roy, Robert Bogardus, Clarkson Crolius, John Beekman, Whitehead Fish, James Striker.

Mr. Crolius remained in the council several years. He was the grand sachem or sagemore of the Tammany Society in 1811, and as such laid the corner-stone of Tammany Hall ; and early in the war of 1812 he was major of the "Adjutant-General's Regiment." He soon afterward was appointed to the same rank in the regular service, and assigned to duty on Governor's Island, in the harbor of New York. During the absence of his superior officer he held command of that post, also of Bath and Sandy Hook. At the close of the war he resumed his business. He was a very popular leader in the Democratic party, and for ten years was a representative of the city of New York in the Assembly of the State. Mr. Crolius was, with many other members of the Legislature, opposed to the Canal scheme, chiefly under a conviction that the State was not then in a condition to sustain the expense or to assume the inevitable heavy debt its construction would create. When it was begun he was among the first to join in voting means for its completion.

Being a favorite with the country members of the Assembly, he was chosen Speaker of that body in 1825, by a *unanimous* vote, an unprecedented circumstance. He soon afterward retired from active political life, but official stations under the city authorities and the general government were conferred upon him. He was one of the most active of the founders of the American Institute, and was one of its vice-presidents for seven years. He died in the city of New York in the ward in which he was born, on October 3, 1843. He married, in 1793, Elizabeth Meyer, who survived him many years.

As an honorable and energetic business man, a promoter of the best interests of his native city, as a patriotic soldier, and as a faithful representative of his fellow-citizens in the city and State legislatures, Clarkson Crolius, Sr., was an eminently representative citizen. His son, Clarkson Crolius, Jr., now living in the city, venerable in years, has also been an alderman in New York, a member of the State Senate, and ever active in the promotion of measures for the benefit of his fellow-men.

around the British war-vessels, receiving a salute from them. Each party complimented the other with cheers and the playing of "God save the King" and "Yankee Doodle" by their respective musicians. The passengers were all landed at about four o'clock.

Meanwhile a vast civic procession, such as had never before been seen in the city of New York, had been formed and paraded through the principal streets, under the direction of the marshal of the day, Major-General Flemming. It was composed of representatives of every respectable class of society, arranged in organized groups. There appeared the several benevolent and industrial societies, the Volunteer Fire Department, the literary and scientific institutions, the members of the bar, the officers of the State artillery and infantry in uniform, and the members of many occupations and callings not formally organized into societies, accompanied by bands of music.

This procession, six abreast, was formed in Greenwich between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the right resting on Marketfield Street, near the Battery. It moved up Greenwich Street (then a fashionable place of residence) to Canal Street; through Canal Street to Broadway; up Broadway to Broome Street (then the upper part of the city proper); up Broome Street to the Bowery; down the Bowery to Pearl Street; down Pearl Street to the Battery; over the Battery to Broadway; and thence to the new City Hall, in the Park. At the Battery the procession was joined by the voyagers returning from the ocean—the mayor and common council and distinguished guests.

The scene along the line of the procession presented a most imposing spectacle. Each society seemed emulous to excel in the richness and beauty of its banner and the respective badges and decorations. Many of the banners displayed exquisite art in design and execution. Many of the industrial societies (twenty-two in number) had furnished themselves with large cars, upon which their respective artisans were busily engaged in their several occupations.

The most attractive performance of the kind was on the printers' car, on which was a printing-press constantly at work striking off copies of a long "Ode for the Canal Celebration," written for the occasion at the request of the printers of New York, and distributed to the populace. The following are the opening stanzas:

" 'Tis done! 'tis done! The mighty chain
Which joins bright ERIE to the MAIN,
For ages shall perpetuate
The glory of our native State.



François de Meylan

" 'Tis done ! Proud ART o'er NATURE has prevailed !
 GENIUS and PERSEVERANCE have succeeded !
 Though selfish PREJUDICE in strength assailed,
 While honest PRUDENCE pleaded.

" 'Tis done ! The monarch of the briny tide,
 Whose giant arms encircle Earth,
 To virgin ERIE is allied,
 A bright-eyed nymph of mountain birth.

" To-day the *Sire of Ocean* takes
 A sylvan maiden to his arms,
 The Goddess of the crystal Lakes,
 In all her native charms !

" She comes, attended by a sparkling train ;
 The *Naiads* of the West her nuptials grace ;
 She meets the sceptred Father of the Main,
 And in his heaving bosom hides her virgin face."

Some of the cars were beautifully ornamented and profusely decorated with evergreens. Turkey or Brussels carpets covered the floors of some of them, and some fairly glittered with gilding in the light of the unclouded sun on that fair November day.

In that procession was appropriately carried a bust of Christopher Colles,* an Englishman who came to New York before the Revolution, and was undoubtedly the first man who suggested the possibility and the advantage of an artificial water-communication between the Hudson River and the Lakes. He lectured on canal navigation in New York so early as 1772. He actually made a survey of the Mohawk River and the country to Wood Creek, that empties into Lake Ontario. He had been in his grave four years when this grand canal celebration occurred.

The gallant Colonel Stone, the appointed historian of the event, was so deeply impressed with the whole affair that his pen, with seeming

* Christopher Colles was born in Ireland about 1738 ; studied under Richard Pococke, an eminent Oriental traveller, and became an expert linguist and man of science. On the death of his patron, in 1765, he came to America, and first appeared in public here as a lecturer on canal navigation about the year 1772. He was a good civil engineer, and proposed to the authorities of the city of New York schemes for supplying the city with pure water. But his projects were never carried out. Colles constructed and published a series of sectional road maps, which were engraved by his daughter. He was a land surveyor, made paper boxes, and assisted almanac-makers in their calculations. Colles also manufactured painters' colors, and at length was made actuary of the Academy of the Fine Arts. Eminent men in New York City highly esteemed him, but he died in comparative obscurity in New York in 1821. Only Dr. J. W. Francis and John Pintard, with the officiating clergyman, Rev. Dr. Creighton, accompanied his body to its burial in the little cemetery on Hudson Street.

spontaneity, recorded almost grandiloquent expressions when dwelling on the subject of the participation of the fairer sex in the unrivalled pageant. He wrote :

“ The eye of beauty, too, gazed with delight upon the passing scene ; for every window was thronged, and the myriads of handkerchiefs which fluttered in the air were only rivalled in whiteness by the delicate hands which suspended them ; while the glowing cheeks, the ingenuous smiles of loveliness and innocence, and the intelligence which beamed brightly from many a sparkling eye, proclaimed their possessors worthy of being the wives, mothers, and daughters of freemen. It was, in fine, a proud spectacle ; but language fails in attempting its description—much more in imparting to paper the sensations which it created. It is not difficult to describe individual objects correctly, but it is impossible to portray their general effect when happily grouped together. It is amid scenes like these—a faint gleam of which can only be conveyed to the future antiquary or historian—that the mind is absorbed in its own reflections, musing in solitude, though surrounded by the gay and the thoughtless, and literally lost in its own imaginings.” *

The festivities of the day were closed in the evening by the illumination of the public buildings, the principal hotels, the theatres, museums, and many private dwellings. On several of these were transparencies with appropriate devices, conceived by good taste and intelligence, and artistically executed. The City Hall was the chief point of attraction. No expense had been spared by the corporation in making its illumination and attendant fireworks unsurpassed in brilliancy. There was an immense transparency on its front, exhibiting views of the canal and a variety of emblematical figures. The fireworks exceeded the public expectations. The Park was crowded with delighted spectators, of both sexes and of all ages, from the crowing infant to the tottering old man, from eight to ten thousand being the computed number. At the Park Theatre an interlude composed for the occasion by M. M. Noah was performed, and elicited great applause. A similar production prepared by Samuel Woodworth, the printer-poet, for the occasion was performed at the Chatham Theatre.

On the following day (Saturday, the 5th) committees from the West were entertained at a dinner given in their honor on board the *Chan-*

* Colonel William L. Stone's narrative of the celebration, published by the common council of the city of New York, under the title of “ The Grand Erie Canal Celebration.” This was accompanied by a memoir of the great public work, by Cadwallader D. Colden. Stone's narrative has furnished the materials for our sketch.

cellor Livingston. They enjoyed the hospitalities of the citizens in great plenitude. The public institutions were thrown open to their visits and inspection, and they returned to their respective homes deeply impressed with the vast importance of the Grand Canal in the promotion of the prosperity, not only of the city of New York, but to the whole State and the region drained by the Great Lakes. One of them (Dr. Alexander Coventry, of Utica) wrote to the mayor of New York in behalf of the several committees, saying :

“ The Erie Canal insures to us a reward for industry ; to our posterity an antidote for idleness ; nor is it the least valuable of our acquired privileges to have in the future our prosperity closely identified with the city, our connection with which has always been our proudest boast.”

The festivities in the city were concluded on Monday evening, the 7th, by a grand ball given by the officers of the militia associated with a committee of citizens. For that occasion the vast rooms of the Lafayette Amphitheatre, in Laurens Street near Canal Street, was used. The hippodrome was floored over for the occasion, and with the stage used for dramatic entertainments formed the largest ball-room in the United States. It was divided into three compartments, the whole being about two hundred feet in length, and from sixty to one hundred feet in breadth. The dancing-room was the most spacious of any. At one end was an immense mirror, composed of thirty pier-glasses without frames and neatly joined together. At the other end of the room, on the removal of drapery at a proper time, a beautifully supplied supper-room was revealed. From the roof was suspended many chandeliers, and from it the “ Stars and Stripes” hung in gay festoons. The whole of the interior of the Amphitheatre was brilliantly lighted with scores of chandeliers, lamps, and candles, and on every side were seen elegant and costly decorations. The front of the building was illuminated, and across it, over the doors, were the words, “ THE GRAND CANAL,” formed by the light of burning lamps.

A brilliant assemblage appeared in the Amphitheatre that night. It was estimated that fully three thousand persons were present, among them Governor Clinton and his wife. The gallant chronicler (Colonel Stone) again grew warm as he described the scenes on that eventful evening, and referred to the ladies. He wrote :

“ But entrancing above all other enchantments of the scene was the living enchantment of beauty—the trance which wraps the senses in the presence of loveliness when woman walks the hall of beauty—magnificence herself—the brightest object in the midst of brightness and

beauty. A thousand faces were there, bright with intelligence and radiant with beauty, looking joy and congratulation to each other, and spreading around the spells which the loves and the graces bind on the breast of the steamer sex."

To every guest of the corporation of the city of New York, both ladies and gentlemen, a beautiful medal was presented, bearing on one side images of Pan and Neptune in loving embrace, also a well-filled cornucopia showing the production of the land and sea, with the words, "UNION OF ERIE WITH THE ATLANTIC;" and on the other side the arms of the State of New York—the State which had borne the whole burden in the construction of the great work—and a representation of a section of the canal, its locks and aqueducts, and a view of the harbor of New York. On this side were the words, "ERIE CANAL, COMMENCED 4TH OF JULY, 1817; COMPLETED 26TH OCTOBER, 1825. PRESENTED BY THE CITY OF NEW YORK."

These medals were made of white metal. Some were of silver. There were also fifty-one gold medals struck and sent to European monarchs and other distinguished men. They were presented by a committee composed of Recorder Richard Riker, John Agnew, Thomas Bolton, and William A. Davis.

So ended the celebration of the completion and opening of the Grand Erie Canal. It was the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel Barlow in his "Vision of Columbus," published in 1787, in which, alluding to the great discoverer, he wrote:

"He saw, as widely spreads th' inchannelled plain,
Where inland realm for ages bloomed in vain,
Canals, long winding, ope a watery flight,
And distant streams and seas and lakes unite.

"From fair Albania, toward the setting sun,
Back, through the midland, length'ning channels run;
Meet the fair lakes, there beauteous towns that lave,
And *Hudson's* joined to fair *Ohio's* wave."

It was also the dawning of a brighter day in the history of New York—its entrance upon its marvellous career of growth and prosperity. The prophecies of the earnest friends of the canal, that the impetus it would give to business of every description in the city and in the interior of the State would speedily produce a wonderful increase in the commerce and wealth of both sections, was speedily fulfilled, and in a measure beyond the expectation of the most sanguine dreamer.

In 1812, when the project had but lately assumed a really tangible shape by the appointment of canal commissioners, these men (Gov-

erneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Peter B. Porter, and others) gave the following prophetic utterance :

“ Viewing the extent and fertility of the country with which this canal is to open communication, it is not extravagant to suppose that, when settled, its produce will equal the present export of the United States [\$58,000,000]. Will it appear improbable that twenty years hence [1832] the canal should annually bring down 250,000 tons ?”

Twenty years after the completion of the canal (1845) there came upon it to tidewater 1,107,000 tons of produce, valued at \$45,000,000, and the tolls amounted to \$2,500,000. In 1872, the year before the great panic depressed business, the value of property transported on that canal, notwithstanding a three-track railway is laid parallel with it, was about \$168,000,000.*

In the same year when the Erie Canal was completed, and not more than a fortnight before the great celebration of the event in the city of New York, the first ripple of the tide of emigration from Scandinavia appeared. It consisted of a band of Norwegians, 53 in number, who

* At the time of the completion of the Erie Canal, De Witt Clinton was fifty-six years of age, having been born in March, 1769, at Little Britain, Orange County, N. Y., and died at Albany February 11, 1828. He was a son of General James Clinton, and nephew of the eminent first governor of the State of New York, George Clinton.

He was admitted to the bar in 1788, but never practised much. For several years he was the private secretary of Governor Clinton, and the champion of his administration through the public press, being a chaste, vigorous, and prolific writer, and a sound statesman in early life. For several years he was the leader of the Republican or Democratic party in the State of New York. Mr. Clinton was a member of the State Assembly in 1797, of the State Senate 1798-1802, of the United States Senate 1802-03, and mayor of the city of New York 1803-07, 1809-10, 1811-14. He was also a member of the State Senate 1805-11, lieutenant-governor of New York 1811-13, and being opposed to the war of 1812-15, was the peace candidate for the Presidency in 1812. He was governor of the State of New York 1817-22 and 1824-27.

By his wisdom, sagacity, and public spirit, De Witt Clinton did more than any other citizen to promote the growth, prosperity, and good name of the city and State of New York. He was active and efficient in every good work, whether municipal, benevolent, literary, philosophical and scientific, moral and educational. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Fine Arts, of the New York Historical Society, of the public-school system of New York State and city, and was one of the powerful supporters of the canal policy of the State from its inception. He did more than any other man, privately and officially, in the face of fierce opposition and implacable ridicule, to push forward to completion the great Erie Canal, which gave a new birth, as it were, to the commercial metropolis of the nation. And yet, while the public parks and squares of New York are displaying statues of distinguished Americans and Europeans, no person has yet (midsummer of 1883) proposed the erection in the Central Park, or elsewhere, of a statue of DE WITT CLINTON, the brilliant statesman, the profound scholar, and the munificent benefactor of the commercial metropolis of the nation !

came in a vessel of their own. She was a small craft. They landed in New York, and sold their vessel for \$700. Like Cortez, who when he landed with his followers in Mexico burned the ships that brought them thither, they came to stay.

This was the first Scandinavian emigration to our shores, save the Swedes who came in the seventeenth century, and there was none other until 1836. In the latter year Björn Andersen, father of the Norwegian scholar R. B. Andersen, who was a Quaker, came to New York with two shiploads of coreligionists, who fled from mild persecutions in Norway. They proceeded to the Western States. This was the beginning of the ever-increasing stream of emigration from Scandinavia to Western and North-Western States and Territories of the Republic—Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Dakota—where they now number more than 1,500,000 persons.

CHAPTER II.

THE new social elements which had been gradually infused into the life of the city of New York for many years previous to the completion of the Erie Canal were much more conspicuously displayed immediately after that event, in an energetic and daring spirit of business enterprise.

That spirit had for its solid basis and wise regulation and restraint the conservative elements of the old order of things—the Knickerbocker Age, as it has been called—the time when the Dutch spirit of broad charity, thrift, economy, liberal benevolence, and steadiness in all things prevailed. That life was characterized by the practise of the sterner virtues : equable lives, common-sense, indomitable perseverance in every undertaking, whether for personal benefit or for the public welfare ; contented industry, the establishment of institutions of religion, benevolence, science, art, and literature ; in solid intellectual cultivation, and in quiet dignity, courtliness, and refinement of manners on all occasions.

“ Knickerbocker frugality,” says a late writer, “ was a blessing to such of the present generation who can trace their genealogy on Manhattan Island for a century, while those whose titles date back only fifty or sixty years possess millions of substantial reasons to be thankful. They have not toiled, neither have they spun ; yet while they have slumbered in idle comfort their inherited acres have changed to city lots, and city lots, no matter how situated, represent dollars and produce income.” *

The Knickerbocker’s Sabbath symbolized in a degree the conspicuous characteristics of Knickerbocker life : steady, conservative, dispassionate, orderly, and devotional.

The Knickerbockers regarded the Sabbath as truly the Lord’s Day—a day to be devoted specially to the service of God, and not to temporal pleasures and enjoyments—entertainments and mere recreation. In

* Dayton’s “ Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York.”

household affairs as little labor as possible was performed. As a rule, the meals on Sunday were cold collations of the baked meats of Saturday, and so the servants were allowed to rest. Attendance upon public worship was general and punctual. Three times a day were seen staid processions in the streets of men, women, and children going to or returning from places of divine worship. Friends, when they met, gave only a nod of recognition. Few vehicles were seen in the streets, for omnibuses and street-cars were then unknown, and coaches were seldom out on Sundays. Every precaution was taken to prevent disturbance of worshippers by noises in the streets. So agreed was public opinion on the subject of the holiness of the Sabbath and the necessity for its religious observance, that the few gay young men who disregarded it and took rides into the country beyond Murray Hill and Bloomingdale rather shyly avoided the more public thoroughfares. These sinners were often the subject of earnest intercession at evening prayers.

In some churches the methods were as inflexible as east-iron. There were no instruments of music heard; the singing was inharmonious; the opening prayers were as long as sermons, and the sermons were rigidly doctrinal, protracted, and tedious.

The Middle Dutch Reformed Church (late the city Post-Office) was one of the oldest and most noted of the places of public worship on Manhattan Island. Its interior arrangements were in strong contrast with the church edifices of to-day. The pulpit was very spacious, occupying the space between the two entrance doors to the church. It was reached by a flight of carpeted stairs on each side of nearly a dozen steps, with mahogany balustrades. Over the pulpit was suspended a sounding-board to send the voice of the preacher in full force to his hearers. Upon the pulpit was a square cushion of velvet for the Bible to rest on, with heavy silk tassels at each corner. The pews, with straight, high backs and narrow seats, forbade all lounging, or even real comfort; they seemed to have been contrived for doing penance.

On each side of the pulpit in special pews sat the six elders and six deacons, in a position to bring the whole congregation under their inspection. "These twelve men," wrote a regular attendant on the service there sixty years ago, "seemed to the youthful and irreligious portion of the congregation the incarnation of cold, relentless piety, deserted of every human frailty. . . . When one rose, they all stood up; when one sat down, they all followed suit, as if acted upon simultaneously by an electric wire. Their black dress-coats seemed to have been made by one tailor; their white neckcloths cut from one piece of cambrie, washed, ironed, and folded by the same laundress;



Yours Respectfully
Hamilton Fish

the bow-knots, even, seemed to have been adjusted by the same hand." *

When the sermon began the twenty-four eyes of the dozen elders and deacons were fixed on the minister, and the younger portion of the congregation felt a relief, for irregularities would not be seen by these devout worshippers while the sermon lasted. "They sat as motionless as statues," says Dayton. "The terrors of the bottomless pit proclaimed by the uncompromising Brownlee; the beatitude of the blest hopefully dwelt on by the gentle Knox; the pressing invitations to repentance heralded in powerful tones by the more youthful and impulsive De Witt, were alike unavailing to produce the slightest variation in the stereotyped countenances of these twelve leading dignitaries of the Middle Dutch Church."

There was no organ. In the space under the pulpit stood the chorister with a tuning-fork, who pitched the tune and led the congregation in singing, sometimes twelve stanzas with the Doxology. In that capacity chorister Earl served the church many years.

Now, how changed! The architecture of the church edifices, the sermons, the music, and the Sunday demeanor of deacons and elders and other subordinate adjuncts of the church service have been transformed. As a rule the sermons are short moral essays on the beauty of holiness, the love of God and man, and exhortations to be more and more Christlike in daily life. Dayton may have drawn the contrast with a rather free pen when he wrote ten years ago: "Smiling clergymen delight their listeners; smart, dapper elders and deacons, with beaming countenances, gay neckties, and jewelled shirt-fronts, are the admiration of the young. No chorister and tuning-fork, but instead a charming prima donna, sustained by a tenor and basso of acknowledged operatic reputation, is hidden from public gaze by the rich curtains of the organ-loft, where she warbles with exquisite skill the choicest solos of modern art, while the new school reclines on velvet cushions, so enchanted by the performance that were it not for some vague, misty associations connected with the day and place, it would be acknowledged by the clapping of jewelled hands and a floral tribute."

Then the psalms and hymns were so clearly enunciated in church singing that no listener was puzzled; now some church choirs so muffle the words in pronunciation that no listener can follow them intelligently without a book. Was not the exasperated hearer justified

* Dayton's "Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York."

when, after trying in vain to follow the words so disguised, wrote on the fly-leaf of a psalm-book :

“ If old King David should, for once,
To this good house repair,
And hear his psalms thus warbled forth,
Good gracious ! how he'd swear.”

The Puritanic Sabbath, with all its order and solemn gravity and its rigid observances, has also been transformed. To a large portion of the inhabitants of the metropolis to-day the interior of a church is a less familiar place than the theatre or concert-room.

Knickerbocker life was like its Sabbaths : steady, orderly, calm, real, devoted to a purpose, and always marked by unswerving observance of all ethical requirements. It was distinguished by plodding, untiring industry, accompanied by generous thrift, which always secured a competence for the time of old age. Speculating schemes were seldom conceived or undertaken. Their tastes were sensible, their desires were moderate, and their wants were comparatively few ; and society was not made feverish by rivalries in the structure of mansions or in equipages and entertainments. The ladies were modestly attired, often in rich stuffs, but plainly made up. Indeed, there were not deft fingers enough then to have met a tithe of the requirements of fashion in dress in our generation, for the sewing-machine was not yet invented. Only the tiny needle wielded by expert fingers performed the labor on every garment.

Knickerbocker life was marked by the best features of genuine hospitality, heartfelt, unostentatious, and informal. Hospitality so administered to-day would be regarded as parsimonious, if not stingy and selfish. While it was on occasion far-reaching, the chief sphere of its operations was the circle of relations by blood or marriage. Its principal power and beneficence was generated in the home, where the wife and mother reigned as queen. In those days homes—genuine homes—abounded. Frugality was the rule, extravagance the exception. Frugality was the sceptre that ruled all hospitality, and order, cleanliness, abundance, and good taste distinguished all entertainments. Parental authority was supreme in all things, and filial love and obedience everywhere abounded. Overflowing social pleasures were tempered by wise moderation.

The tables of the Knickerbockers were very simple in the variety of their viands, but prodigal in quantity. Generally there was a bountiful repast of meats or poultry, or both, with vegetables. These constituted

one course, and were followed by pies, puddings, tarts, wine, and fruit—apples, nuts, and raisins. All of these viands were prepared under the direct supervision of the mistress of the household, for she was too well instructed in cooking matters and too jealous of the good name of her cookery to delegate this business to hirelings.

The finest furniture then in general use, in kind and quantity, would now be called mean. There were, of course, exceptions. The parlors and drawing-rooms were furnished with stiff, high-backed, and ponderous mahogany chairs, upholstered with shining hair-cloth coverings and standing at measured distances along the walls of the rectangular rooms. There were rocking-chairs of the same pattern; also sofas of the same materials, with rounded seats and hard rolls at each end, which were dignified with the name of pillows—pillows of stone; a high mahogany "secretary," with a bookcase with glazed doors standing upon it; a pier-table for the family Bible, a commentary, and a psalm- and hymn-book; a pier (and possibly a mantel) mirror; a modest chandelier for the use of wax or sperm candles (for illuminating gas had not yet set the city in a blaze of artificial light);* a heavy and spacious mahogany sideboard, well furnished with dumpy decanters filled with Madeira wine, Santa Cruz rum, and cordials, of which the favorite was called "perfect love." These were flanked by baskets of doughnuts and crullers, free to all, and symbolized the universal hospitality. "I went to housekeeping in 1820," said the venerable John W. De-grauw, an octogenarian merchant, to the writer, "and the largest item of our expense in furnishing the building was for a sideboard and an elegant collection of cut-glass to put on it." A spindle-legged piano-forte (nearly all *forte*), perhaps the most extravagant piece of furniture in the room, nearly completed the outfit. The windows were veiled with green Venetian, inside blinds, and modest curtains, while on the walls hung family portraits, a "sampler" from the skilled fingers of a loving feminine friend or relative, and in the houses of the more wealthy one or more fine paintings, generally copies from the works of the old masters; also a few choice engravings.

* Illuminating gas was first permanently introduced into New York in 1825. Its introduction had been unsuccessfully attempted in 1812. The New York Gas Light Company was incorporated in 1823, with a capital of \$1,000,000. The extent of its privileges was limited to the city below Canal and Grand streets. Pipes were first laid under Broadway from the Battery to Canal Street. Prejudices had to be encountered, and for several years the progress of lighting the city by gas was slow. In 1830 the Manhattan Gas Light Company was incorporated, with a capital of \$500,000, for the purpose of lighting the upper part of the city. The method soon became popular. To-day almost the entire island has a network of gas-pipes beneath its surface.

The fireplaces in these houses were bordered by slabs of variegated Italian marble, the shelves supporting high silver candlesticks with snuffers and tray, and china vases on pedestals filled with artificial flowers, and sometimes with natural grasses.

Most of the better class of dwellings were elegantly finished with solid mahogany doors and wainscoted with oak or other woods. The ceilings were high, the rooms spacious, and even the country-seats that dotted the island here and there were beautifully laid out with well-cultivated gardens and lawns. A fine house on Broadway could then be rented for eight hundred dollars.

In these houses there was solid domestic enjoyment. Great oak or hickory logs burned on huge brass andirons in the spacious fireplaces, filling the rooms with a soft and soothing ruddy glow, for anthracite was not in common use, and few persons indulged in the luxury of Liverpool coal. Hundreds of sloops and schooners from Hudson River towns and from Connecticut and Long Island, laden with fuel, filled the slips in autumn in the North and East rivers, and those who could afford it would buy a sloop-load of oak or hickory wood in the fall and have it sawed and piled in the cellar for the winter.

It was the habit of many families to have the servant man saw and pile the wood, and to give him as a perquisite the proceeds of the sales of the ashes, then a considerable sum. This privilege sometimes quickened the ambition and cupidity of servants, and impelled them to make ashes faster than a prudent housekeeper would permit. The eminent merchant, Stephen B. Munn (who died in 1856), used to tell the story of this propensity in an old negro servant of his. Munn had put into his cellar a cargo of fine hickory wood. He was aroused one night by a fearful roaring in the kitchen chimney. He rushed to the kitchen, where he found the old negro fast asleep before a blazing pile of wood. On demanding what this meant, the dazed old man, suddenly aroused from slumber, said, "I—I—I'se making ashes, to be sure, master."

The domestic amusements of the Knickerbockers were simple and pleasant. In the summer tea-parties and quilting-parties, and in winter "apple cuts," were the staple domestic amusements of the young people. Assemblies or balls, or "publics," as they were called, held at early hours, and the theatre and circus constituted their most expensive amusements. At their home-parties the chief refreshments offered were apples, nuts, doughnuts, cider, and mulled wine.

These simple and healthful homes—healthful for mind and body—have passed away.

Some of the solid old furniture yet remains with families of Knicker-

bocker descent, but it is generally concealed from view in garrets or storerooms. Its presence in the extravagantly furnished apartments of to-day would be an unmistakable indication that there had been a *family* baek of it.

The barriers which guarded these homes of more than half a century ago have been broken down by those twin enemies of domestic happiness, luxury and pride, and to-day few adult persons in the city of New York are living in mansions wherein they were born. Society has become restless and migratory, and every member seems to be impelled to motion by a persistent voice like that forever heard behind the "Wandering Jew"—*Go on!*

The modest, unostentatious, and true *home* of sixty years ago has given place to structures and interior decorations and furnishings which rival the creations of Aladdin with his wonderful lamp. The fashionable quarters of the city now present long lines of real palaces—lines of marvellous specimens of skilled labor and artistic taste, without and within. Are these structures and their furnishings *homes* in the sense of the best meaning of that precious word? How many families who now occupy these palaces—these temples of luxury—will be their occupants even at that period in the near future when the resounding bell of Time shall toll the knell of the departing nineteenth century? Of many residents of the city who were boys in its streets fifty years ago, it might be truthfully recorded:

"The city, he saith, is fairer far
 Than one which stood of old;
 It gleams in the light all crimson bright
 With shifting glimmers of gold.
 Where be the homes my fathers built,
 The houses where they prayed?
 I see in no sod the paths they trod,
 Nor the stones my fathers laid.
 On the domes they spread, the roofs they reared,
 Has passed the levelling tide;
 My fathers lie low, and their sons outgrow
 The bounds of their skill and pride."

The chief, indeed the only elegant promenade for the citizens in the Kniekerbocker days was the Battery, an irregular (in outline) piece of level ground fifteen or twenty acres in extent at the foot of Broadway and facing the harbor of New York. It was shaded with trees, traversed by irregular gravelled walks, and beautified by more irregular plots of grass. It was furnished with benches along the sea-front and occasionally in other parts of the ground; and there, late on summer

afternoons and early evenings, might always be seen crowds of well-dressed people and flocks of happy children, enjoying social intercourse and invigorating sea-breezes on sultry days. It was a fashionable resort and a genuine luxury for all.

State Street, which skirted the land side of the Battery, the vicinity of the Bowling Green and Marketfield and lower Greenwich streets, from all of which glimpses of the harbor might be obtained, were the chosen places of residence of some of the wealthier and fashionable citizens. Mr. Edgar, a famous dry-goods auctioneer sixty years ago, built a house on Greenwich Street, a few doors from Battery Place, which was admired by all people of taste; and next to it Luman Reed, an extensive wholesale grocer and a great patron of the fine arts, erected a splendid mansion adjoining Edgar's. It was filled with fine paintings and other works of art. No. 1 Broadway (demolished in 1882), a spacious mansion clustered with historic associations of the period of the Revolution, was the residence of Edward Prime, of the great banking-house of Prime, Ward & King. Next to it had been the residence of Robert Fulton. Stephen Whitney, a wholesale grocer, who at his death left an estate worth several million dollars, occupied one of a row of spacious brick houses fronting the Bowling Green fifty years ago. Whitney's was on the corner of State Street. At the other end of the row, corner of Whitehall Street, lived John Hone, of the great dry-goods auction house of Philip and John Hone. They had amassed a fortune and dissolved partnership in 1826, when Philip had built a fine mansion on Broadway, near Park Place, and was then, or just before, mayor of the city. The whole neighborhood of the Bowling Green was occupied by some of the wealthiest and most enterprising business men in the city.

On State Street were the fine residences of leading business men of the day. No. 6 was the dwelling of Mr. Howland (Howland & Aspinwall). Next to it was the house of a son of Bishop Moore. Near the corner of State and Bridge streets Washington Irving lived, and at 29 Whitehall Street was the dwelling of James K. Paulding, a large double frame house. At 13 State Street was the residence of General Jacob Morton, the chief commander of the city militia, and directly in front of his house, on the Battery, was the Hollow—a little shallow pond in winter whereon the boys skated, and which was a dry, grassy playground in summer.

General Morton always reviewed the city troops—the "Tompkins Blues," the "Pulaski Cadets," and others—on the Battery. Indeed that little irregular park was a favorite rendezvous for the military on

“training days” until the Washington Parade-Ground (now Washington Square) was established. When General Morton became too feeble to mount his horse he reviewed the troops from his balcony, and on these occasions received from them the compliment of a marching salute.

On State Street, near Pearl, in the later days of Knickerbocker life in New York, was a modest two-storied house, the inn of Peter Bayard, himself a pure Knickerbocker of Huguenot descent. For many years it was the popular resort of well-to-do people of the town and country, who were always sure of finding there most unexceptionable turtle-soup and other gastronomic delicacies. The house was always full, for transient sojourners in New York from distant cities well knew the house of Peter Bayard.

Castle Clinton (now known as Castle Garden) stood near the western end of the Battery, and was reached by a bridge. It has undergone many transformations, while the Battery has been enlarged and is now known as Battery Park. At its eastern extremity is a station of an elevated railway, a contrivance for rapid transition from one part of the city to another which the Knickerbockers never dreamed of. These will be considered hereafter.

In the later days of Knickerbocker life in New York, Broadway, from the Battery to Prince Street, was the fashionable street promenade. Few strolled above Canal Street, for it was then on the northern border of the business domain.

Broadway was then a modest, quiet lane compared with the great bustling and crowded business thoroughfare of to-day. Where now commercial buildings from six to ten stories in height rise in splendor and grandeur, and are seen miles away, into what was then the green and wooded country toward Bloomingdale, plain brick (and many wooden) buildings, the loftiest three stories high, were seen. These were not only places for merchandise and traffic, but largely for dwellings, for in those days it was the almost universal practice for the families of merchants to occupy the apartments above the stores, and to board the few clerks. These buildings were ornamented only with green blinds, and the front door of entrance to the family apartments was garnished with a huge and shining brass knocker and door-plate. The tinkling door-bell was yet an undiscovered luxury.

Below Park Place were clustered the fashionable retail stores of the city, distinguished for style and high prices. Among these the more elderly reader will remember the famous furnishing store of Clark & Saxton, where only the fashionable young man could be sure of being

equipped in an irreproachable manner with minor articles of his toilet, after being clothed in exquisite style at the establishment of Tryon, Wheeler & Derby, booted by the manufactures of Kimball & Rogers, and crowned with a St. John hat.

Costume in the latter days of Knickerbocker life in New York, say fifty years ago, was so strictly conventional as to modes and colors that any departure from the prescriptions of fashion was regarded almost as a transgression of the laws of taste. In this matter the inexorable tyrant fashion ruled supreme.

Black was the prevailing color for men, whether in the counting-room, the parlor, or the church ; at dinner, at the theatre, or at a ball. In the street the heads of men were covered with heavy, high, bell-crowned hats of real fur (the light, shining plush silk hat was then unknown), long-napped and abundant. Their necks were encircled with broad satin stocks, which tightly inclosed high standing sharp linen collars that seemed to support the head by the ears, and were pointed like the cutwater of a steamboat. They wore short-waisted, long and narrow-skirted black frock-coats, with high collars and tight sleeves ; black pantaloons, skin-tight, the legs kept in place by straps beneath the boots ; and boots, high-heeled, narrow and pointed toes, and made so tight that only by the free use of hooks and soap could they be drawn on. Black kid gloves, and among the extremely fashionable young men known as " dandies " a small black cane, completed the costume.

The women were a little less restricted as to color, but in form were no less slaves to the dressmaker and the milliner. They appeared in the streets with a hideous-appearing bonnet with high crown, in shape not unlike a coal-scuttle, and often trimmed with huge bunches of artificial flowers, sometimes with a full-blown peony. From their shoulders depended loose cloaks or shawls which effectually hid all charm of figure, and under these, plain untrimmed skirts reaching only to the ankles. Below the skirts appeared spotless white hose and black slippers, kept in place by black silk strings wound around the ankles. Their heads were canopied with a spacious parasol of silk deeply fringed, and with a ponderous carved ivory handle. From their arms depended bags of richly colored silk embroidered with many-hued beads. In their hands they carried a pocket-handkerchief trimmed with lace and daintily held at the middle by the forefinger and thumb, so that its whole dimensions and quality might be seen, for upon these was often estimated the pecuniary standing of the family. In winter their necks were encircled with serpentine rolls of fur called a



James Brown

“boa,” with the long ends dangling in front ; in summer its complement was a long thin scarf.

Indoors the belles of that day appeared in rather low-necked dresses, sometimes fashioned over the bust in the form of a bodice, stiff as steel and whalebone could make it, with an elastic, steel or hickory “corset-board.” Generally there was a broad waist-belt, fastened with a large and sometimes highly ornamented buckle. The sleeves were very large, full, and puffed above the elbows into a pattern styled “mutton-leg,” which gave undue breadth to the shoulders and the appearance of small span to the waist. The “mutton-leg,” it is said, was introduced by an English duchess to conceal an enormous wen on one of her arms. Below the elbow the sleeves were very tight. The skirt, as in the walking-dress, was short and composed of ample materials. Flowing over the shoulders was a broad and elaborately wrought collar of cambrie muslin and fine needlework, and the hair was arranged in many “puffs” surmounted by a bunch of artificial flowers or a tiny lace cap. Around the neck was coiled a massive gold chain, having a pendant of sufficient length to secure a gold watch, which was slipped into the waist-belt.

In those days Contoit’s Garden, on the west side of Broadway, between Leonard and Franklin streets, was a fashionable resort for all reputable citizens of both sexes, young and old, on summer afternoons and evenings. The garden was comprised in a long narrow lot densely shaded with trees—so densely that the rays of the sun could rarely enter. It presented a cool retreat on sultry afternoons and evenings, where the most delicious ice-cream in ample dishes and ice-cold lemonade with pound-cake, served by very black waiters wearing very white aprons, might be had for a moderate sum of money. It was dimly lighted at evening by tiny tapers swimming in sperm oil in hanging glass globes, appearing but little brighter than so many fire-flies on a June evening. On each side of the garden were stalls painted white and green, with a narrow table in the middle of each and furnished with seats for four—if packed, for six. Contoit’s was regarded by prudent parents as an eminently proper resort for young people as well as elders to have refreshments, for no liquor was sold there, and there were never any naughty scenes enacted there.

It was at about this time, or perhaps a few years earlier, that the families of the wealthier and more aristocratic citizens were pushed out of Broadway by the pressure of encroaching business, and found more quiet residences away from the turmoil of trade and the din of vehicles on the cobble-stones. Cedar and Liberty, John and Fulton streets had

been given up almost wholly to business ; yet in all of these some families—scions of the old Knickerbocker race—still remained, even then clinging to homes in Wall Street. The dwellings in Cortlandt, Vesey, and Dey streets were rapidly becoming boarding-houses, while in Park Place, Murray, Warren, and Chambers streets many members of the oldest families occupied fine residences, such as the Crugers, Pauldings, Lees, Bayards, De Peysters, Allens, Clintons, Van Cortlandts, Laurenses, Beekmans, Duanes, and others—men who had assisted in laying the broad foundations of the amazing prosperity of the city of New York since that time.

Some of these men removed farther away from the business portions of the city and built fine residences on Leonard, Franklin, and White streets, also on St. John's Park, in front of St. John's Chapel. White Street was the most direct way from Broadway to the chapel, and very soon elegant brick dwelling-houses were built on it. It was for many years the fashionable part of the city.

On White Street, near Broadway, lived Francis Depau, the owner of a line of Havre packets, whose wife was Silvie, one of the daughters of Count de Grasse. They had a family of most beautiful daughters. One of these married Washington Coster. She was pronounced "the most beautiful girl that ever trod Broadway."

Hotel and boarding-house life for families was almost unknown fifty or sixty years ago. A family who, from choice and without pressing necessity, took up their permanent abode in a hotel or boarding-house lost caste ; and those who were compelled to do so by circumstances were objects of pity and commiseration. The consequence was that the few hotels in the city at that time depended for support on transient visitors and unmarried men.

The grandest inn and the most noted boarding-house at that time were the City Hotel, which occupied the entire front between Cedar and Thames streets, and the boarding-house of Miss Margaret Mann, popularly known as "Aunt Margaret," at 61 Broadway. Her house, in size and accommodations, might have been called an inn. There from time to time distinguished persons found comfortable temporary homes. Among these were John Sinclair, the famous Scotch vocalist (father of Mrs. Edwin Forrest), at his first appearance at the Park Theatre in the fall of 1831. There, too, Tyrone Power, the inimitable Irish comedian, was a "guest" for a time, when he first appeared in America, in the summer of 1833. "Aunt Margaret" will be remembered by some of the older citizens as a driving business woman, masculine in appearance and manners, thick-set and stout, but nimble of foot and more

nimble of tongue when it was loosened by provocation. But under her rough exterior was concealed as kindly a heart as ever throbbed in the breast of woman, and those who knew her best respected her most.

The City Hotel was a plain brick structure four stories in height, and pierced in front by nearly forty windows. It was the most noted hotel in the Union, and magnates from everywhere visiting the city found an agreeable home there. It was almost without adornment, inside and outside. Tight inside shutters at the windows excluded light and air, the furniture was plain but substantial, and the table was always a model of cleanliness and abundance. While Jennings and Willard were its proprietors the City Hotel was the theatre of public banquets, receptions of distinguished persons, the fashionable rendezvous of dancers at balls or assemblies, and concerts; indeed it was a focal point of public entertainments outside the theatres.

Dancing was indulged in to a very moderate extent in the later days of Knickerbocker life in New York. It was discountenanced by the Church, was considered almost improper by fastidious people, and plain cotillons and even the more exacting Spanish dance were regarded by the gayer people as too tame to be very attractive.

At that time John Charaud was the great "dancing-master" in the city, and taught the art to many of the elderly men and women of to-day who were natives of New York. He used the ladies' dining-room of the City Hotel for giving instructions in dancing, and there, with its eminently respectable surroundings, he gave "publics," or gatherings of the parents of boys and girls who were his pupils, at stated times, to witness the scientific movements of their children. Charaud used this room until he built his famous ball-room in White Street, between Church and Chapel streets. He lived until he was about fourscore and ten, and danced until the last. He had lived to see the best population of the town flee before rapacious business, miles to the northward and yet within the thronging city, and his famous ball-room became a dog-pit, where the dregs of society herded.

The ladies' dining-room of the City Hotel was hired for concert purposes by foreign artists who came to New York. A little later than the time we are considering, Henry Russell, an English vocalist, sang in that room, and there he first introduced to the public General Morris's famous song, "Woodman, Spare that Tree."

Russell, though regarded by educated musicians and musical critics as an inferior artist, became quite a "lion" in New York. He and the author of "Woodman, Spare that Tree," often met in social circles.

It is related that on one of these occasions, when Captain Marryat, the eminent English novelist, was of the company, Russell was invited to sing the popular song. As he was singing the closing stanza, Marryat approached the piano and laid before the vocalist the following paraphrase of the first stanza, written in pencil :

“ Lady, give me tea,
And I will make a bow ;
In youth it pleasèd me,
And I do love it now.
'Twas my old mother's hand
That poured it from the pot ;
Pray, lady, let it stand,
For it is too d—d hot !”

Russell sang the paraphrase amid great merriment, in which the author heartily joined.

CHAPTER III.

THE methods in the conduct of funerals in the Knickerbocker era were peculiar. The religious ceremonies were usually performed at the home of the deceased, where, after they were ended, liquors were dispensed to the whole company in attendance. Those who for want of room were compelled to remain outside the house, were served by colored waiters with towels on their arms, and bearing filled decanters with glasses on a salver. These liquors were generally cordials, which exhilarated but did not intoxicate.

The graveyards were usually not far from the dwellings, and instead of employing a hearse the coffin was carried on a bier, on the shoulders of four men, while the pall-bearers walked alongside and held the black tassels of the pall. Each of these pall-bearers, as well as the minister and the physician, was furnished with a fine white linen scarf having sufficient material to make a shirt. This fashion of furnishing scarfs became an arbitrary custom, which often bore heavily upon the resources of families in moderate circumstances. Many worthy people were sorely pinched to provide this apparently necessary mark of respect for deceased relatives.

At length members of the old Tontine Association—the most respectable society in the city—resolved to relieve the community of this burden. Some prominent member called a meeting at the old Tontine Coffee-House, in Wall Street, to discuss the subject. Nearly two hundred persons were present—men of weight in social influence—and these all signed a pledge that they would abstain from the custom of supplying scarfs at funerals, except to the clergyman and attending physician. Their action was immediately felt in a rapid decline of the custom, and a happy relief of the community from a grievous burden to many.

Restaurants (then called “eating-houses”) were almost unknown even in the later days of Knickerbocker life in New York. They were among the earlier indications of “foreign influence” in the social system of the city, which has transformed home diners at noon into absentees from the mid-day meal. At the tables of these “eating-

houses'' a curious collection of men, young and old, might be seen. The spruce merchant's clerk, neatly attired, sat silently by the side of a drayman in coarse blouse or a begrimed street laborer in overalls.

For a long time these places were shunned by the conservative and home-loving Knickerbockers as vulgar : and so they were. No respectable woman was ever seen entering their doors. She would faint with hunger before she would risk the social stigma. Even so late as 1835, when James Thompson opened a "saloon" at 117 Broadway for the sale of cakes and other delicacies for the special accommodation of ladies out a-shopping, and presented delicious temptations in his windows, shoppers were seldom beguiled into the attractive room, although the sisters of the proprietor, middle-aged women, were in attendance. Society said it was not proper ; but society, like an individual, changes its opinions. Thompson, after patient waiting in faith and after preparing a palace, richly decorated, up Broadway, near where Contoit flourished, found society yielding. The *taboo* was gradually removed. Society said ladies and gentlemen, and even ladies alone, might with propriety enter and partake of good things offered. Knickerbocker fastidiousness and shrinking modesty gave way.

After a while, when families left apartments over stores and moved up town, dining-rooms for gentlemen became popular. Among the earlier of these was that of Clarke & Brown, near the junction of Maiden Lane and Liberty Street. It became a daily resort for merchants and professional men. For a long time it was visited almost exclusively by Englishmen, who there found their favorite rare roast beef, steaks barely warmed through, plum-puddings, and "Burton's stock ale," though brewed by Mr. Vassar at Poughkeepsie or at Philadelphia. The Knickerbockers did not take kindly to this fare. They were accustomed to thoroughly cooked food, and did not like the crimson juice as a substitute for gravy. But after a while Knickerbocker prejudice gave way : Knickerbocker taste changed, and the dining-rooms of Clarke & Brown became a cosmopolitan resort for hungry men.

Meanwhile a thoroughly American restaurant, which was dignified with the name of the Auction Hotel, was opened in Water Street, near Wall Street. It derived its title from its proximity to the great auction rooms of Haggerty & Sons, Wilmerding & Co., and other famous auctioneers. The proprietor had been a merchant, failed in business, opened this restaurant, and was very prosperous. One day he invited all his creditors to a bountiful repast. The table was spread in an upper private room. In the napkins placed before each guest was

found a sealed envelope, which when opened was found to contain a check for the principal and interest of their respective claims. This honest act brought to the proprietor the substantial reward of vastly increased business, and he died a rich man.

At about this time a colored man named Downing became famous among lovers of oysters—and who is not a lover of oysters?—because of his rare skill in preparing them for the table. Downing's "oyster cellar" consisted of the basement of two small buildings in Broad Street, near Wall Street. It became the favorite resort of merchants, bankers, brokers, lawyers, and politicians—a sort of social exchange. Downing flourished, was called "Prince Saddleback," accumulated a fortune, and at a ripe old age left the establishment and its "good will" to his son, George T.

Another famous restaurant-keeper was Edward Windust, who occupied a basement on Park Row, near the old Park Theatre. It was a favorite resort of theatrical and literary people of every degree. Between the plays at the Park it was always crowded with jolly fellows. The walls were adorned with quaint and curious reminiscences of the drama: musty old theatre bills, a piece of some ancient wardrobe, a frame with a lock of Shakespeare's hair, a sword used on the stage by Garrick, on a shelf a rare volume of plays and other antiquated articles familiar to players. It was an actor's museum.

At Windust's half a century ago, or even within a generation, actors and literary magnates met nightly in social intercourse. There might have been seen, fifty or more years ago, Cooper, Edmund Kean, Junius Brutus Booth (father of Edwin Booth), T. G. Hamblin, the Wallacks (Henry and James), Henry Placide, Simpson, the manager of the Park; "Old Barnes," and a score of lesser theatrical lights, with leading men in the realm of literature and art in the city at that time.

Windust became rich, and with riches came undue ambition. He left his famous basement in Park Row and opened the Athenæum Hotel, on the corner of Broadway and Leonard Street, where his beautiful daughters and nieces might have been seen flitting through the halls and up the staircases. Windust had entered waters too deep for him, in trying to keep a hotel. The Athenæum was soon closed. He went back to his basement, but its prestige had departed never to return.

These were the principal restaurant-keepers in New York half a century ago, and were participants in the social transformation to which allusion has been made.

Another feature of this social transformation in New York appeared

more than fifty years ago, when Delmonico and Guerin established *cafés*—a purely European innovation. They were the pioneers in the business in New York. They began on a small scale. Delmonico's establishment was in a small store on William Street, opposite the North Dutch Church. It contained a half-dozen pine tables, and wooden chairs to match, and on a board counter covered with snow-white napkins was ranged the scanty assortment of delicacies to be served. He had earthenware cups and saucers, two-tined forks and knives with buck-bone handles, common "blown" glassware, and a large tin coffee-pot. His tiny bill of fare contained the mysterious words now so common—"filets," "café," "chocolat," "macaroni," "petit verne," and other French names. These were served by Delmonico in person, who was distinguished by a white paper cap and apron. His courteous manner and his novelties soon attracted the young Knickerbockers, who acknowledged his cookery to be superior to any known in the city. But these youths made their visits at intervals, generally indulging in the pleasures of the café on a Saturday afternoon, when two or three would agree to meet there, but in a secret way, for it seemed to them as almost forbidden ground.

The customers of Delmonico gradually increased until his little shop became too small for their accommodation, and he removed to Hanover Square, where, in the great conflagration, his continually growing establishment was licked up by the rapacious flames and disappeared in smoke. Phoenix-like, it arose from the ashes rejuvenated, and on the corner of William and Beaver streets he built a spacious restaurant, where he and his brothers, with their sons and nephews, accumulated fortunes. "Delmonico's" to-day is the most extensive, magnificent, and expensive *café* on this continent.

Delmonico's rival at first was Francis Guerin, a Frenchman, who opened a café on Broadway, opposite the City Hotel. His shop-window was a most inviting temptation to the palate. There was pastry of all kinds, French confectionery in handsome boxes, bottles of cordials, and all kinds of fruit in their season. Inside, on a long table, were displayed tarts and confections in abundance. Sandwiches, sardines, and the sweet things just mentioned were the staple offerings of the establishment to its customers. It was never a real café, though a little coffee and chocolate were furnished in a small room at the rear of the store; and there, in summer, ice-cream might be procured. It was never entered by ladies, and it finally degenerated into a cosmopolitan drinking-saloon. As such it became very popular, and Guerin soon made a fortune.



W. H. Quincy

Delmonico was a generous, enterprising Italian, who started on a fixed plan, and adhered to it; a sound, intelligent man, who aimed to please both the eye and palate, and lived to find his fame established all over the United States, and even in Europe. Guerin was a penurious Frenchman, without personal ambition, who accumulated an immense estate, but left no record of how he lived or how he died.

It was at near the close of the Knickerbocker era in New York that the convenient omnibus was first introduced into the city by a shrewd Connecticut man (Humphrey Phelps), who afterward became quite an extensive map publisher in the metropolis. He was the driver of his own vehicle. The hint was instantly acted upon, and when the system was fairly inaugurated there were three rival lines, and Phelps left the field to his competitors. Before the advent of these vehicles citizens who could not afford to own a coach depended on their own natural powers of locomotion.

The first omnibus appeared in 1830. It traversed Broadway, from the Bowling Green to Bleecker Street. In stormy weather, or when there was a lady among the passengers, the obliging driver would go as far as the Kip mansion, on the site of the New York Hotel.

The omnibuses were few in number. They were finely decorated, and bore the names of distinguished American citizens emblazoned on their sides. There was the "Lady Washington," the "Lady Clinton," the "George Washington," the "De Witt Clinton," the "Benjamin Franklin," the "Thomas Jefferson," etc. These vehicles were drawn by four matched horses.

The rival lines of stages were owned respectively by Abraham Brower, Evan Jones, and — Colvill. Brower's "stables" were mere sheds, on Broadway, opposite Bond Street; Jones's were on White Street, and Colvill's on Grand Street, just east of Broadway. The fares (one shilling each) were collected by a small boy who stood on the step at the entrance to the omnibus.

Very soon a fourth line of omnibuses was established by Asa Hall, a hatter on Dey Street, which started from the corner of Pine and Nassau streets, went up Broadway to Canal Street, thence to Hudson Street, and by the green fields and gardens until it reached the village of Greenwich, the terminus of the route being (present) Charles Street. The fare was twenty-five cents each. This afterward famous "Greenwich Line" of stages Hall sold to two enterprising young men, Messrs. Kip and Brown. They made money rapidly. Kip became the soul of enterprise and good deeds in Greenwich Village. The business of the route was finally ruined by the building of the Eighth Avenue Rail-

road. Kip lost his fortune largely in litigation with the huge monopoly, and died poor.

In those days the livery business was so risky that its accommodations were few. If a gentleman desired to take a lady on a ride out of town, and did not possess a carriage of his own, he was compelled to search the city for a nice one, and give a day or two's notice in order to secure it.

Society, so called, near the close of the Knickerbocker era in New York, was not subdivided as now. Business was open, straightforward, truthful, and sincere. Men made fortunes by industry and thrift, and kept them by the exercise of prudence and sound judgment. They did not, as a rule, retire from business to live an idle life, unless compelled to do so by old age or sickness. There seemed to be no royal road to wealth or distinction. The road to these acquisitions was the old beaten track, and pursued by men of every degree. Fortunes were not made and lost in a day. Gambling in stocks was unknown. Credit was based more upon personal character than upon estates.

There were few overshadowing fortunes in those days. Rich men (then so esteemed) did not, as a rule, possess more of an estate in value than the sums now annually spent by many men in meeting the expenses of their respective princely habitations. Every man who paid his debts punctually, thrived by frugality, and rigidly conformed to the requirements of social ethics, was thoroughly respected by all classes, whether he was a professional man, a merchant, or an artisan, for it was the prevailing sentiment in society that

“Worth makes the man, the want of it the fellow.”

Dinner and evening parties were not frequent, even among the rich, and stated reception days or evenings were not known, for calls or visits were acts of genuine friendship, and not of mere ceremony, as now. There was always a warm welcome for all proper visitors, and the recipient of guests was not “put out” by an unceremonious call.

On particular occasions, like that of a wedding, cards of invitation were sent out; outside experts were employed, and much ceremony, as in the olden time, was observed. About 1830 a colored man named Jackson, who lived in Howard Street, was the renowned caterer on such occasions. He was the final umpire in all cases, excepting when a jury of old ladies, whose youth had been spent in the last century, decided otherwise. He was pompous and fussy, and was seen at all the

great wedding parties. The wedding-cake in those days was almost invariably made by good Katie Ferguson, a colored woman in Warren Street, who organized the first Sunday-school in the city of New York. The cake was made at the home of the bride, and Katie was sent for from all quarters to superintend its composition.

At the wedding feast everything bore the features of solidity, though dainty delicacies were not wanting. Abundance was a conspicuous feature. Hams, chickens, turkeys, sometimes game, home-made preserves, brandy-peaches, nuts, lady-apples, oranges, grapes, and raisins were seen in high china dishes. A towering form of ice-cream from 'Ontoit's graced the table and gave promise to the palate of delicious enjoyment. Champagne was seldom used, but port, sherry, and Madeira always enlivened the marriage-supper. Wherever in the room a silver candlestick could be placed, wax candles added their soft, mellow light to that of astral lamps.

Social evening gatherings were preceded by invitations "to tea" or "to spend the evening." In either case it was understood that the guests were to appear as early as seven o'clock, and retire not later than ten o'clock. To "spend the evening" implied engaging in simple social enjoyment, untrammelled by conventional rules. Their enjoyment consisted in dancing, singing, a quiet game of whist by the elders, and "plays," such as "button, button, who's got the button?" "hunt the slipper," "pawns," etc., by the young people. Only the modest cotillon and sometimes the ancient minuet were allowed, for New York had not yet consented to let its sons and daughters engage in the round dances or the exciting waltz. Refreshments were handed round by waiters.

At "tea" everything was informal. The mistress of the household presided at the table. The family silver, china, and cut-glass ware were displayed, and there was a bountiful provision of shortcake, biscuits, preserves, dried beef, sweet-cake, and tea and coffee. At these evening gatherings of friends, the majority of the company were of the gentler sex.

Public "balls" or "assemblies" at the Apollo Rooms, in Broadway near Canal Street, though conducted with great propriety, were regarded as indelicate if not vulgar by the staid Knickerbockers, and it was not until balls, disguised under the name of "reunions," conducted by the reigning prince of dancers, Charaud, were held at the City Hotel that Knickerbocker fastidiousness consented to give free rein to the inclination of the young people in that direction. Charaud had taught their mothers and even grandmothers the art of dancing, and

he, as floor manager, stamped these "reunions" with the seal of propriety.

The drama, presenting the great masters in literature and the histrionic art, was always a fascinating and instructive amusement ; but the theatre was not generally popular among thoughtful Knickerbockers, because of its shortcomings in intellect and morals, until the judicious management of the Park Theatre, by Price and Simpson, overcame all serious objections. More and more frequently Knickerbocker families of influence (excepting church-members) were seen in the dress-circle at the Park, and it was admitted that the playhouse so conducted was highly reputable.

The Park Theatre was built in 1798. It was destroyed by fire and rebuilt in 1821, and its auditorium was so extensive that twenty-five hundred persons might be comfortably seated in it. The scenery was mostly painted by the skilful hand of John Evers, one of the founders of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, yet (1883) living at Hempstead, L. I. Its interior decorations were attractive, but its front, on Park Row, was so plain that it might have been mistaken for an old-fashioned Methodist meeting-house, had not a wooden statue of Shakespeare, standing over the main entrance, proclaimed it a temple of the histrionic muse.

The entrances to the Park Theatre were narrow and dark, the utter blackness being subdued by the feeble light of oil lamps. The lobbies were dingy and dirty, and as plain as the mason and carpenter could make them. The auditorium consisted of three tiers of seats and the pit, now styled the parquet. In the former were settees, with backs covered with dark maroon. The pit, wholly occupied by men and boys, was entered by a subterranean passage. The benches were without cushions, with barely enough room between them for persons to crowd by.

Such was the "finest playhouse in America" half a century ago. Between 1821 and 1830 eminent actors (chiefly English) trod its boards—Matthews, Cooper, Cook, Edmund Kean, Macready, Junius Brutus Booth, the excellent Mrs. Wheatley, and several young aspirants for Thespian fame who afterward became bright luminaries in the theatrical firmament. It was at the Park Theatre, on the evening of November 12, 1826, that the beautiful domestic drama entitled *Clari, the Maid of Milan*, written by our countryman, John Howard Payne, was first performed in America. It was operatic in style, and contained that pathetic song, "Home, Sweet Home," which gave the author immortality in the world's literature. The music of the play was written by

Sir Henry Bishop, who composed a large portion of the music for Moore's Irish melodies, the air being suggested by Payne himself.*

Near the close of the Knickerbocker era the Italian opera was first introduced into New York by Signor Manuel Garcia, an eminent tenor from Italy. He and his troupe were brought to this country by Dominick Lynch, a wealthy New York wine-merchant. This novel performance—novel to most Americans—began at the Park Theatre on the 29th of November, 1825, and was given two nights in each week as an experiment. The opera was Rossini's *Barber of Seville*. The leader of the orchestra was De Leon. There were seven violins, two tenors, two basses, three violoncellos, two flutes, two clarinets, two horns, two trumpets, one bassoon, and one kettledrum. The cast was as follows :

COUNT ALMAVIVA	Signor Garcia	FLORELLO	Signor Crevilli
DOCTOR BARTOLO	Signor Rosich	FIGARO	Signor Garcia, Jr.
BASILIO	Signor Angrisani	ROSINA	Signorini Garcia
BARTA	Signora Garcia		

The house was thronged in every part with the most brilliant assemblage ever seen in an American theatre. The receipts were \$2980. The next morning one of the city newspapers contained the following remarks :

“ The repeated plaudits with which the theatre rung were unequivocal, unaffected bursts of rapture. The signorini [Garcia's daughter] seems to us a being of a new creation. . . . The best compliment

* The history of this song is interesting. At about 1822 or 1823 Charles Kemble, then the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, London, engaged Payne, then in Paris, to write a play for him. He translated the play of *Angioletta*. It was accepted by Kemble, but at that juncture it was brought out at a rival theatre. Thereupon Payne slightly altered the plot, introduced several songs and duets into the piece, and transformed it into an opera under the title of *Clari, the Maid of Milan*. The song of “ Home, Sweet Home ” was introduced in the second act, and was sung with great pathos by a sister of Ellen Tree (afterward Mrs. Charles Kean) as Clari, the heroine of the play. The opera, first produced in May, 1823, was a wonderful success. Payne had written to Bishop from Paris before the opera was produced that he had not “ time to polish the songs,” but thought “ ‘ Home, Sweet Home,’ as a refrain, would come in nicely.” When the song was published one hundred thousand copies were at once disposed of, and the profits of the publishers two years afterward, it is said, amounted to \$10,000. In these profits Payne did not share.

John Howard Payne was born in the city of New York, at No. 33 Broad Street, near the corner of Pearl Street, on June 9, 1791. He was a precocious youth, and inclined toward the stage. His father tried to prevent his pursuing this inclination, but failed. He began his dramatic career when he was only sixteen years of age. He first appeared at the Park Theatre. He went to England, where he obtained the title of the “ American

that can be paid to the company was the unbroken attention that was yielded throughout the entire performance, except that it was now and then interrupted by judiciously bestowed marks of applause, which were simultaneously given from all parts of the house."

The singing of Signorini Garcia produced a new sensation in the city. She performed at the Bowery Theatre (then just opened) the next year, when she received \$10,000 for seventeen nights' performance. But the excitement in the public mind was only temporary. The attendance fell off, and at the end of two years the troupe abandoned the enterprise and returned to Europe. In 1832 Dunlap wrote :

"We doubt not but those patriots [citizens who had been active in procuring the presence of the troupe] who introduced the Italian opera into America will be immortalized in the history of the march of mind."

Garcia's was a florid style of singing. His voice was exquisite, and he gave unbounded pleasure. Angrisani's bass was deemed almost miraculous. It was unequalled in depth and sweetness.

Garcia's daughter, Signorini Maria Felicité, was a marvellous singer. Her voice was what the Italians call a *contralto*. In person she was about the middle height, plump, eyes dark and expressive, and a sweet smile was almost constantly upon her lips and in her eyes. In March, 1826, while at the height of her brilliant career, she married Eugene Malibran, an aged and wealthy French merchant of New York, and expected to retire from the stage. In this matter she had yielded her own inclinations to the will and commands of her father. The brilliant vision of wealth that dazzled the eyes of Garcia were illusory. Misfortune overtook Malibran. He became a bankrupt, and she was compelled to resume her profession for her own support. She sang in old Grace Church, on the corner of Broadway and Thames Street, on Sundays. Early in 1827 she appeared at the Bowery Theatre, and in October of the same year she bade farewell to the American stage as the Princess of Navarre in *John of Paris*. In November she

Roseins." He was cordially greeted in Paris by the great tragedian Talma. For nearly twenty years he pursued a career of varied success as actor, playwright, and manager, and returned to the United States in 1832. In 1841 he was appointed American Consul at Tunis, where he died April 9, 1852. At the suggestion and at the expense of W. W. Corean, of Washington, his remains were brought to the United States, and received with public honors at his native city, on March 22, 1883. Thence they were conveyed to Washington and interred in Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown, District of Columbia. The tombstone, of white Italian marble, which was originally placed at the head of his grave in a cemetery at Tunis, bearing the erroneous inscription, "He died at the American Consulate, in this city [Tunis], April 1, 1852. He was born in the city of Boston, State of Massachusetts, June the 8th, 1792," was also set up at the place of his new interment.

sailed for Europe, sang with great applause in London and Paris, and from that time remained the unrivalled Queen of Song. As Madame Malibran she filled all Europe with her admirers. She had procured a divorce from her husband soon after her return to Europe, and bestowed her hand upon the man of her choice, De Beriot, the celebrated vocalist ; but she ever afterward retained the name of Malibran professionally. She died of a nervous fever at Manchester, England, when she was only twenty-eight years of age.* Her generosity was unbounded. A greater part of her enormous earnings were lavished on her relatives and various objects of charity.

The favorite drives into the country for sporting characters and fashionable young men half a century ago was to Burnham's, on the Hudson River side of the city, and to Cato's, on the East River side. To those citizens who indulged in long walks, a stroll out to Corporal Thompson's cottage, which stood on the site of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, was a favorite resort. There the young men returning from the more distant points of a drive usually stopped and enjoyed rollicking fun, sometimes until late in the evening, when they were compelled to grope their way slowly along the dark road that led into the city.

Thompson's was a diminutive tavern. It was a cottage built by Mr. Milderberger, a leather-merchant in Vandewater Street, for a country residence. He had bought several acres of ground near the junction of Broadway and Fifth Avenue for the purpose. He afterward built himself a fine brick mansion on the south-west corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-third Street, and rented the cottage to Thompson. When the streets about Madison Square were graded, Corporal Thompson's little yellow tavern remained standing upon a bank several feet above the general level, as long as possible.

Cato's was the special favorite resort of young characters now known as "fast" young men. His place was not far from the old Beekman mansion, near Turtle Bay, on the East River. It was in a shaded lane running east from Third Avenue (then a famous trotting road), about three fourths of a mile to the East River, near the lofty shot-tower. Cato was black—very black. He had been a slave. Intercourse with white people and his natural bent made him a gentleman, and he was greatly respected by all who came in contact with him. He kept the choicest liquors and cigars, and his barroom and small sitting-room adjoining were models of neatness. Cato sold real cigars "five for a shilling," and pure brandy "sixpence a glass." He was always

* See "Records of the New York Stage," by Joseph N. Ireland.

polite, kind-hearted, and obliging—too obliging sometimes for his own interest, for some of his “fast” customers, scions of wealthy families, borrowed considerable sums of money of him, and forgot to refund.

The Hazard House, on Yorkville Hill, through which the railway tunnel was pierced many years ago, was another famous stopping-place in the rural regions of Manhattan Island fifty or sixty years ago; but a place more famous than all, and near the northern limit of the “drives,” was the Red House, on the verge of Harlem Plains. It had been the mansion of the McGowan family. It was reached by a shaded lane at about One Hundredth Street, running westward from Third Avenue (the first cut through to Harlem River).

The Red House was a spacious residence surrounded by several acres of ground, in which was a well-kept half-mile trotting-course. It was a place of great resort for the owners of fast trotting horses. There might have been seen, almost any fine day, a peculiar person well known in the city about fifty years ago. It was Henry Carroll Marx, of Hebrew descent. He was a man of much intellectual force and fine accomplishments, but because of his peculiar style of dress and deportment was styled “Dandy Marx,” the representative of the New York “exquisite,” who was generally accounted as lacking common-sense—a class which passed away many years ago, but has been replaced in our day by a more silly class called “dudes.”

Marx lived a bachelor, with his mother and sisters, at 673 Broadway. They possessed an ample fortune. Mr. Marx affected the European style in everything—dress, equipage, and speech. He wore a carefully waxed mustache, such as was seen on the lip of the Emperor Napoleon III. in after years, and this was an abomination to the Knickerbockers. His style of dress was English in the extreme. His speech had the peculiar drawl of the London cockney, and his dogs and horses were of the best blood. Marx was reticent, seldom mingled in social life in the city, dressed his servants in livery, had a variety of carriages of English styles, drove a splendid team of horses—sometimes four-in-hand, and was seldom accompanied by any one but his sister, who was a very expert horsewoman. All the fashionable tailors in the city were anxious to have their handiwork displayed on the person of “Dandy Marx.”

Mr. Marx was not at all effeminate. Whatever he undertook he persisted in with extraordinary perseverance. He joined a fire hose company. One night, while at an entertainment at Niblo's, there was an alarm of fire. Marx rushed to the hose-house in patent-leather

boots, white kid gloves, and dressed in the extreme of fashion. It had rained heavily, and the streets were filled with mud. He seized the ropes, ran "with the machine" from Mercer to Broad Street, and worked as hard as any one in extinguishing the fire. His costume was ruined, but he had done his duty faithfully. At the cost of thousands of dollars he got up the famous Hussar regiment, one of the most attractive military corps in the city. To prepare himself for the command he went to Canada, mixed with the cavalry corps then in the service of young Queen Victoria, studied their tactics for several months, and so secured success.

Wall Street, at the closing period of Knickerbocker life in New York, was not the seething caldron of stock-gambling and the arena of financial bull-baiting and bear-fighting it is now. Although Wall Street in 1830 was a far-famed mart for bankers, brokers, underwriters, and stock-jobbers, and the focal point of commercial enterprise, where speculation of every kind was planned and executed, and for five hours each day was a scene of hurry and bustle and anxiety nowhere else to be seen on the continent exhibited in such a degree, it was a quiet, sober street compared with Wall Street since the Civil War. There a few private dwellings yet lingered, and several kinds of business beside monetary affairs were carried on.

Let us stand at the head of Wall Street, in front of Trinity Church, and take a glance at that famous thoroughfare from Broad Street toward the East River. On the right you see a neat white marble building, the front like a Grecian temple. That is the Phoenix Bank. The stately building of granite, with a towering dome and short spire, in the middle distance, is the Merchants' Exchange, completed in 1827. Between the Phoenix Bank and William Street you see three brick buildings, three stories in height. They are occupied by the Manhattan Fire Insurance Company, Peter Mesier's spacious bookstore (for the time), S. W. Benedict's watch and jewelry establishment, and the exchange office of R. L. Nevins. The families of Mesier, Benedict, and Nevins live in the apartments above.

You see the large building on the next corner. There Mapes & Waldron (the former the father of the late Professor Mapes) had their establishment as merchant tailors, but it is now the office of the *New York American Advocate*; and between that and the offices of the *Standard* and *American* you see the offices of three fire-insurance companies. Next to the Exchange is a small confectionery shop; and below the Exchange, on the corner of Hanover Street, are the offices of the Atlantic and other fire-insurance companies. At the foot of the

street, ending at the East River, you see the shipping in Coffee-House Slip.

On the left side of the street the Tontine Coffee-House looms up, at the corner of Pearl Street, and as your eye passes westward you perceive bank buildings, insurance offices, and the place of business of the Morris Canal Company. But nearly all the banks and insurance companies then in the city could now be accommodated in one of the modern edifices in New York.

At that period, and even so early as when Halleck wrote of the father of his "Fanny," Wall Street seems to have had some features of its ethics to-day. The poet wrote :

" For Rumor (she's a famous liar yet—
 'Tis wonderful how easy we believe her !)
 Had whispered he was rich, and all he met
 In Wall Street nodded, smiled, and tipped the beaver ;
 All from Mr. Gelston, the collector,
 Down to the broker and the bank director.

" A few brief years passed over, and his rank
 Among the worthies of that street was fix'd ;
 He had become director of a bank
 And six insurance offices, and mix'd
 Familiarly, as one among his peers,
 With grocers, dry-goods merchants, auctioneers,

" Brokers of all grades—stock and pawn—and Jews
 Of all religions, who, at noonday, for,
 On 'Change, that brotherhood my moral muse
 Delights in, when the heart is pure and warm,
 And each exerts his intellectual force
 To cheat his neighbor—honestly, of course."

At the period we are considering transactions in securities were few and insignificant, mainly for investment. "The greed for speculation," says Mr. Dayton, "had not tainted the plodding habits of business men, wrapped up as they were in their peculiar calling, satisfied with limited credit, and contented with moderate gains. The railway and mining mania was unborn. The stocks and mortgage bonds, which now form the staple of the gigantic operations which daily, nay hourly, make and unmake scores of desperate speculators, were not in existence ; they had not drawn into the seething caldron of Wall Street wealth from every corner of the civilized globe. . . . Thousands of well-to-do men lived and died without ever puzzling their brains about the ups and downs of the stock list."



Wm C Dodge

CHAPTER IV.

BEFORE the year 1830 New York had acquired the character of being the leading city in the Republic in all that constitutes desirable metropolitan life. Hardie wrote in 1827 :

“The city of New York, from its rapid growth, commercial character, and unrivalled prosperity, has justly been called the London of America. But it is now high time to change the appellation. The extensive patronage extended to the liberal arts and works of taste, the unexampled increase of public amusements, with the consequent progress of morals and refinement, have at length rendered New York the Paris of America. Like that gay and splendid emporium of fashion and literature, New York is constantly filled with strangers, who are drawn hither by the celebrity of our institutions, our commerce, opulence, and multiplied sources of rational pleasure. Our fame in these respects has gone abroad to the remotest corners of the Western hemisphere, and is rapidly spreading through every part of Christendom.”*

The staid inhabitants of New York, especially the Knickerbocker element, may not have considered every point of this view as complimentary to the city, yet it was undoubtedly true. Society in almost every feature was changing its tone and hue in many things, from causes already alluded to. Existing institutions—benevolent, charitable, scientific, literary, artistic, and religious—were feeling the electric thrill of new life, and in this inspiration commerce and manufactures, and all the varied industrial interests of the rapidly growing city, participated. Let us briefly consider the public institutions in the city of New York which were in existence in the half decade before the year 1830.

Those institutions which most largely minister to the physical well-being of society are regarded as most worthy earliest and grateful recognition. To provide for the wants of the poor and destitute, who suffer most from misfortunes, accidents, and diseases, is the prime object of a larger portion of the public benevolent institutions of the city.

The hospital is the rich fruit of the teachings of Jesus the Christ.

* “The Description of the City of New York,” by James Hardie, A.M., p. 339.

His great lesson of the Good Samaritan prefigured the divine mission of the hospital, the influence of which is permeating human society everywhere.

The pagan nations looked with contempt upon physical weakness, and made no provision for the care of the wounded, the sick, and the infirm. With the dawn of the new era began the practical observance of the Golden Rule, and provision for the weary and worn first appeared as places of refreshment for travellers. These finally became transformed into refuges for invalids.

At the period we are considering, the city of New York was provided with two hospitals (the City Hospital and the Bellevue Almshouse and Asylum); also a city dispensary, an asylum for the insane, an eye infirmary, a lying-in hospital, an institution for the instruction of the deaf and dumb, so called, and several minor charitable associations. These institutions—those fountains of untold blessings—are all in active operation now in the midst of scores of others engaged in the same holy cause.

THE NEW YORK CITY HOSPITAL was the generous offspring of the active brain and sympathetic heart of Dr. John Bard,* an eminent New York physician. At the first medical graduation at King's (now Columbia) College in the city of New York, in May, 1769, Dr. Bard delivered an address, in which he so pathetically and earnestly set forth the necessity and utility of a public infirmary that Sir Henry Moore, then governor of the province, who was present, immediately started a subscription for that purpose, to which he and most of the gentlemen present liberally contributed. The sum of \$3500 was soon obtained, and the governor (who died the next autumn) warmly urged the Provincial Assembly to render the proposed institution liberal pecuniary aid. The corporation of the city soon afterward appropriated \$15,552. Contributions were also received from London and

* John Bard, M.D., an eminent physician, was born at Burlington, N. J., in February, 1716. His family was of the Huguenot refugees who fled from persecution in France. His father was a privy councillor and judge in New Jersey. John was educated in Philadelphia, where he was a surgeon's apprentice seven years, and formed a lasting friendship with Dr. Franklin. Bard established himself as a physician in New York in 1746, and very soon took a front rank in the profession. In 1750 he assisted Dr. Middleton in the first recorded dissection of the human body in America. During a portion of the British occupation of New York he withdrew from the city, but returned after the Revolution. Bard was the first president of the New York Medical Society in 1788. When, in 1795, yellow fever raged in New York, Bard, though eighty years of age, remained at his post. He gave up practice in 1798, and died at his country-seat at Hyde Park, Dutchess County, N. Y., in March, 1799.

other parts of Great Britain, on the earnest solicitations of Drs. Fothergill and Sir William Duncan.

The following year (1770) Drs. Bard, Middleton, and Jones petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Colden to grant a charter for a hospital. This was done the following year by Lord Dunmore, then governor of the province. That charter, dated June 13, 1771, bears the names of the mayor of New York, the recorder, aldermen and assistants, the rector of Trinity Church, one minister of each religious denomination in the city, the president of King's (now Columbia) College, and a number of the most respectable citizens as members. They were incorporated with the title of *The Society of the Hospital in the City of New York, in America*. This title was altered by the Legislature, in March, 1810, to that of *The Society of the New York Hospital*.*

The charter limited the number of governors to twenty-six. In 1772 the Legislature granted the institution an annuity of \$2000 for twenty years, and the building was soon afterward begun on five acres of ground on the west side of Broadway, between (present) Duane and Worth streets, which the governors had purchased. The corner-stone was laid on July 27, 1773. Just as the building was completed, a fire accidentally lighted laid the most of it in ashes. That was in February, 1775. It inflicted upon the society a loss of \$17,500. The Legislature generously came to their relief, and gave the governors \$10,000 toward repairing their loss.

Another and more discouraging calamity now fell upon the institution. The war for independence began, and filled the land with confusion. The repairs of the building were nearly completed, when it was required for the use of sick and wounded Continental soldiers. When the British took possession of the city, in 1776, their troops occupied it for the same purpose, and wounded British and Hessian soldiers filled it.

It was over four years after the British forces left the city, in 1783, before the society were able to resume work on the building. The Legislature of the State of New York directed (March 1, 1788) \$2000 annually to be given them for four years, but such was the dreadful state of affairs in the city for several years after the war that the building was not ready to receive patients until 1791.

In 1792 the Legislature granted the hospital \$5000 a year for five years. This act was suspended, in 1795, by another granting \$10,000

* The first hospital on Manhattan Island was established by the Dutch. It had the capacity, it is said, of "five houses," and stood near the fort, at the southern extremity of the island. It was demolished after the English took possession of the country.

a year for five years. In 1795 an additional grant of \$2500 a year was made, making the whole annual sum \$12,500.

The governors now appropriated the sum of \$500 for the founding of a medical library for the use of the hospital. To this generous donations were made, and in 1830 the library contained over six thousand volumes. The hospital continually enjoyed the bounty of the State Legislature and of the citizens of New York.

In the year 1808 the first building ever devoted to the care of the insane in the State of New York was erected on the hospital grounds, and opened with sixty-seven patients. For the accommodation of the increasing number of such patients, a new asylum was established at Bloomingdale, a remote suburb of the city, in 1821. Then the old quarters were remodelled as a hospital for seamen, and called the "Marine Building," and in 1825 it was devoted exclusively to their use. It was so occupied for a quarter of a century, when it was demolished, and a more commodious building was erected on its site, and first occupied by them in 1855. The Marine Building, which had been furnished with wings, had also been remodelled, and was much improved in 1850.

At an early date in its history the hospital became known at home and abroad as an almost unrivalled school for teaching the practice of medicine and surgery. In his history of the institution, published in 1856, Gulian C. Verplanck, who had served as one of its governors thirty-five years, said: "The New York Hospital has now become the most extensive school of practice in the country."

The annual grants of the State Legislature had been increased to the sum of \$22,000. The term of this grant expired in 1855, and was not renewed, yet some aid was given to the hospital by the Legislature from time to time. Owing to various causes the institution became crippled with debt during the Civil War, notwithstanding the governors had paid out of their own pockets \$72,000 to support its vitality. They were compelled to restrict the admission of charity patients. That service was supplemented, in a degree, by Bellevue, and by other institutions which had sprung up.

An attempt was made to relieve the society of debt, but failed, and in 1868 it was resolved to lease the whole or a part of the Broadway lots. This proved to be a fortunate measure, for the property finally yielded an annual income of \$150,000, which was allowed to accumulate. The modest old building of gray stone, its green lawn shaded with stately elm trees, was demolished in 1869, and commercial establishments soon occupied the space.

Resolved to establish a hospital within the city limits, the governors purchased lots on West Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets in 1874, and the next year the governors resumed charitable work by opening a House of Relief on Chambers Street, to which place the library was then removed. The new building was begun in the spring of 1875, and was completed and formally opened in March, 1877.

The hospital building is probably the most luxurious and best equipped in the world. It is seven stories in height, including the basement; has a frontage on Fifteenth Street of one hundred and seventy-five feet, and a Mansard roof; extends through the block to Sixteenth Street, and is heated and ventilated scientifically. The front of the hospital faces the south, admitting the full light of the sun through its numerous and generous windows. Two steam elevators give ease to the internal travellers from basement to roof, and it has a capacity of one hundred and sixty-three beds, exclusive of the children's wards.

At the top of the building is a spacious hall, separated from the sky only by a translucent canopy of glass. This room is sixty-four feet in width, ninety feet in length, and of an average height of eighteen feet. There the convalescents may enjoy an invigorating sun-bath, in a temperature of summer heat or upward, at any season of the year. The room is furnished with native and exotic shrubs and flowering plants, little gurgling fountains, and curious aquariums with salt and fresh water. In this Elysium the poorest patient may enjoy luxuries seldom vouchsafed to the rich.

The number of patients treated in the hospital during 1882 was 3083. The number treated in the House of Relief, or Chambers Street Hospital, the same year, was 1828. The number of out-patients treated by the hospital staff was 4499, and the number of visits was 25,718. In the corresponding department at the House of Relief the number of patients treated was 9659.

These statistics show the immense benefits bestowed upon the poor and unfortunate by the New York Hospital and its annex, the House of Relief in Chambers Street.

THE BLOOMINGDALE ASYLUM FOR THE INSANE was opened for the reception of patients in June, 1821. It was the result of a communication to the governors of the New York Hospital by Thomas Eddy, a well-known philanthropist, in April, 1815, in which he set forth the advantages of *moral treatment* for the insane patients in that institution, and proposing that a number of acres near the city should be purchased and suitable buildings be erected for the purpose. The gov-

ernors acted promptly on the suggestion, and the Legislature of New York granted the hospital an additional sum of \$10,000 a year until 1857. The governors first bought a little more than seven acres fronting on the Bloomingdale Road (now One Hundred and Seventeenth Street, between Tenth and Eleventh avenues), seven miles north-west of the City Hall. It is on elevated ground, commanding beautiful and extensive views in every direction, and the buildings are about a fourth of a mile from the Hudson River, which it overlooks. More ground was purchased, and the domain now includes between forty and fifty acres. The farm is highly cultivated, chiefly for the production of vegetables and hay, and also ornamental shrubbery. It has many noble shade-trees.

The corner-stone of the Bloomingdale Asylum was laid May 7, 1818, and the main building was completed in 1821, after designs by Thomas C. Taylor. Extensive additions have since been made.

The system of moral treatment of the insane has ever been pursued with great success in the Bloomingdale Asylum. The patients are arranged in classes according to the form which their mental ailments have assumed, whether mania, monomania, dementia, idiotism, or delirium à potu. Harsh treatment and all needless restraint are avoided, and even confinement to the rooms is seldom resorted to. Many patients are allowed to work on the farm or in the garden, are taken out to ride, and permitted to participate in social enjoyments. There is a library of several hundred volumes, an ample supply of magazines and newspapers, and the patients are diverted by lectures illustrated by the magic lantern, and other entertainments.

The estate and all its interests are under the care of six of the governors. A warden and matron have charge of the household department. None but pay patients are admitted, unless by express direction of the board of governors. According to the annual report of the Bloomingdale Asylum for 1882, the whole number of patients admitted since the spring of 1821 was 7500 ; whole number discharged and died, 7277 ; whole number recovered, 3121 ; whole number improved, 1869 ; whole number not improved, 1271 ; whole number died, 1008. The greatest average number in the institution during one year was 233 (in 1882), and the greatest number of recoveries was 46 (in 1881).

At this time (1883) the President of the board of governors of the hospital and Bloomingdale Asylum is William H. Macy ; vice-president, James M. Brown ; treasurer, George Cabot Ward ; and secretary, David Colden Murray.

BELLEVUE HOSPITAL, the great pauper asylum of the city originally,

owes its existence chiefly to the exertions of that eminent physician, Dr. David Hosack. It is one of the noblest monuments of municipal benevolence in the world. The story of its origin may be briefly told.

In the year 1820 Dr. Hosack was the resident physician of the Health Department of the city, and in that capacity he had been brought into contact with many of the sick poor, whose wretched condition excited his warmest sympathy and commiseration. He found several sick with typhus fever crowded in small, ill-ventilated apartments, and forming nurseries of infectious and contagious diseases. At his request an extraordinary meeting of the Board of Health was called, July 27, 1820, to whom he made a statement of the condition of the poor, and declared that humanity to the indigent as well as care for the health of the city imperatively required that some provision should be made for the removal of the sick poor from their unhealthy dwellings to some airy and well-ventilated place. At a subsequent meeting a committee, of which Hosack was one, was appointed to take into consideration the expediency of such an establishment, and to ascertain where a proper site might be found. A majority of the committee opposed the measure, the chief objection being the expense.

Dr. Hosack, deeply impressed with the necessity of such an institution, persevered. In the ensuing autumn he addressed the students of the Medical Society, in the presence of many citizens and members of the Board of Health, on the subject, urging the necessity of a fever hospital—a place where contagious fever patients might be received and find benefit. The lecture was published, and much interest was excited in the public mind. But apathy succeeded, and it was not until yellow fever, like a malignant demon, ravaged the city in 1822 that the city authorities were induced to approve the founding of a fever hospital. Stephen Allen was then mayor. The Legislature was appealed to, and granted \$25,000 for the purpose. A beautiful and salubrious site on the banks of the East River belonging to the city was selected, and there a building one hundred and eighty feet long, fifty feet wide (excepting the centre, which is fifty-eight feet), and four stories in height, was completed in 1826. It was built of blue-stone, from a quarry on the premises. This building was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies in November, 1826. It has since been extended not only on the front, but in depth of wings, and is now three hundred and fifty feet in length. The grounds in front are laid out in beautiful lawns.*

* David Hosack, M.D., LL.D., a skilful and beneficent physician in New York nearly forty years, was born in that city in August, 1769. He was a son of a Scotch artillery

This institution was at first known as the Bellevue Almshouse. In 1848 the paupers were all transferred to Blackwell's Island, and the whole spacious building was appropriated to the uses of a hospital, with ample accommodations for twelve hundred patients. It has eight hundred beds. This hospital is a department of the City Almshouse, and is under the charge of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction. Its support is derived from the city treasury.

Bellevue Hospital now holds a front rank as a school for medical and surgical instruction, and the number in daily attendance upon the clinical lectures, admitted free, is very large.

In 1866 two new features were added to Bellevue Hospital, namely: a bureau of medical and surgical relief for out-door poor, and a morgue, or a receptacle for the unknown dead. Patients who are able to pay are admitted at the maximum charge of \$3.50 a week. The cost of sustaining the institution is about \$100,000 a year.

Bellevue Hospital is not only a blessing to the suffering poor, but an efficient agency for diffusing widely over the land sound and scientific medical and surgical knowledge.

THE NEW YORK CITY DISPENSARY was founded in 1791. At a meeting of the Medical Society of the City of New York, in October, 1790, a committee was appointed to digest and publish a plan for a dispensary for the medical relief of the sick poor, and to make an offer of the professional services of the members of the society to carry it into effect. Eloquent appeals were made to the public through the city newspapers, and on January 4, 1791, there was a meeting of a number of respectable citizens at the City Hall convened to effect an organization. It was done, and Hon. Isaac Roosevelt was chosen president, and Drs. Richard Bayley and Samuel Bard were chosen senior physicians. The dispensary was then established on Tryon Street (afterward Tryon Row), which extended along the north-eastern side of the City Hall Park, between Chambers and Chatham streets.

officer at the capture of Louisburg, in 1758. He studied medicine and surgery with Dr. Richard Bayley, and completed his medical education under the most distinguished professors in Edinburgh and London. In 1794 he returned to America with the first collection of minerals ever seen here; also a collection of specimens of plants. The next year he was appointed professor of botany in Columbia College, and from 1796 to 1800 he was a professional partner with Dr. Samuel Bard. In 1797 the chair of materia medica was also assigned to him, which, with that of botany, he held until 1807, when he accepted that of materia medica and midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Meanwhile he had established the Elgin Botanic Garden (the second founded in the United States), noticed in a future chapter. A catalogue of the plants he had brought together gave him a high position as a botanist. Dr. Hosack, in connection with his



Peter Cooper

In 1796 the dispensary was incorporated by the Legislature of New York. In 1805 a union was effected between the dispensary and the "Kinepox Institution," which had been established three years previously for the purpose of inoculating or vaccinating the poor with cow-pox instead of small-pox.

In 1810 the city corporation gave the dispensary a lot of land on Tryon Street, afterward Tryon Row. The number of patients so rapidly increased in 1828 (10,000 in that year) that the trustees were compelled to seek larger space. They procured from the city authorities the gift of a lot at the corner of Centre and White streets, and there was erected a brick building three stories in height, which was first occupied in 1829. The first floor was used by the dispensary; the two upper floors and the basement were rented for business purposes. On that spot is still (1883) the home of the dispensary.

During the first year of the occupancy of the new building the number of patients treated was nearly 18,000. The medical staff consisted of ten attending physicians and eight consulting physicians. These gentlemen were faithful and self-sacrificing. It is said that during the cholera season of 1832 the dispensary physicians "were found in every quarter of the widely extended city, breathing the atmosphere of death, and stopping, as far as they were able, the ravages of the all-devouring element."

According to the ninety-second annual report of the New York Dispensary (January 1, 1882) the number of cases treated that year was 25,171, and the number of prescriptions furnished was 46,985. The number of persons treated from the organization of the dispensary to January, 1882, was 1,860,485.

The districts of the dispensary extend on the north to Fourteenth Street, on the north-west to Spring Street and Broadway, on the north-east to First Avenue, Allen and Pike streets, and on the east, south, and west the district is bordered by the East and Hudson rivers.*

pupil, Dr. J. W. Francis, conducted the *American Medical and Philosophical Register* about four years—1810-14. He remained a member of the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons until 1826, when with Drs. Macneven, Mott, Godman, Francis, and Griscom, he assisted in the establishment of Rutgers Medical College in New York, and retained his connection with it until its demise, in 1830. He filled various medical offices in hospitals, asylums, and public institutions in the city of New York and for the city in general, and was actively engaged in literary and philosophical institutions. He was one of the originators and for twelve years president of the New York Historical Society, and was a fellow of the Royal Society of Great Britain. Dr. Hosack died in December, 1835. He was the author of several scientific works and a life of De Witt Clinton.

* The presidents of the New York Dispensary from its organization to the year 1882

THE NEW YORK ASYLUM FOR (destitute) LYING-IN WOMEN was founded in 1798, after the city had been scourged by the yellow fever. In October of that year Dr. David Hosack, already a successful young physician, and noted for his benevolent impulses, started a subscription for the purpose, and soon raised the sum of \$5000. An appropriate building was procured in Cedar Street, and there, in the winter of 1798-99, this noble charity was inaugurated. A committee of management was appointed, consisting of Thomas Pearsall, Robert Lenox, Dr. Hosack, and other good citizens. It was agreed that every person who should subscribe \$20 should have the privilege of recommending a patient for the institution, if approved by the visiting committee.

The asylum was incorporated in 1799. It soon became evident that the interest of the society's fund was inadequate to meet the expenses of the establishment, and an arrangement was made with the New York Hospital to receive that interest, on condition that the governors should provide a lying-in ward. By this means the noble charity was perpetuated until, by appropriations, subscriptions, and bequests, the institution was enabled to reorganize, and work independent of the New York Hospital. That point was reached in 1827, when it secured a charter as an independent institution. It is now in the eighty-first year of its age, though it is only fifty-six years since it became an independent association.

This institution has done a vast amount of substantial good work, and is now (1883) as active and benevolent as ever. It has added to its regular benefactions instructions in practical lying-in nursing, so essential for every midwife. The beneficiaries are of various nationalities. Of those cared for in 1883, 29 were from Ireland, 12 from England, and 20 were American mothers.*

THE NEW YORK INSTITUTION FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE DEAF AND DUMB dates its origin from the later months of the year 1816, when a few benevolent and professional citizens matured a plan of such an institution and proceeded to put it into practical operation. The most

have been : Isaac Roosevelt, 1791 ; Rev. John Rodgers, D.D., 1794 ; General Matthew Clarkson, 1810 ; John Watts, 1821 ; General Edward Laight, 1836 ; George T. Trimble, 1852 ; James T. De Peyster, 1861 ; Adam Norrie, 1874 ; William M. Halsted, 1882. The officers in 1882 were : Adam Norrie, president ; Benjamin H. Field, vice-president ; D. Colden Murray, treasurer, and Robert B. Campbell, secretary.

* The officers of the institution for 1883 are : Mrs. Thomas Addis Emmet (the first), Mrs. Charles A. Morford, Mrs. Stephen Tyng, Mrs. Beverly Robinson, Mrs. Frederick Jones, Mrs. John H. Mortimer, directresses ; Mrs. J. R. Nevins, treasurer ; Mrs. Henry H. Anderson, secretary ; Mrs. Hope, matron ; Stanton Allen, M.D., resident physician. There is a board of managers, consisting of nineteen ladies.

prominent men in the movement were Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill,* Rev. John Stanford, and Dr. Samuel Akerly. To the latter gentleman has been awarded the credit of having been instrumental in the first establishment of two of the noble charities of New York, the institutes for the benefit of the deaf and dumb and blind.

With the exception of the abortive attempt of one of the Braidwood family, of England, who a few years before had opened a school for the instruction of the deaf and dumb in New York, this movement in 1816 was the first effort of the kind in that city, and it was successful. There was not at that time a single school for the deaf and dumb in America.

So little was the importance and necessity of an institution for the instruction of the deaf and dumb appreciated or understood in the city of New York, that it was supposed the school which was about to be opened in Hartford by Messrs. Gallaudet and Clerc, who had lately returned from France, would be large enough to accommodate all the deaf-mute pupils in America. This fallacy was soon exposed by careful inquiry. It was ascertained that at that very time there were more

* Samuel Latham Mitchill, M.D., LL.D., was a very prominent citizen of New York during the first quarter of the present century, as a scientist and an active participant in every good work. He was born at North Hempstead, Long Island, in August, 1764. He was a student with Dr. John Bard. He also studied law. In 1788 he was a commissioner to treat with the Indians of New York State for the purchase of their lands. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1790, and in 1792 became professor of chemistry, natural history, and philosophy in Columbia College. With Chancellor Livingston and others Mitchill founded in New York the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Useful Arts. His published account of a tour along the Hudson established his fame abroad as a scientific and very entertaining writer. In 1797 he with others established the *Medical Repository* (quarterly), which he edited sixteen years. He was again a member of the New York Assembly, and in 1801-04 and 1810-13 he was a member of Congress. Meanwhile (1804-09) he was United States Senator. From 1808 to 1820 he was professor of natural history in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of botany and materia medica 1820-26, and in 1826-30 was vice-president of the Rutgers Medical College in New York. Dr. Mitchill, with Drs. Hosack and Hugh Williams, founded the New York Literary and Philosophical Society in 1815, of which De Witt Clinton was the first president.

Dr. Mitchill had a very retentive memory, which was stored with a vast amount of learning. He extended the bounds of science, was an efficient friend and helper of Fulton and Livingston in carrying forward to success their plans of steam navigation, was among the passengers on the *Clermont* on her first trip from New York to Albany, and was a member of many literary and scientific societies in Europe and his native country. He was also a prolific writer on scientific subjects. He published anonymously a little work entitled "A Picture of New York," which, it is said, suggested to Washington Irving his "Knickerbocker's History of New York." Dr. Mitchill died in September, 1831.

than sixty deaf and dumb persons living in the city of New York, the population of which was less than 120,000. And it was found that most of these were children of poor parents, who could not afford to send them to Hartford to be educated. The necessity for such an institution in the city was consequently apparent. A society was formed, and was incorporated by the Legislature in April, 1817, with De Witt Clinton as president, and a school with five pupils was opened in May, under the charge of the Rev. A. O. Stansbury. Ignorant of the fact that *gesture* is the natural language of deaf mutes, Mr. Stansbury labored to teach them articulation, and failed. After a year or two the effort was abandoned.*

In 1831 the late Dr. Harvey P. Peet, who had acquired much reputation as a teacher and a man of executive ability, was called to the head of the institution. He swayed its destinies for more than thirty-six years, and built up a grand model institution.

During the first eleven years the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb was accommodated in one of the public buildings. In 1829 it was established in the buildings on Fifteenth Street, afterward occupied by Columbia College. In December, 1856, it took up its abode in a beautiful house at Fanwood, on Washington Heights, about nine miles from the City Hall, where, surrounded by about thirty-seven acres of land, it pursues with great success its benevolent work, under the guidance of Lewis P. Peet, LL.D., son of Dr. Harvey P. Peet. The principal buildings are of brick, four stories in height, and planned to accommodate more than four hundred pupils of both sexes, with teachers and employés. When Dr. Peet took charge, in 1831, there were eighty-five pupils; when he relinquished it, in 1867, there were over four hundred pupils.† During the year 1882 there were five hundred pupils under instruction.

This institution was at first supported by private benevolence, but it was soon taken under the patronage of the State. It derives its income, excepting from occasional donations and legacies, from four sources: First, from direct appropriations for the support of State

* The first officers of this institution were: De Witt Clinton, president; Richard Varick and John Ferguson, vice-presidents; John Slidell, secretary; and John B. Scott, treasurer. There was a board of directors, consisting of twenty prominent citizens.

† Harvey Prindle Peet, LL.D., was born at Bethlehem, Conn., in 1794, and was graduated at Yale College in 1822. He was associated with the late Thomas H. Gallaudet, LL.D., as instructor in the Hartford Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb from 1822 to 1831, when he was called to the principalship of the New York Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, in which position he spent thirty-seven of the remaining years of his life. The value of Dr. Peet's services to the community cannot be estimated. Dr. Peet died in 1873.

beneficiaries ; second, from payments from the counties for deaf mute children too young to be placed on the State list ; third, payments from the State of New Jersey for a certain number of pupils who are beneficiaries from that State ; and fourth, payments on account of pupils who belong to families in easy circumstances.

The regular term of instruction is eight years. All the ordinary English branches of learning are taught. They are all accustomed to labor : the girls in plain sewing and lighter household duties, and the boys are instructed in gardening, cabinet-making, shoemaking, tailoring, and printing. Hundreds of former pupils support themselves, and in many cases dependent families by their own labor.

Isaac Lewis Peet, LL. D., is president of the educational department, assisted by twenty professors and teachers, one half of whom are women ; matrons for the several departments, and a foreman for each of the seven industries carried on in the institution.*

THE NEW YORK EYE AND EAR INFIRMARY was founded in 1820. Four years previously, two young medical students who had graduated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City, and who had spent the previous year together in the New York Hospital, one as house physician and the other as house surgeon, sailed for Europe together, for the purpose of increasing their knowledge of the profession. Having been diligent attendants on all the lectures in the city, they believed themselves as well equipped as any of their fellow-students for the duties of the profession. They had been taught, with other branches of surgery, something of the treatment of diseases of the eye, and had seen them treated in private practice by their preceptors. They felt competent to treat these diseases themselves, and with this self-satisfaction they arrived in London, there to pursue their studies.

Among other medical charities in the great city was an eye infirmary, recently established. They entered the institution as pupils, and soon made the important discovery that they were profoundly ignorant of the surgery of the eye, and that what they had been taught on that subject was almost of no value. They drew the logical inference that ophthalmic surgery was almost unknown in America. With the ardor of youth they devoted themselves to this new branch of knowledge. On their return home, in 1818, they resolved to establish in New York

* The officers of the institution for the year 1883 were : Hon. Erastus Brooks, president ; Hon. Enoch L. Fancher, LL. D., first vice-president ; Rev. Charles A. Stoddard, D. D., second vice-president ; George A. Robbins, treasurer ; Thatcher M. Adams, secretary, and James C. Carson, M. D., superintendent.

an infirmary for curing diseases of the eye. These two young men were Drs. Edward Delafield and J. Kearney Rodgers.

Young, with small pecuniary means, and without reputation, but assisted by the sanction of those with whom they had been educated, and the influence of their names, they hired two rooms in the second story of a building in Chatham Street, and with a few necessary implements they founded the institution now grown to be the famous New York Eye and Ear Infirmary. Some students of medicine volunteered to perform the duties of apothecary, in rotation, and the man from whom they hired the rooms acted as superintendent. They made it publicly known that any one applying at No. 45 Chatham Street at certain hours on certain days, having diseases of the eyes, would be treated gratuitously. In a single week it was evident that the enterprise would be successful. That was in August, 1820. In a period of less than seven months from that time no less than four hundred and thirty-six patients had been treated at the infirmary. It proved a great public boon. Persons totally blind received their sight, and those who were languishing in hopelessness were encouraged, and found themselves on the way to perfect cure. Drs. Wright Post and Samuel Bowne, two of the most eminent physicians and surgeons in the city, gave the young men their names as consulting surgeons.

On the 9th of March, 1821, a large meeting of citizens was held at the City Hall for the purpose of "adopting the means for perpetuating the infirmary for curing diseases of the eye." A committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for the infirmary. Succeeding in securing sufficient means, a society of the subscribers was formed, with over two hundred members. They convened on the first of April, and organized by the election of William Few as president, and other usual officers. It was thus established by leading citizens of New York, but its means being small, it continued to occupy its original rooms, at an annual rent of \$150. The society was incorporated on March 29, 1822, and the next year the Legislature granted the institution \$1000 for two years.*

In 1864 the charter was amended, and the institution received the title of "The New York Eye and Ear Infirmary," with authority to "treat and care for indigent persons affected with deafness and other diseases of the ear." According to the sixty-second annual report, October 1, 1882, there had been treated in the institution during the year 14,221 patients, of whom more than 10,000 were treated for dis-

* See address of Dr. Edward Delafield, April 25, 1856.

eases of the eye. Of the whole number, nearly 8000 were natives of the United States. The total number treated since the foundation of the Infirmary was 274,802.*

This institution now occupies a spacious building on the corner of Thirteenth Street and Second Avenue, which was completed in the autumn of 1855. The infirmary has an efficient surgical staff in each department—ophthalmic, aural, and throat.

* The officers of the institution in 1882 were : Royal Phelps, president ; Benjamin H. Field, first vice-president ; Abraham Du Bois, M.D., second vice-president ; John L. Riker, treasurer, and Richard H. Derby, M.D., secretary.

CHAPTER V.

ONE of the still thriving, active, and useful charitable institutions in the city of New York, having its origin in the closing period of Knickerbocker social rule, is the HEBREW BENEVOLENT AND ORPHAN ASYLUM SOCIETY, founded in 1822. It held its semi-centennial celebration in 1872, at which time Chief-Justice Daly, one of the speakers on the occasion, gave a most interesting account of the first appearance of Jews in the city of New York (then New Amsterdam), where now (1883) they constitute nearly one fourteenth of its population, and nearly one fourth of the Hebrew population in the United States.

Judge Daly said, in substance, that after the successful revolt of the Netherlands, and William of Holland had proclaimed freedom of conscience in his dominions, expatriated Jews from Spain settled in the free cities, especially at Amsterdam. By their industry, integrity, and thrift they became within fifty years the most influential citizens of Amsterdam, and there they erected the first synagogue.

These people became large stockholders in the commercial operations by which New York was founded. Curaçoa, which then, as now, belonged to the Dutch, had many Hebrew merchants. Jewish emigrants from both that country and Holland came to New Amsterdam (now New York) and craved citizenship, but the sturdy old churchman Governor Stuyvesant looked upon their advent with great disfavor. Among these immigrants were Abram Costa, Jacob Hendricks, Isaac Meza, Melhado, Abram Lucas, and Asher Levey. All but the last-named were of Spanish or Portuguese origin. These were the first Jews seen on Manhattan Island.

Governor Stuyvesant wished to exclude these Hebrews, and wrote to Holland requesting that they be not allowed to enter and dwell in the province. The home authorities answered that his request was inconsistent with freedom and justice.

Stuyvesant refused these immigrants permission to have a place of their own wherein to bury their dead. They were heavily taxed, and when two of them remonstrated with the governor, he said, "If you are not satisfied, go elsewhere."

Stuyvesant's harsh treatment of these Jews in every possible way, when reported to the home authorities, brought another letter, which commanded him to allow the Hebrews the privilege of quiet habitation, subject to no condition save to take care of their poor, which they have always done.

Melhado now purchased some land, but the governor would not allow him to have a deed of it. A petition of the Jews for equality in taxation and the rights of trade with other dwellers in New Amsterdam was answered only by permission to have a burial-ground. Another and a sharper letter came to Stuyvesant from Holland, which resulted in placing the Jews on an equality with others as to civil and religious rights, and these they enjoyed so long as the Dutch bore rule on Manhattan Island.

In 1696 there were twenty Jewish families in New York. That year they built their first synagogue, in which a merchant named Samuel Brown officiated as rabbi. This synagogue was removed in 1728 to Mill Street, a narrow, irregular lane that extended from Stone Street to Broad Street.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist who visited New York twenty years later, wrote : " The Jews are many ; they have large stores and country-seats, and enjoy equal privileges with their fellow-citizens." The last remark could not then have applied to any other country in the world.

When the Jews built their first synagogue in New York and numbered about one hundred souls, the city contained a population of eight thousand ; now (1883), when that population is probably one million four hundred thousand, the Jews number fully ninety-five thousand, and have twenty-six synagogues. Of these the finest is Temple Emanuel, on Fifth Avenue. And it must be conceded by all observing men that the Jews in the city of New York, as a class, rank among the best citizens in all the qualities which pertain to good citizenship. They are honest, industrious, and thrifty. They are lovers of peace and their families. They support their own poor. They are obedient to the laws, and they are proverbially temperate in all things. They contribute absolutely nothing, as it were, to the burdens of pauperism and crime which bear so heavily upon the city. Indeed, so far as the Jews are concerned, there seems to be no use for almshouses and jails. As a rule, they seem to obey the voice of Hillel : " What is noxious unto thee, do not unto thy neighbor."

The origin of the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Asylum Society of the City of New York was in this wise :

In the spring of the year 1820 a Jew who had been a soldier in the American war for independence was brought in a critical state to the City Hospital. He had no friends nor money, but expressed a wish that, being a Jew, some of his co-religionists might be sent for. John J. Hart, Joseph Davies, and others visited the sufferer, and collected money for his support. He died soon afterward. About \$300 of the money collected was left. The question arose in the minds of the custodian whether it would not be advisable to form a benevolent society by which relief might be given to Jews in time of need, as well as to others. It was done. On April 8, 1822, the following named gentlemen formally associated themselves under the title of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of the City of New York: Daniel Jackson, Joseph Jackson, Joseph Davies, John J. Hart, Abraham Collins, Rowland Davies, Simon Myers, Abraham Mitchell, Charles J. Hart, and Joseph Samuel—all members of the Jewish Church. Daniel Jackson was chosen president, and Charles J. Hart secretary.

The first anniversary of the society was held at Burnett's Hotel, on the Bloomingdale Road. The supper was cooked by the members themselves, and the sum of \$49 was collected. Another banquet was given at the Botanic Garden in 1826. The society worked on, with ever-increasing membership and funds, until 1832, when the Legislature of New York gave it a charter of incorporation. Bequests and gifts followed. Finally, in February, 1859, the Hebrew Benevolent Society and the German Hebrew Benevolent Society were united for the purpose of establishing an orphan asylum and home for aged and indigent Jews. In April the consolidation was effected. Their united funds amounted to about \$25,000.

This union was hailed with pleasure by the Jewish community. A new charter, with enlarged powers, was obtained, and the city authorities were authorized to appropriate land for the building of an asylum. Meanwhile a house was rented in West Thirty-ninth Street, and thirty orphan children were placed in it. That was in 1860. Demands upon it increased, and the trustees, having procured the donation of a lot on the corner of Third Avenue and Seventy-seventh Street, and an additional grant of \$30,000, proceeded to the erection of a substantial building. The corner-stone was laid in September, 1863, and the building was completed and dedicated in November, 1863. Among other measures for increasing the funds of the institution, the great Hebrew Charity Fair, held in 1870, in connection with its twin sister in charity, Mount Sinai Hospital, was very successful. The



Engr. by Geo. Z. ...

Watson Webb

share of the proceeds which fell to the asylum amounted to nearly \$39,000.*

The society has in operation an excellent system of education for orphans. There is a home school, in which the Hebrew language, religion, and history are taught. There is also an incidental school, in which trades are taught to the boys and sewing and domestic service to the girls. This department is self-supporting. The girls readily find places in the best of families or in commercial houses when they leave the asylum. There is a steam printing establishment at the industrial school, which does all kinds of work in the printing line. A large portion of the orphans attend the public schools.

In 1882 there were three hundred and thirty-seven inmates of the asylum. Provision has been made for the erection of a new orphan asylum, land having been purchased between One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Street and One Hundred and Thirty-eighth streets and Tenth Avenue, on the Bloomingdale Road.

The officers of the society in 1882 were: Jesse Seligman, president ; Henry Rice, vice-president ; M. Rindskopf, treasurer, and Myer Stern, secretary. The Hebrews of the city of New York have several other charitable and benevolent institutions which have been established since the one above considered.

There were several minor charitable, benevolent, and friendly associations in the city of New York during the half decade before the year 1830. The principal of these were the following :

THE HUMANE SOCIETY, founded by a few benevolent persons near the close of the last century. Its primary object was to afford relief to distressed debtors in prison. The scope of its efforts was enlarged in 1806 so as to include resuscitation of persons apparently dead from drowning. The society was incorporated in 1814. It afforded support and clothing to poor debtors in prison, secured the liberation of prisoners who were entitled to a discharge, distributed soup to the poor in general, and resuscitated persons who were apparently drowned. They also took measures to suppress street-begging. The society established a soup-house at the eastern entrance to the City Hall Park. It was supported by occasional donations and annual subscriptions.

THE AGED INDIGENT FEMALE SOCIETY was composed entirely of women associated for the purpose of affording relief to respectable indigent and aged women. It was instituted at the beginning of the year 1814, and on March 10, 1815, the Legislature of New York passed an

* See address of Mr. Myer Stern (then president of the society), on the fiftieth anniversary celebration, in 1872.

act incorporating it, to continue fifteen years. It was allowed to hold an estate to the value of \$100,000.

THE FEMALE ASSOCIATION was a society composed entirely of young women who belonged to the sect of Friends, commonly called Quakers. The object of the society was the visiting of the sick poor, and obtaining instruction for the children of such persons as were not provided for, or who did not belong to any religious society. It was chartered March 26, 1813, to continue twenty years, and it was allowed to hold property to the amount of \$40,000. Membership was obtained by the payment of \$5. By a special clause in the act of incorporation the society was entitled to a share of the State school fund.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF POOR WIDOWS WITH SMALL CHILDREN was founded in 1797 by Isabella Graham and a few other benevolent women, for the laudable purpose of affording aid and comfort to such worthy and respectable widows, with little children, as could not provide the means of obtaining even the necessaries of life. It was incorporated in 1802, and by its charter it was allowed to hold property to the amount of \$50,000. Material aid, timely words of encouragement, judicious counsel, assistance to get employment, the education of the children, and every other good the managers can bestow were included in the list of their benefactions. Money is seldom bestowed in the way of relief, but such necessaries of food and clothing as the object stands most in need of. The chief efforts of this society are directed to finding employment for those who are able and willing to labor.

The operations of this society have been carried on in the most economical manner. There are no salaried agents to consume the funds contributed. The city is divided into districts, and a manager appointed for each. The condition of becoming a beneficiary of the society is to be "a widow with two small children under ten years of age, who is willing to exert herself for her own support, and is not receiving aid from any almshouse." The funds of the society are derived chiefly from donations and subscriptions. In 1863 Mr. Chauncey Rose gave the society \$10,000, with a request that it should not form a part of any invested fund, but be used as the wants of the society required.

THE FEMALE ASSISTANCE SOCIETY was an association formed by some benevolent women for the relief of sick poor women and children. It was incorporated in April, 1817, to continue until November, 1830. Its funds were limited to \$3000.

THE WIDOWS' FUND SOCIETY was incorporated on March 10, 1815, and allowed to hold funds to the amount of \$2500 a year. Its object

was the relief of the widows and children of deceased clergymen of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in the United States.

THE ASSISTANCE SOCIETY was first organized in 1808 for relieving and advising sick and poor persons in the city. It was chartered in February, 1810, by which permission was given it to hold real and personal property to the amount of \$25,000. Its charter expired in December, 1825.

THE PROVIDENT SOCIETY was established for the purpose of providing a fund to support infirm members, and their widows and children on their decease. Their capital was limited to \$10,000. By the same act three other charitable institutions were incorporated for a similar purpose, and with the like limited capital. These were THE MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETY, THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY, and THE ALBION BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

These several societies have nearly all disappeared, as distinct organizations. They had their origin in the noblest emotions of the human soul—desire to conform to the golden rule of life. They were the comparatively feeble efforts of large-hearted, broad-minded men and women—the foreshadowings of the magnificent institutions established and carried on vigorously in the city of New York in our day for the same holy purpose—the purpose that animated Ben Adhem and caused his name to lead all the rest on the list of the recording angel, because he “loved his fellow-men.”

Among the benevolent institutions which existed in the city of New York before 1830, THE SAILORS' SNUG HARBOR holds a most conspicuous place. Before its establishment there was a MARINE SOCIETY, having in view similar objects. This society was founded in 1770, the funds of which were limited to \$15,000 a year. Its immediate objects were the improvement of maritime knowledge and the relief of indigent masters of vessels, their widows and children. The funds of the society were limited to \$15,000 a year. Its affairs were managed by a committee composed of merchants, magistrates, and managers, and it was supported by an annual subscription from each member of \$2.

In the summer of 1801 Captain Robert Richard Randall, a son of Captain Thomas Randall, one of the founders of the Marine Society of New York, and himself a merchant and shipmaster, by his will, bearing date June 1, after making some specific bequests, devised the residue of his estate in trust to the chancellor of the State of New York,* the

* A new Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1846, abolished the office of chancellor after July, 1847. Since that time the board has consisted of seven members.

mayor and recorder of the city of New York, the president and vice-president of the Marine Society of the city, the senior minister of the Episcopal Church in the city, and the senior minister of the Presbyterian Church in the same city, for the time being, and to their successors in office respectively, to "receive the rents, issues, and profits thereof," and to apply the same "to the erection, in some eligible part of the land whereon the testator then lived, of a building for an asylum or marine hospital, to be called 'The Sailors' Snug Harbor.'" The object was to provide for the maintenance of aged, decrepit, and worn-out sailors.

These trustees applied to the State Legislature for a charter of incorporation. It was granted, and the charter bears date February 6, 1806. In 1814, doubts having been expressed as to who, in the contemplation of the testator, were to be considered the "senior ministers" of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches in the city of New York, the Legislature, by act passed March 25, 1814, declared that the rector of Trinity Church in New York and the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Wall Street should be considered trustees of the corporation.

The property devised by Captain Randall for the Sailors' Snug Harbor consisted of land lying in the Fifteenth Ward (between Broadway and the Bowery and Seventh and Tenth streets), comprising little more than twenty-one acres, four lots in the Fourth Ward, three and six per cent stocks to the amount of little over \$7000, and fifty shares of the stock of the Manhattan Bank.

The rapid growth of the city and advance in the value of property within its limits caused the trustees to ask the Legislature to authorize them to erect the proposed building elsewhere, and regulate and improve the land in the Fifteenth Ward, and lease it. This authority was granted in 1828, and in 1831 the trustees purchased a farm of one hundred and thirty acres on the north shore of Staten Island, to which twenty acres were afterward added.

For many years persons claiming to be heirs of Captain Randall contested his will. The question was settled in favor of the trustees, by the Supreme Court in 1830, when the land was divided into lots conformable to the plan of the city streets, and leased for the term of twenty-one years. The corner-stone of the Sailors' Snug Harbor was laid on October 31, 1831, and on the first of August, 1833, the chief building was completed, and the institution was formally opened with religious and other ceremonies. The remains of the founder were soon afterward deposited beneath a white marble monument in front of the building, bearing the following inscriptions :

North Side.

“ The Trustees of the Sailors’ Snug Harbor erected this Monument
 To the Memory of
 ROBERT RICHARD RANDALL,
 By whose munificence this Institution was Founded.”

East Side.

“ The Humane Institution of the Sailors’ Snug Harbor,
 Conceived in a Spirit of Enlarged Benevolence,
 With an endowment which time has proved fully adequate to the objects
 of the Donor ;
 And organized in a manner which shows
 Wisdom and Foresight.
 The founder of this noble Charity
 Will ever be held in grateful Remembrance
 By the partakers of his Bounty.”

South Side.

“ Charity never Filleth,
 Its Memorial is Immortal.”

West Side.

“ The Trustees of the Sailors’ Snug Harbor caused the Remains of
 ROBERT RICHARD RANDALL
 To be removed from the original place of Interment
 And deposited beneath this Monument,
 On the 21st of August, 1834.”

In the hall of the centre building may be seen a marble bust of Captain Randall. The buildings consist of a centre edifice, with two wings, a dining-hall building, a hospital, and chapel.

So enormously has the value of the real estate in the city increased, that the income from it provides ample support for the institution. The annual income in 1806 was \$4243 ; now (1883) it is about \$250,000. The delay of almost thirty years in putting the institution into operation was occasioned by the very limited income of the estate, and subsequently by the unsettled state of the trust ; by the great expenses incurred in defending suits brought against the trustees, and by heavy assessments for regulating the lots. But for fifty years this great charity, so appropriate for a great commercial city, has been dispensing blessings to a class of useful men who have been too much neglected by society at large.

The Snug Harbor has an average of fully five hundred old or disabled seamen under its charge, who are comfortably fed, clothed, and

lodged, have all necessary wants supplied, and religious instruction attended to, while perfect liberty of conscience is granted.

The government of the institution is under a governor, a chaplain, a physician, an agent, and a steward. None but those who have served "before the mast," and free from contagious disease, have not adequate means for self-support, and who have sailed for five years under the United States flag in the naval or merchant service, are admitted.

Before the trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor had made their final arrangements for building on their land on Staten Island, a successful effort had been made (1830-31) for establishing a Seamen's Retreat and Hospital.

In 1754 the municipal authorities of New York (then containing a population of about 8000) adopted quarantine measures for the protection of the health of the city. They imposed a tax upon all persons entering the port of New York, both seamen and passengers, and with the fund thus procured they established hospital accommodations, first on Governor's Island, and then on Bedloe's Island. After the Revolution laws were enacted by the State Legislature for regulating a proper quarantine, and in 1796 a quarantine hospital was established on Staten Island. The taxes collected from seamen and passengers was paid into a joint fund, which was under the control of the "commissioners of health" of the city of New York, and was called the Mariners' Fund.

This fund was appropriated to defraying the expense of buildings at Quarantine, to the aid of the "House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents," the endowment of dispensaries from year to year, and other things, and the remainder, if any, was paid into the State treasury. A very small amount of the money collected by these taxes was used for intended purposes, for only hospital accommodations were provided alike for passengers and seamen, and were afforded but for four months of the year, at the Marine Hospital.

This manifest injustice to seafaring men aroused the attention of commercial men in 1830, and at the session of the State Legislature in 1831 a law was passed which repealed all former laws relating to the collection of the quarantine tax from masters, mates, and seamen, and created a board of trustees, who were charged with the collection and use of the funds so procured. It was ascertained that up to that time, after deducting all that had been expended for board, nursing, and medical attendance for seamen, there remained in their favor, apart from what had been paid by passengers and expended for them, the sum of \$341,000.

The board of trustees named in the act of April 22, 1831, were authorized to receive from the comptroller of the State the unexpended balance of the joint fund in his hands, which then amounted to \$12,197, and were also authorized to establish with this fund a hospital for the exclusive use of seamen, the quarantine tax on seafaring men to be appropriated for its support. On the 9th of May, 1831, the first meeting of the board was held at the office of the mayor. The board consisted of Walter Bowne, mayor and president; Captain John Whetton, president of the Marine Society; Captain Alexander Thompson, president of the Nautical Society; Najah Taylor, president of the Seamen's Savings Bank, and Dr. John S. Westervelt, health officer and acting secretary. At that meeting Captains James Morgan, James Webb, J. R. Skiddy, Henry Russell, and Renben Brumley were elected associate trustees. Dr. Peter S. Townsend, of New York, was subsequently elected resident physician to the institution, which was denominated THE SEAMEN'S RETREAT HOSPITAL. At a subsequent meeting Samuel Swartwout, collector of the port, was chosen president, and Captain Morgan appointed secretary.

The trustees bought forty acres of land on the north side of Staten Island, on the road between Clifton and Stapleton, on which was a farmhouse, for \$10,000. In that farmhouse the first patients were cared for, but it very soon was entirely inadequate, for all seamen then in the Marine Hospital at Staten Island and in the City Hospital in New York, at the charge of the health commissioners, were to be sent to the retreat. A building was speedily erected, and yet there were inadequate accommodations for the continually increasing applicants, and the corner-stone of a new building was laid on July 4, 1834. In 1842 the erection of another building was begun, and the imposing structures now seen there were soon completed.

There was in the retreat a circulating library of many hundred volumes, and the American Bible Society furnished Bibles and Testaments in almost every written language. There thousands of seamen, disabled by age or disease, found a home. If any preferred it, he was transferred to the Sailors' Snug Harbor, or sent, at the expense of the trustees, to his home and friends, however distant. At the western end of the grounds was a cemetery, where the wearied bodies were laid at rest forever.

The Hon. Clarkson Crolius, Jr., was, for nearly thirty years, an active trustee of the Seamen's Retreat, and was its last president. The retreat was closed, by order of the Legislature, on July 31, 1882, because the hospital was not self-supporting. On the grounds is the

Mariners' Family Asylum, which is continued. The hospital property is valued at \$200,000. The proceeds of its sale are to be equally divided between the Family Asylum, the Marine Society of New York, and the Seamen's Orphan Society of New York. "Sammy," the old gatekeeper, who had been at his post for forty-three years, was sent to the Sailors' Snug Harbor, and the patients to other hospitals.

In 1828 an important movement was made in New York, in the interest of commerce, morals, and humanity. So much does the safety of property committed to the care of seamen depend upon their moral character, that the merchants and others perceived, with ever-increasing anxiety, the low state of morals among that class of men, then so numerous in connection with the mercantile marine of New York. Society was to blame for their degradation, for society almost entirely neglected them. In 1828 a SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY was organized in New York, the avowed object of which was "to improve the social and moral condition of seamen by uniting the efforts of the wise and good in their behalf; by promoting in every port boarding-houses of good character, savings banks, register-offices, libraries, museums, reading-rooms, and schools, and also the ministration of the gospel and other religious blessings." *

Early in 1825 the Rev. John Truax began the publication of the *Mariner's Magazine* in New York. He advocated the formation of a national society for the benefit of seamen. This led to the assembling at the City Hotel (October 25, 1825) of clergymen of the various churches in New York, and a large number of other citizens—mer-

* So early as the year 1812 a Society—probably the first in the world—was formed in Boston, called "The Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Improvement of Seamen." In 1816 meetings to consider and provide for the spiritual wants of seamen were begun in New York, in the Brick (Presbyterian) Church, then occupying the point of land at the junction of Nassau Street and Park Row, and subsequently in other churches. In 1817 a "Marine Bible Society," designed to furnish sailors with the Scriptures, was formed, and the next year the "Society for Promoting the Gospel among Seamen in the Port of New York," more familiarly known as "The Port Society," was formed.

Under the auspices of the last-named society was erected the first Mariners' Church ever built, it is supposed. It was in Roosevelt Street, near the East River, and was dedicated in June, 1820. Rev. Ward Stafford, its projector, was its pastor. In 1821 "The New York Bethel Union," with the good Divie Bethune as its president, was organized.

Almost simultaneously with these movements in New York for ministering to the spiritual and intellectual wants of seamen, similar organizations were effected at Philadelphia (1819), at Savannah (1821), Portland and New Orleans (1823), New Bedford and Norfolk (1825), and at other places. So early as 1825 there existed in the United States seventy Bethel Unions, thirty-three Marine Bible Societies, and fifteen churches and floating chapels for the benefit of seamen. The Bethel flag had circumnavigated the globe.



Designed by Geo. E. Po. and the original drawings by the artist.

CHURCHES AND HOSPITALS

chants and others. Other meetings were held, and the subject continued to be discussed, when, on May 5, 1828, THE AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY was organized, with the Hon. Smith Thompson, ex-Secretary of the Navy, as president ; Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine (afterward bishop of the Diocese of Ohio), corresponding secretary ; Philip Flagler, recording secretary ; Silas Holmes, treasurer, and Rev. Joshua Leavitt, general agent.

The institution of foreign agencies was almost immediately begun, and now they exist in almost every important seaport in the world. The first agent sent to China was the Rev. David Abeel, and at about the same time agents were sent to the Sandwich Islands, France, and elsewhere. The *Sailors' Magazine* (yet published) was started the same year. In 1829 a seamen's savings bank was started, and the same year a home for colored seamen was established. The society was incorporated in 1833.

In 1842 a home was opened for white sailors, at No. 190 Cherry Street, and there many thousand seamen have found the comforts which its name implies. It has a good reading-room and museum, bathing facilities, and excellent sleeping-rooms. There is a clothing store in the basement, and a seamen's exchange near by. This home and the legal restrictions which now hedge the sailor boarding-houses have transformed these traditional dens of moral pollution and financial swindling into comparatively decent houses of entertainment. During the year ending May, 1882, it had accommodated one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight boarders. From the date of its opening there had boarded and lodged there one hundred thousand seven hundred and ten seamen, and the amount saved by it to seamen and their relatives whose funds had been cared for was, during the thirty-nine years, more than \$1,500,000. There shipwrecked sailors are cheerfully provided for.

The fifty-fourth annual report of the society (May, 1882) exhibited the institution in a healthful state, and vigorously engaged in its noble work, with an efficient corps of officers, composed of the Secretary of the Navy, admirals, commanders, and captains of the United States Navy, clergymen, and others.*

The society has now active agents in the Bermudas ; at Bangkok, Siam ; Bon Esperance, on the coast of Labrador ; Honolulu ; ports in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark ; Hamburg, Antwerp, Marseilles,

* The officers for 1882-83 are : Richard Buck, president ; Horace Gray, Henry A. Hurlbert, and twenty-four others, vice-presidents ; Rev. Samuel H. Hall, D.D., secretary ; William C. Sturges, treasurer, and L. P. Hubbard, financial agent.

Geneva, Naples ; Yokohama, Japan ; Valparaiso, Chili ; and at the principal Atlantic and Pacific seaports of the United States.

For a quarter of a century the society has furnished private and national vessels with loan libraries for the use of seamen. These contain about thirty-six volumes each, a few of them in the Danish, French, Spanish, and Italian languages. During the year ending May, 1882, there had been sent to sea from the rooms of the society in New York and Boston eight hundred and twelve libraries, containing an aggregate of sixteen thousand five hundred and twelve volumes.

These brief notices of institutions which have originated and are carried on in the city of New York in behalf of seafaring men reveal the vast benevolent operations of the noble work that is done in the commercial metropolis of the Republic for the class of men upon whose good services so much of its material prosperity depends.

THE ORPHAN ASYLUM SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK is the oldest of its class in the United States, having been organized in the spring of 1806. It was founded by a few benevolent persons, chiefly women, among whom Isabella Graham, a widow, and one of the most saintly benefactors ever known, was conspicuous. Out of her own earnings as a school-teacher she had laid the foundation in the city of Edinburgh of the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick, and, with others, the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Children. She came to America in 1785, on the invitation of President Witherspoon of Princeton College, and opened a small school in the city of New York, where her second daughter married Divie Bethune, a prosperous young merchant, father of the late Rev. Dr. Bethune.*

The Orphan Society was organized at the City Hotel in April, 1807, and the continuance and support of the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Children was a chief element in insuring its success.

At first a temporary home for the wards of the society was procured in Greenwich Village, and a pious man and his wife were engaged to take charge of and instruct the orphan children. In the spring of 1807 the society obtained a charter from the Legislature, bearing date April

* Isabella Graham was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, in 1742. Her maiden name was Marshall. She married Dr. John Graham, an army surgeon, and accompanied him to Canada in 1765. She resided there several years, and accompanied her husband to the island of Antigua, where he died. She returned to Scotland with three infant daughters and a son, where she supported her family by teaching school until she came to America. At her house in New York, in 1796, was formed the "Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Children." She was one of the chief founders of the "Orphan Asylum" and "The Magdalen Society." Her ministrations to the poor continued until her death, in 1814.

7, 1807. It was allowed to hold real and personal estate to an amount not exceeding \$100,000. This charter expired in 1829, and was renewed. It was again renewed in 1860 for twenty years.

At the first annual meeting, at the City Hotel, in the spring of 1807, about twenty of its wards were present. Then the society resolved to purchase lots and erect a building. On four lots in Greenwich the corner-stone of a building fifty feet square, to accommodate two hundred children, was laid. It was of brick, and the funds for its erection (\$15,000) was contributed by generous citizens. A bequest by Philip Jacobs in 1833 laid the foundation of the present prosperity of the society.

The accommodations at Greenwich being too limited, nine and a half acres of land were purchased at one of the most beautiful situations on the banks of the Hudson River, five miles from the City Hall. There the corner-stone of the new building was laid, in June, 1836. Within a year afterward it was opened for the entrance of the orphans. The building cost more than \$45,000, all contributed by generous individuals, neither the State nor the city having given anything. During its life of little more than thirty years nearly a thousand orphans had enjoyed its sheltering care. Of these, four hundred and seven boys had been apprenticed to mechanics and farmers, and two hundred and seventy girls as servants in private families.

The grounds are beautifully laid out in lawns and gardens, and furnish ample pasture for cows to supply the little ones with milk. The inmates are educated, clothed, and boarded, and have moral and religious advantages while they remain in the institution.

This most excellent retreat for orphans is managed by a board of directors and seventeen trustees, all women.* The schools are graded, and the elements of an English education are thoroughly taught. On April 1, 1882, there were one hundred and seventy-five orphans in the asylum, of whom one hundred and eight were boys.

In the half decade preceding the year 1830 there were in the city of New York a County Medical Society, a College of Physicians and Surgeons, and for a while an institution known as Rutgers Medical College.

THE NEW YORK COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY was organized under a gen-

* The board of direction in 1882 consisted of : Mrs. Jonathan Odell, first directress ; Mrs. M. L. R. Satterlee, second directress ; Mrs. Janet T. Sherman, treasurer ; Mrs. R. M. Blatchford, recording secretary ; Mrs. J. G. Smedberg, financial secretary. Mr. and Mrs. George E. Dunlop are the superintendents, and John L. Campbell, M.D., physician.

eral State law for the incorporation of medical societies, in the "front court-room" of the old City Hall, in Wall Street, on the first day of July, 1806. There were present at the meeting one hundred and four physicians and surgeons. Dr. Nicholas Romaine was appointed chairman, and Dr. Valentine Seaman was chosen secretary. After having duly organized a society, Dr. Romaine was chosen its president, Dr. James Tillary vice-president, Dr. Edward Miller secretary, and Dr. Valentine Seaman treasurer.* The society (now ninety-seven years of age) is composed of resident, non-resident, and honorary members. The governor of the State of New York and the mayor of the city of New York are honorary members *ex-officio*.

The objects of the society are to aid in regulating the practice of medicine and surgery, and to contribute to the diffusion of true science, particularly the knowledge of the healing art. The society has power to examine students and to grant a license to practice to such as may be found qualified.

In 1816 the society adopted a rate of charges, which possesses a curious interest now. The charges for services in eighty-one specific cases were determined. The lowest charge for medical and surgical service was \$1; the highest, \$200. An ordinary visit was \$2; for verbal advice, \$5; for letter of advice, \$10 to \$15; a night visit, \$7; a visit to Staten Island in summer, \$10, and in winter or stormy weather, \$20. For vaccination, \$5 to \$10; operation for cataract, \$150, and for carotid, subclavian, inguinal, and external iliac troubles, \$200.

From the beginning the society took an exalted position as to professional character, and has always maintained it. It also assumed a proper spirit of independence when the State Medical Society, at the outset, asserted its right to regulate the policy of the county societies. The influence of this society in pursuit of its avowed purposes has been wide and most salutary. At first the society had only one representa-

* A State Medical Society had been organized in a room of the City Hall on the evening of November 14, 1794, by Drs. John Charlton, Thomas Jones, Samuel Bard, Malachi Treat, Richard Bayley, S. Fongeras, James Tillary, Samuel Nicoll, A. Bainbridge, David Breeks, W. P. Smith, J. Gamage, William Hammersley, John Onderdonk, George Anthon, J. R. B. Rodgers, W. Post, and William Laramie. At a subsequent meeting it was unanimously agreed that Drs. Edward Stevens, Joseph Youle, and David Hosack be considered as original members of the society.

Dr. John Charlton was elected president of the society, Dr. Thomas Jones vice-president, Dr. William P. Smith treasurer, Dr. John R. B. Rodgers, secretary, and Drs. Samuel Bard, Malachi Treat, Richard Bayley, and Samuel Nicoll, censors.

The original minutes of this society are in the custody of the New York Academy of Medicine.

tive at the sessions of the State Medical Society ; it now (1883) has twenty-one representatives in that body.

THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS was founded in 1807. The institution received its charter from the regents of the University of the State of New York, pursuant to an act of the Legislature passed March 4, 1791. The charter is dated March 12, 1807. The officers were elected in May following, when Dr. Nicholas Romaine was chosen president.*

The first course of lectures in the college was begun on November 7, 1807, in a small building, two stories in height, on Robinson Street, in rear of the City Hospital. At about the close of the session the college received an endowment of \$20,000, when a building on Pearl Street was purchased. It was formally opened for the reception of students in November, 1808. The whole number of students that attended the first year was fifty-three.

The institution soon began to experience vicissitudes. Its very existence was menaced with destruction. It was saved by the wisdom and energy of the regents of the University.

So early as the year 1811 there was such grave misunderstanding between the president and the faculty that the regents were compelled to interfere. They made important changes in the faculty and in the internal arrangements of the college. President Romaine retired, and the venerable Dr. Samuel Bard, then nearly seventy years of age, became the head of the college. At about the same time power was granted to the college to confer medical degrees.

The first medical commencement was held on the 15th of May, 1811, when the degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon eight graduates. It was a greater number of degrees in medicine than had ever before been conferred at one time. Not more than twenty graduates of the medical school of Columbia College had received the degree in thirty years.

* Nicholas Romaine, M.D., was born in Hackensack, N. J., in September, 1756, and studied medicine under Dr. Peter Wilson. He completed his medical education at Edinburgh in 1780, and became professor of the institutes of medicine and forensic medicine in Queen's (now Rutgers) College, New Jersey. Before he returned from Europe he spent two years in Paris, and also visited Leyden. He began his professional career in New York after leaving Queen's College. He became professor of the practice of physic, anatomy, and chemistry in Columbia College on its reorganization in 1784, and gave private lectures on anatomy. Dr. Romaine was the first president of the New York City Medical Society 1806, president of the New York State Medical Society 1806-10, and in 1807 was chosen the first president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Dr. Romaine died in New York of apoplexy, in July, 1817.

In 1813 the medical department of Columbia College was discontinued. The regents of the University, so early as 1811, had recommended the union of the two schools. It was effected in March, 1814, when the new organization took possession of a commodious building on the north side of Barclay Street, near Broadway.

This alliance was of short duration. Soon after the union some of the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons withdrew, and formed a new medical school under the authority of Queen's (now Rutgers) College, in New Jersey. It was called the New Medical Institution, but was generally known as Rutgers Medical College of New York. It took possession of a large building on Duane Street. It was short-lived, expiring in 1816.

At this crisis in its affairs the regents of the University reorganized the college under an entirely new charter, which gave the management to a board of twenty-five trustees, whose tenure of office was subject to the will of the regents themselves. Finally, dissensions between the Medical Society of the County of New York and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which had prevailed more or less from the beginning, became very exciting in 1821, and there was consequently such discord between the trustees and the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons that the latter all resigned in April, 1826, and soon afterward revived the "New Medical Institution" under the auspices of Queen's College. The leading professors in the revived institution were Drs. David Hosack, William J. Macneven, Valentine Mott, John W. Francis, John D. Godman, and John Griscom, LL.D. This, too, was short-lived. The faculty soon abandoned the contest, and the institution was closed.

By a new provision in the constitution, the faculty of the college were excluded from seats in the board of trustees. In November, 1837, the college removed from Barclay Street to Crosby Street, where its sessions were held until the inauguration of its present home, on the north-east corner of Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, January 22, 1856. In June, 1860, the institution was constituted the medical department of Columbia College, and now (1883) bears the title of "The College of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New York—Medical Department of Columbia College."* Much of the instruction in this college is given in different large hospitals in the city.

* The officers of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1883 were : Alonzo Clark, M.D., LL.D., president ; Willard Parker, M.D., LL.D., vice-president ; Ellsworth Eliot, M.D., registrar ; John Sherwood, treasurer. There are twenty-two trustees. Its medical faculty consists of twenty-five physicians.

In the year 1802 an association was formed in New York for the purpose of substituting the kine-pox for the small-pox by vaccination, as a safeguard against the ravages of the latter. The preventive method had already become quite popular in Boston, where the indomitable Dr. Waterhouse, professor in Harvard College, satisfied with the utility and consequent blessings of Jenner's discovery, had urged the practice so vigorously and persistently that he was styled the American Jenner.

During the first year after the establishment of the kine-pox institution in New York fully five hundred children were vaccinated. Very early in the history of vaccination in the city it was placed under the direction of the City Dispensary, and all applicants were gratuitously vaccinated. The corporation appropriated \$600 a year for that purpose.

CHAPTER VI.

THE most prominent institutions existing in the city of New York about the year 1830, which had been established for the promotion of intellectual and moral cultivation—literary, scientific, and artistic—were Columbia College, New York Society Library, General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, New York Historical Society, New York Typographical Society, New York Mercantile Library Association, Lyceum of Natural History, New York Athenæum, Literary and Philosophical Society, American Academy of Fine Arts, and the National Academy of the Arts of Design.

The germ of Columbia College may be found in the records of Trinity Church at the beginning of the last century. At what time the first movement in that direction by the vestry of the church had taken place cannot be determined. In 1703 the rector and wardens were directed to wait on the governor of the province, Lord Cornbury, "to know what part of the King's Farm then vested in Trinity Church had been intended for the college which he designed to have built."

When Bishop Berkeley was in this country, nearly thirty years afterward, the project of a college at New York, which had slumbered all that time, was revived. Berkeley was disappointed in regard to the establishment of an institution of learning in the Bermudas, and resolved to transfer his intended establishment to "some place on the American continent, which would probably have been New York."*

In 1746 the Colonial Assembly authorized the collection of money, by lottery or otherwise, for the purpose of founding a college in the city of New York. About \$17,500 was raised, chiefly in England. This sum was vested, in 1751, in ten trustees, seven of whom were members of the Anglican Church, and some of them vestrymen of Trinity Church. Two of them were of the Dutch Reformed Church, and one a Presbyterian. A lot west of Broadway, bounded by Barclay, Church, and Murray streets and the Hudson River, was given from the "Church

* Chandler's "Life of Johnson."

Farm" for the use of the college, and on October 31, 1754, it was incorporated under the title of King's College.

The predominance of Episcopalians in the board of trustees of King's College, and the opposition to any church establishment in the province, evoked the strong displeasure of the dissenting churches in the city, and for a long time the college had a severe struggle for existence. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, D. D., of Connecticut, was chosen president, with an assistant, and in July, 1754, he opened the school with eight pupils,* in the vestry-room of the schoolhouse belonging to Trinity Church. The college was not really organized before May, 1755, when at a meeting of more than twenty of the gentlemen who had been named in the charter as governors, the deputy secretary of the province (Goldsbrow Banyar) attending with the charter, Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey, after a suitable address, delivered it to these gentlemen. Then Mr. Horsmanden, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, administered to them the oath required by law to be taken. The governors named in the charter were : the Archbishop of Canterbury and the first Land Commissioner for Trade and Plantations, who were empowered to act by proxy ; the lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of the Province of New York, the eldest councillor of the province, the secretary, attorney-general, speaker of the General Assembly and treasurer of the province, the mayor of the city of New York, the rector of Trinity Church, the senior minister of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, the ministers of the Ancient Lutheran Church, of the French Church, of the Presbyterian Congregation of the Presbyterian Church, and the president of the college—all these *ex officio*. Twenty-four principal gentlemen of the city were also named as governors. These were Archibald Kennedy, Joseph Murray, Josiah Martin, Paul Richard, Henry Cruger, William Walton, John Watts, Henry Beekman, Philip Verplanck, Frederick Philipse, Joseph Robinson, John Cruger, Oliver De Lancey, James Livingston, Benjamin Nicoll, William Livingston, Joseph Read, Nathaniel Marston, Joseph Haynes, John Livingston, Abraham Lodge, David Clarkson, Leonard Lispenard, and James De Lancey.

The conditions of the gift of land by Trinity Church required that the president of the college should be forever, at the time being, in communion with the Church of England, and that morning and even-

* Samuel Verplanck, Rudolph Ritzema, Philip Van Cortlandt, Robert Bayard, Samuel Provoost, Thomas Martin, Henry Cruger, and Joshua Bloom. Several of these were afterward distinguished in the history of New York City.

ing service in the college should be the liturgy of that church, or a collection of prayers from that liturgy. These restrictions excited the most furious opposition, especially among those who wished to have

“ A church without a bishop,
A state without a king.”

But the liberal policy of the college soon allayed these prejudices in a degree. A professorship in divinity, “ according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship established by the National Synod of Dort,” was almost immediately established.

College buildings were begun in 1756, and completed in 1760. They stood on the brow of an eminence overlooking the Hudson River, at the foot of (present) Park Place, at Church Street.

A grammar school was established in 1763. The same year, on the resignation of Dr. Johnson, the Rev. Myles Cooper, of Oxford, England, took his place. Meanwhile the annual commencements had been held in St. George’s Chapel in Beekman Street.

In 1767 the province granted the college twenty-four thousand acres of land on the east side of Lake Champlain, but being within the bounds of what was afterward Vermont, this property was lost.

In the summer of 1767 a medical school was established, at the suggestion of Dr. Clossy, a learned tutor of the institution from Dublin. His views were warmly seconded by Drs. Middleton, Jones, Smith, Bard, and Tennent, and these were all appointed to professorships in the school.

When the quarrel between the British Government and the American colonies waxed warm, Dr. Cooper took a very active part, by speech and pen, in favor of the crown. The war of words was fierce. The doctor wielded a keen blade. His competitors were strong, but he was worsted in argument by an anonymous competitor, who proved to be one of his own pupils, Alexander Hamilton, one of the younger students.

Dr. Cooper’s course greatly offended the patriots, and the college was regarded as a focus of Toryism. Finally the public exasperation culminated in a mob, which broke into the college on the night of May 10, 1775, and sought his room. Fortunately for him, he had been forewarned, and, half dressed, he escaped over the college fence and found refuge with a friend in the suburbs of the city. The next day he reached permanent safety on board the *Kingfisher*, a British ship-of-war, and finally sailed for England, when the Rev. Benjamin Moore, an alumnus of the college in 1801 (afterward bishop), took his place as president.



—g— The Hon. C. Van Der Bilt

C. Van Der Bilt

In the spring of 1776 the Committee of Safety took possession of the college and converted it into a hospital for the use of American troops. The pupils, the apparatus, and the library were dispersed. About one hundred students had been educated at this college before it was so violently broken up. Among the earlier graduates were Robert R. Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, and John Jay.

From 1776 to 1784 the college was in a state of suspended animation. The war over, and peace and independence secured, measures were taken for its resuscitation. In 1784 the Legislature of the State of New York granted it a new charter, under the name of Columbia College. The regents of the University of the State of New York, appointed by the same act, took it under their control. The property of the old corporation was handed over to the new corporation. It started on its new career with De Witt Clinton as its first student—a junior.

Owing to a lack of funds to pay the salary of a president, none was chosen until May, 1787, when William Samuel Johnson, son of the first president of King's College, was elected to fill the place.* The scope of instruction in the institution continually widened, and in 1792 facilities for doing so were increased by a grant from the Legislature of New York of about \$40,000 and an annual appropriation of \$3750.

In 1814 the Legislature gave to Columbia College twenty acres of land on Manhattan Island, lying between Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets, on Fifth Avenue. "with appurtenances." It included two hundred and sixty city lots. The tract was then known as the Elgin Botanic Garden, which had been established in 1801 by Dr. David Hosack for the uses of his classes in the college in the study of botany, he being one of the professors of that institution. This land had been recently conveyed to the State by Dr. Hosack, and reconveyed to the college in compensation for its loss of the land in Vermont. The gift was overburdened with restrictions, which imposed the necessity of

* William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., first president of Columbia College, was born at Stratford, Connecticut, in October, 1727, and died there in November, 1819. He became a distinguished lawyer, and took part in the political movements that preceded the Revolution of 1775-83. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress at New York in 1765, and was agent of Connecticut in England from 1766 to 1771. He was a judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut from 1772 to 1774, and a commissioner for adjusting the controversy between Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna Company. From 1784 to 1787 he was a delegate in the Continental Congress, and was an active member of the convention that framed the National Constitution in the summer of 1787. The same year he was chosen president of Columbia College, and held that position until the year 1800. President Johnson was United States Senator from 1789 to 1791, and was one of the authors of the bill for establishing the judiciary system of the United States.

keeping up the garden as a scientific educator, and the removal of the college establishment, within twelve years, to these grounds or the vicinity. Non-compliance with these provisions would cause a forfeiture of the property, when it would revert to the State.

The estimated value of the Botanic Garden at that time was \$75,000, but the conditions made it a pecuniary burden instead of a source of income. Efforts were made to have these restrictions removed, and in 1819 their removal was accomplished.

About 1820 Columbia College for the first time had its chairs filled with its own alumni. It struggled on, under the disabilities of poverty and pecuniary embarrassments, for a quarter of a century longer, but still with hope, for its property both on the college site and the Botanic Garden was increasing amazingly in value.*

The semi-centennial anniversary of the reorganization of Columbia College was reached in 1837, and was celebrated with much parade and solemnity on the 13th of April. An imposing procession was formed at the college, composed of the trustees, the president, professors, tutors, alumni, and students, clergymen, public officers, and dignitaries from other seats of learning in the Republic. This procession was formed on the college green and proceeded to St. John's Chapel, where the Rev. Manton Eastburn pronounced an oration, in which he briefly reviewed the history of the institution. A poem was recited, and odes in several languages, composed and arranged to music for the occasion, were sung. The president (William A. Duer) conferred the honorary degree of Master of Arts upon Charles Fermo Hoffman, William Cullen Bryant, and Fitz-Greene Halleck; of Doctor of Laws on John Duer, David B. Ogden, and George Griffin, and Doctor of Divinity on several prominent clergymen.

In the evening the president gave a reception at the college, which was brilliantly illuminated, and was profusely decorated with paintings loaned for the occasion, and rare plants from various conservatories. It was one of the most striking fêtes New York had ever beheld.

* The earliest detailed statement of the financial condition of the college, after the year 1800, appears in the minutes of the trustees in 1805, when, from leases of a portion of the Church Farm given to the college, it derived an income of about \$1400; also from benefactions about \$4000, also from tuition fees about \$9000, making an annual revenue of little more than \$14,000. Its income met the expenses until 1821, when, year after year, there was a deficit of several hundred dollars, which produced an accumulating debt. Assessments for opening and regulating new streets became an added burden of expense, which, with taxes, amounted to \$4000 in 1854. The Legislature refused to remit taxes on the property, and for several years the college was a sufferer from the increase in value of its own property.

In 1857 the requirements of business caused the removal of the college to its domain on Madison Avenue, where it occupies a block bounded by Madison and Fourth avenues, between Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets. The old edifices on the "Church Farm" were demolished, and their site and the College Green are now occupied by streets and magnificent warehouses.

The debt of the college had increased to more than \$23,000 at the time of the removal, but by the sale of its property in the lower part of the city and sixteen lots of the Botanic Garden, all of which had risen enormously in value, it rapidly reduced the debt, notwithstanding its greatly increased expenditures in money and the establishment of new departments. In 1863, for the first time in twenty years, its income was more than its expenses, and in 1872 the institution was entirely free from debt. President Barnard justly says :

"If, therefore, our college is to be called to answer at the bar of public opinion for the use she has made of the means at her command in advancing the higher education, it may fairly be claimed on her behalf that the inquiry should not extend beyond the last fifteen years. But within that period she may confidently challenge any institution of similar character, of this country or any other, to show a more honorable record." *

In 1860 an arrangement was made by which the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the City of New York (which had been incorporated with the Medical School of Columbia College in 1813) was adopted as the medical department of the latter institution.

Early in 1863 Mr. Thomas Egleston, Jr., proposed a plan for the establishment of a school of mines and metallurgy in connection with the college. It was adopted by the trustees, and the school went into operation in 1864. Mr. Egleston was appointed professor of mineralogy and metallurgy, and General Francis L. Vinton professor of mining engineering. To these professorships was added a chair of analytical and applied chemistry, which was filled by Professor C. F. Chandler. This department is a most important addition to the educational facilities offered by Columbia College.†

President Charles King having resigned early in 1864, the Rev. Frederick A. P. Barnard, S.T.D., was chosen to fill his place. Dr. Barnard has performed the difficult functions of that exalted office with signal fidelity and ability for nearly twenty years. He has had the

* President Barnard's "Annual Report made to the Trustees," May 1, 1882.

† See "A Historical Sketch of Columbia College, 1754-1876," by Professor J. H. Van Amringe, prepared at the request of the National Bureau of Education.

supreme satisfaction of seeing the institution grow continually with unwonted and increasing vigor, displaying under his wise and efficient administration strength and beauty in every part of its economy.*

* Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, D.D., LL.D., S.T.D., was born in Sheffield, Mass., May 5, 1809. He is a lineal descendant in the seventh generation of Francis Barnard, of Coventry, Warwickshire, England, who came to Massachusetts Bay in 1636, and afterward settled first at Hartford, Conn., and then at Hadley, Mass. His mother was descended in the eighth generation from John Porter, of Warwickshire, who came to Massachusetts Bay in 1626, and was a descendant in the sixteenth generation from William de la Grande, a knight who followed William the Conqueror from Normandy into England in 1166. His son was *grande porteur* to Henry I. (1120-40), from which circumstance he received the name of *Porter*, afterward borne by his family.

President Barnard's father was Robert Foster Barnard, of Sheffield, Mass., a lawyer of repute and several times State Senator. His mother was Augusta, daughter of Dr. Joshua Porter, of Salisbury, Conn.

At the age of six years Frederick began the study of Latin. He was prepared for college at fifteen, and entered Yale in 1824. At nineteen he graduated second in the honor list. Early in his college course he was distinguished, especially in the pure mathematics and exact sciences, in which, before the close of his sophomore year, he was the recognized leader of the whole school.

On his graduation young Barnard became an instructor in a Hartford grammar school, where he formed the acquaintance of John G. Whittier, the poet, which ripened into warm friendship that has continued unabated for half a century.

In 1830 Mr. Barnard became a tutor in Yale College, but menaces of failing health caused him soon to resign. The next year he was an instructor in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford, and in 1832 held the same position in the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb under the late Dr. Harvey P. Peet. While in this institution he prepared and published a volume embodying the results of his experience in teaching language, entitled "Analytical Grammar, with Symbolic Illustrations." He also rendered important service to Mr. Peet in the preparation of the annual reports.

In 1837 Mr. Barnard accepted an invitation to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy in the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa. That position he occupied twelve years, when he was transferred to the chair of chemistry and natural history in the same institution. During his connection with the university he built an astronomical observatory for the institution, contributed frequently to the *American Journal of Science* and literary periodicals, and for several years had the editorial management (anonymously) of a weekly political newspaper published at Tuscaloosa.

In 1846 the governor of Alabama appointed Professor Barnard astronomer on the part of that State to assist in determining the true boundary line between Alabama and Florida. Each State appointed one commissioner and an astronomical adviser. The astronomer appointed by Florida failed to appear, and Professor Barnard was employed by both States. His report, submitted to the Legislatures of the respective States, was regarded as conclusive, and settled the long-pending boundary controversy.

During the excitement which followed the war with Mexico, when, in Alabama and elsewhere in the South, a strong desire for a dissolution of the Union was excited by demagogues, and with so much violence that Union men dared not speak above a whisper in some places, Professor Barnard was invited by citizens of Tuscaloosa to deliver an oration on the 4th of July. He accepted the invitation, with the understanding that he

In the year 1867 the whole number of students matriculated at Columbia College (the School of Arts, the School of Mines, and the

should freely speak on the burning question of the day. He did so with a boldness and with logic which silenced the disunionists. The speech was published and widely circulated, and was one of the chief instruments in allaying the disunion craze in that region for years. His many public addresses on other topics—art culture, varied industries, railroads, and other subjects of moment—created new social aspirations in that region, which led to permanent beneficial results.

In 1854 Professor Barnard accepted an invitation to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy in the University of Mississippi, and he was the chief instrument in finally securing to that institution the benefits of a national endowment fund, of which it had been for many years deprived by neglect.

While Professor Barnard was attending a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Albany, in the summer of 1856, he was elected president of the University of Mississippi, a title which was changed to chancellor in 1858. He at once inaugurated measures for the moral and educational reform of the institution. This movement was in successful progress when the late civil war broke out in 1861. The university was soon afterward broken up, and Chancellor Barnard resigned his office. On his departure the board of trustees conferred on him the honorary title of Doctor of Divinity, he having taken orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He had received the honorary degree of LL.D. from his *alma mater*, Yale College, in 1859.

Dr. Barnard was refused a passport to his native State, and with his wife he remained a long time in Norfolk, watching an opportunity for escape. When General Wool took that city in 1862, they went to Washington, where they were cordially received by President Lincoln at a full cabinet meeting. Professor Barnard was soon afterward appointed director of the map and chart department of the Coast Survey, the chief business of which then was the preparation of "war maps" almost daily.

In May, 1864, Dr. Barnard was elected president of Columbia College in the city of New York, and was inaugurated with much ceremony at the beginning of the college year in September following. In his admirable inaugural address President Barnard made valuable suggestions of improvements in the educational policy of the institution. In that direction he has labored incessantly, with the most satisfactory results; and to-day he stands in the foremost rank of educators as a reformer of systems of learning, and as a champion for the higher education of women. Has kept constantly in view the idea of making Columbia College a true university. The condition of the institution now is the best commentary on the wise and efficient labors of President Barnard in its behalf. Its School of Mines is his offspring.

During his administration for nineteen years President Barnard has been conspicuous in labors in scientific fields outside of Columbia College. He was one of the fifty incorporators of the National Academy of Sciences, and succeeded Agassiz as its foreign secretary. He was one of the ten United States commissioners to the Paris Exposition in 1867, and made an exhaustive report on the Machinery and Processes of the Industrial Arts and the Apparatus of the Exact Sciences. President Barnard visited Europe several times afterward.

President Barnard has taken great interest in the subject of the metric system of weights, measures, and moneys. At the request of Professor Henry and other eminent scientists, he called a meeting of gentlemen interested in international questions, for the purpose of forming an organization to promote the unification of the various discordant national systems of weights, measures, and moneys. An association was formed at Colum-

School of Law—established in 1858)* was five hundred and fourteen. The number of matriculates in the three departments in the year ending in May, 1882, was one thousand and fifty-four—an increase of one hundred and fifty per cent.

The general college library contains more than twenty thousand volumes. The total number of volumes in all the libraries of the institution is about fifty thousand, nearly all selected in reference to the wants of the various professors.

Columbia College has in all its faculties, including the president, about one hundred and twenty-five professors, instructors, and assistants, and the total number of students in all the schools averages fully fifteen hundred.

At the beginning of 1883 Columbia College had incurred a debt, in the construction of buildings on the Botanic Garden (the square bounded by Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets and Madison and Fourth

bia College for this purpose in 1873, called the American Metrological Society, of which Dr. Barnard has been president until now (1883).

Dr. Barnard was the editor-in-chief of "Johnson's Cyclopædia," to which he contributed several original articles. He is an honorary member of scientific and literary societies at home and abroad. In 1847 he married Margaret McMurray, daughter of Robert McMurray, Esq. (originally of Cumberland, England), his true wife and loving helpmate for thirty six years. She has resided in this country since her infancy. "To the encouragement derived from her good sense, energy, and sanguine temperament," her husband wrote to the author of this work, "I am largely indebted for whatever success may have attended me in life."

* *The School of Arts* is the nucleus of the college, around which the other schools have grown. The course of instruction embraces the branches that are commonly understood under the title of "a classical education."

The School of Mines constitutes the scientific department of the college, and is divided into five parallel courses of mining engineering, civil engineering, metallurgy, geology, and natural history; also analytical and applied chemistry. The course occupies four years.

The Law School until recently was located in a building at the corner of Lafayette Place and Great Jones Street. The course occupies two years.¹

There is also a *School of Political Science*, opened in October, 1880, and designed to give a complete general view of all the subjects, both of external and internal public policy, from the threefold standpoint of history, law, and philosophy. The full course of instruction occupies three years. On the satisfactory completion of one year the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy is conferred; on the satisfactory completion of three years, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is conferred.

Columbia has also a grammar school, coeval with the college from its beginning as King's College.

¹ The faculty of the Law School is composed of the president of Columbia College and five professors. President Barnard is president of the Law School; Robert Sentner, LL.B., is secretary, and Herbert W. Grindal, B.S., is librarian.

avenues), of over \$100,000, and will reach nearly \$300,000 by September, 1883. Its income, however, is nearly \$40,000 more than its ordinary expenses, and this is continually increasing. The trustees desire to raise the institution to the dignity of a first-class university. On April 3, 1883, they gave to the public a detailed statement of the financial affairs of the college, and declared that it needed an endowment of \$4,000,000 to accomplish the great object of their desire. The people of the great city of New York will furnish this sum.

Among the existing literary associations of the city, THE NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY is the oldest. It was founded in 1754. The germ of the society may be found in a small collection of books called "The Corporation Library," founded during the administration of the Earl of Bellomont, in the year 1700. It constantly increased in size and importance until the year 1729, when it received a large accession from England.

The Rev. Dr. Millington, rector of Newington, England, bequeathed over 1600 volumes to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The secretary of that society, in a letter dated September 23, 1728, informed John Montgomerie, then governor of the Province of New York, that the Propagation Society intended to place the one thousand volumes in the city of New York as a library for the "use of the clergy and gentlemen" of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, and requested the governor to recommend the Assembly to provide a suitable place for the deposit and preservation of those books, and others that might be added to them. The Assembly made such provision in 1729. They were placed in the custody of the corporation of the city.

The greater portion of these books were on theological subjects, the choicest reading of that day, and the sending of those books to the city for such a purpose was acknowledged with gratitude as a gracious and generous act.

In 1754 a number of gentlemen of the city resolved to establish a public library. Subscriptions for the purpose were solicited, and very soon the sum of \$1250 was subscribed, with which seven hundred volumes were purchased. They were all new books, and more miscellaneous in their character. An association called the New York Society Library was formed. The price of a share was \$12.50, and an annual fee of \$1.50 was required of each shareholder. The new books were deposited with the volumes of the Corporation Library and the books received from England. The collection was then known as "The City Library."

On November 25, 1772, Governor William Tryon granted the association an act of incorporation, under the title of The Trustees of the New York Society Library. The charter confirmed the terms of membership already determined on by the founders of the society, and the care of the institution was intrusted to twelve trustees, annually elected. It was empowered to hold property not to exceed, in yearly value, \$4400, and to erect a building to be known as "The New York Society Library."

This institution was flourishing; the number of its books was rapidly increasing, by donations and otherwise, when the war for independence broke out, in 1775. During the seven or eight years that the war raged (a large portion of that period the city of New York was occupied by British troops) the principal part of the books were scattered and destroyed.

The operations of the library were resumed in 1788, when the stockholders elected a board of trustees,* and it was ever afterward a kindly fostered and cherished institution of the city. The Legislature confirmed its charter in 1789. The library was deposited in the City Hall, and there it remained until 1795, when its growing importance demanded more extensive accommodations.

New York City having been the seat of the National Government during the earlier years of its existence under the National Constitution, and its sessions being held in the City Hall in Wall Street, the Society Library was for a while the library of Congress.

Additional subscribers having been obtained, land was purchased in Nassau street (a part of Joseph Winter's garden), between Cedar and Liberty streets, opposite the Middle Dutch Church (late the City Post-Office). There a substantial brick building was erected, and the second story was fitted up for the use of the library. It was one of the most conspicuous edifices in the city at that day, and to it the library was removed in 1795. There it continued until 1836, when the increasing commerce of the city compelled the trustees to seek another situation. The property in Nassau Street was sold, a lot was purchased on Broadway, corner of Leonard Street, and while a building was being erected on it the library occupied the rooms of the Mechanics' Society in Chambers Street.

In 1840 the building on Broadway was finished, and the library was

* The following gentlemen were chosen trustees: Robert R. Livingston, Robert Watts, Brockholst Livingston, Samuel Jones, Walter Rutherford, Matthew Clarkson, Peter Ketteltas, Samuel Bard, Hugh Gainé, Daniel C. Verplanck, Edward Griswold, Henry Remsen.



James Harper

removed to it. Thirteen years later this property was sold, and the library occupied rooms in the Bible House, at Eighth Street and Fourth Avenue. The lot on which the building it now occupies stands, in University Place, was purchased, and the edifice erected upon it was completed in the spring of 1856. The library first occupied it in May of that year.

The first catalogue issued after its removal, printed in 1792, showed that the library then contained about five thousand volumes. In 1813 the number was thirteen thousand, and in 1830 nearly twenty thousand. It has received from time to time valuable donations of books and liberal bequests of money. The largest gift the library ever received was that of Mrs. Sarah H. Green, from the estate of her deceased husband, John C. Green. The amount was \$50,000. It was presented in 1880, with a stipulation that the income from the fund should be used for the purchase of books, one half for costly illustrated works for "the John C. Green alcove," and one half for works for circulation. This alcove of books had its origin in a munificent gift of the late John C. Green, of the city of New York. A special attendant has charge of that alcove, so that its treasures may always be open for inspection. The income from ground rent of property owned by the society in Chatham Street is set apart as the income of the "John C. Green Fund."

The library now contains about eighty thousand volumes. Its shares (with annual dues commuted) are \$150 each, or by payment of \$10 a year, \$25. There is a reading-room connected with the library, open for the use of shareholders, and of strangers for one month when introduced by a member. Non-members are allowed to consult the books by the payment of twenty-five cents each time. The society has no debts.*

One of the oldest associations in the city of New York, yet in prosperous and useful operation, is THE GENERAL SOCIETY OF MECHANICS AND TRADESMEN. It has certainly been in existence since 1784.

The first meetings of the society of which any records exist were held at the house of Walter Hyer, in November, 1785, in King's Street, now Pine Street. In 1802 the society bought a lot (size 26.06 by 98.3 feet) at the corner of (present) Park Place and Broadway, yet in its possession, for the sum of \$6325. The next year they erected a building on the lot at a cost of about \$23,000, making the whole cost a little

* The officers of the society in 1883 were : Robert Lenox Kennedy, president ; Edward Schell, treasurer ; John M. Knox, secretary ; Wentworth S. Butler, librarian.

more than \$29,000. The premises now rent for more than \$24,000 a year.

In 1792 a charter was obtained from the Legislature, and has been renewed from time to time. It was amended in 1821, to allow of the establishment of a school for the free education of the children of poor or deceased members, and a library for the use of apprentices. An amendment in 1833 provided for the setting apart of certain receipts as sacred to the purpose of disseminating literary and scientific knowledge. Another amendment in 1842 allowed its then free school to become a pay school for those who could afford to pay, and to allow the establishment of a separate fund for the support of the Apprentices' Library and Reading-Rooms.

THE APPRENTICES' LIBRARY was established in 1820. It then consisted of eight hundred volumes, most of which had been contributed by members of the General Society and philanthropic citizens. The library at first was only open in the evening, the books being handed out to the readers by members of a committee. It maintained a feeble existence for many years. In 1850 it contained about fourteen thousand volumes.

The vast increase in the value of the real estate of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen so enlarged its income that for many years it has been enabled to strengthen every department of its work, especially the Apprentices' Library. From Benjamin Demilt the library received a bequest of \$7500, besides his private library, a very valuable collection of standard works. Pierre Lorillard also bequeathed to the library fund \$5000, which was entirely devoted to the purchase of books. On the first of January, 1883, the Apprentices' Library contained sixty-five thousand volumes, of which more than forty thousand are works of a standard character.

In 1832 the society bought a lot with a high school building on it in Crosby Street, where it had its headquarters until the completion, in 1878, of its present commodious four-storied building at Nos. 16 and 18 East Sixteenth Street. In 1833 the association estimated the value of its possessions at about \$70,000 above all its debts; owing to the enormous increase in the value of its real estate, the estimated value of its possessions in 1883 was about \$780,000. It has sixty-eight pensioners—nine members, fifty-five widows, and four children. During one year (1881-82) the total number of books drawn from the library was 163,436. The number of visitors to the reading-room during the same time was 36,000.

The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen is a most remark-

able example of the financial success in the management of an institution, while all its laudable purposes were carried out with vigor and fidelity.*

* The officers of the society in 1883 were : Daniel Herbert, president ; John H. Rogers and John H. Waydell, vice-presidents ; James G. Burnet, treasurer ; Thomas Earle, secretary, and James Woolley, collector.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY is one of the most remarkable as well as useful institutions in the city of New York. It had just started on a prosperous career, after years of struggle, at the time we are considering (about 1826-30). It had recently cleared itself of debt, and was working vigorously in the cause to which it was devoted, namely, the collection and preservation of whatever might relate to the natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and especially to that of the rightfully called Empire State of the Republic. This happy state of affairs had been brought about largely by the exertions of Frederic de Peyster, who was one of its most active and devoted members for more than half a century, and who with the aid of Governor De Witt Clinton had procured from the Legislature of the State a grant of \$5000 for the benefit of the struggling association.

The Historical Society clearly owes its conception to the active mind and energetic character of John Pintard, a New Yorker by birth, of Huguenot descent. He was a graduate of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, where he was a favorite of President Witherspoon ; had a wide circle of learned friends in his own State and other commonwealths, and was not only familiar with classical and elegant literature, but by the means of a natural enthusiasm in the acquirement of knowledge and a most retentive memory, he was possessed of a large fund of historical and geographical information. Of Mr. Pintard Dr. John W. Francis wrote :

“ He was versed in theological and polemical divinity, and in the progress of church affairs among us ever a devoted disciple. You could scarcely approach him without having something of Dr. Johnson thrust upon you. There were periods in his life in which he gave every unappropriated moment to philological inquiry, and it was curious to see him ransacking his formidable pile of dictionaries for radicals and synonyms, with an earnestness that would have done honor to the most eminent student in the republic of letters.” Again : “ Everybody consulted him for information touching this State’s transactions, and the multifarious occurrences of this city, which have marked its

progress since our Revolutionary struggle. Persons and things, individualities and corporations, literary, biographical, ecclesiastical, and historical circumstances, municipal and legislative enactments, internal and external commerce—all these were prominent among the number ; and his general accuracy as to persons and dates made him a living chronology."

Such were salient points in the character of the man who was the chief founder of the New York Historical Society. He long cherished the idea of such an institution before attempting to give it a practical influence. While secretary of his uncle, Lewis Pintard, a merchant and commissary of American prisoners in the city of New York during the latter period of the old war for independence, he became powerfully impressed with the importance of preserving records of events, for he was living in the midst of most momentous occurrences. After the war he bought from Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, a large collection of documents relating to the Revolution, and gradually a plan for the establishment of an antiquarian society took tangible shape in his mind.

In 1789 Pintard visited Boston, and communicated his ideas concerning an antiquarian or historical society to the eminent theologian, biographer, and historian, Jeremy Belknap, who warmly approved his plan. "This day," he wrote to Ebenezer Hazard, the Postmaster-General; "this day Mr. Pintard called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form an antiquarian society." Several months later Belknap wrote to Hazard : "I like Pintard's idea of a society of American antiquarians, but where will you find a sufficiency of members, of suitable abilities and leisure ?" The theologian appears to have acted energetically on the hints given him by Pintard, for in less than two years after the New Yorker's visit we find Belknap at the head of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Pintard seems to have acted promptly and energetically in attempts to put his cherished scheme into practical operation in New York. He was an active member of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, and was its first sagamore, and he connected his antiquarian scheme with that society. Writing to Belknap in the spring of 1791, he said :

"This [the Tammany] being a strong national society, I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes small progress with a small fund, and may possibly succeed. We have a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly moderns, with some history, of which I will send you an abstract. If your society [the Massachusetts Histori-

cal] succeeds well, will open a regular correspondence. . . . If my plan once strikes root, it will thrive." *

Not very much seems to have been accomplished in the matter in connection with the Tammany Society during many succeeding years, but Pintard did not allow his project to slumber. He finally created a lively interest in his scheme in the minds of leading men in the city, and at his request nearly a dozen of them met, by appointment, in a room in the City Hall, in Wall Street, on the afternoon of November 20, 1804. These gentlemen were John Pintard, Egbert Benson, then late judge of the United States District Court ; De Witt Clinton, then mayor of the city, the Rev. Drs. Samuel Miller, John M. Mason, John N. Abeel, and William Lewis, all distinguished clergymen ; Dr. David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, and Peter Gerard Stuyvesant. Mr. Pintard, Judge Benson, and Dr. Miller were appointed a committee to draft a constitution. All present evinced a lively interest in the matter.

A meeting was held on the 10th of December, at the same place, when several other prominent citizens were present, among them Judge Brockholst Livingston, the Rev. Benjamin Moore, then bishop of the Diocese of New York ; Daniel D. Tompkins, Rufus King, and Rev. John H. Hobart, afterward bishop of the same diocese. The constitution presented was adopted, and the title given to the association was "The New York Historical Society." It was organized on the 14th of January following, when Judge Benson was chosen president, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Moore first vice-president, Judge Brockholst Livingston second vice-president, the Rev. Dr. Miller corresponding secretary, John Pintard † recording secretary, Charles Wilkes treasurer, and John Forbes librarian.

* Mr. Pintard was really the founder of Barnum's Museum. The corporation granted a room in the City Hall for the use of the Tammany Society Museum. It was open every Tuesday and Friday afternoon. A document in existence, dated May 1, 1791, reads :

"AMERICAN MUSEUM, under the patronage of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order.

"Any article sent on these days, or to Mr. John Pintard, No. 57 King Street, will be thankfully received."

Mr. Pintard was the secretary of the American Museum, and Gardner Baker keeper. It became the sole property of Baker in 1808. He sold it to Dr. Seudder, and it was finally sold to Barnum.

† John Pintard, son of John Pintard, a New York merchant, was then in the prime of manhood, having been born May 18, 1759. Both his father and mother died before he was one year old. The babe was taken by his uncle, Lewis Pintard, a thriving merchant in New York, as his foster child. He was sent to a grammar school at Hempstead, L. I., and became the best Latin scholar in the seminary. He was graduated at Princeton in 1776. He drilled soldiers every day, and when the professor entered the army and the

The New York Historical Society occupied a room in the old City Hall, in Wall Street, from 1804 till 1809. It received its charter from the State Legislature in the latter year. It then became migratory for almost half a century. In 1809 its collections were removed to the Government House, on the south-east side of the Bowling Green. In 1816 they were taken to the New York Institution, where they

institution was broken up, he went too, after he had received his degree. After serving a while in the army, young Pintard became deputy commissary for American prisoners in New York, under his uncle, for whom he acted as secretary. He was in that office about three years, doing nearly all the business most of the time. Elias Boudinot, his brother-in-law, was then commissary-general of prisoners.

When Pintard left the office in 1780 he went to Paramus, New Jersey, where resided Colonel Brashear, a staunch Whig and distant relative of the young man. He fell in love with the colonel's daughter, and they were married in 1785. "He was handsome, and she was the loveliest girl in the land," says "Walter Barrett, clerk."

Up to that time John Pintard was a clerk for his uncle; then he began business for himself, at No. 12 Wall Street, in the India trade. One of his ships (the *Jay*) was among the first vessels that brought cargoes from China. In 1789 he was elected alderman of the East Ward, which took in Wall Street below William Street. In 1790 he was elected to the State Legislature.

In 1792 John Pintard, out of debt, rich and prosperous, had his name on the back of notes drawn by William Duer, son-in-law of Lord Stirling, who was regarded as one of the greatest financiers of the day, for a full million dollars. Duer failed. Pintard gave up ships, cargoes, houses, furniture, library, everything, to partially pay the notes he had indorsed. He settled in Newark, where he found employment as a commissioner for building bridges. Duer's creditors followed him, and confined him in Newark jail fourteen months.

The general bankrupt law of 1800 relieved Mr. Pintard, and he returned to New York, where he first became a book auctioneer. In 1801 his uncle bought for him the *Daily Advertiser*, but he did not conduct it long. In 1802 he went to New Orleans, but soon returned. He became city inspector, and in 1809 secretary of a fire insurance company, which position he filled until 1829, when, at the age of seventy, he resigned. He became almost blind and deaf, and his world was inside of himself for several years. He died on June 21, 1844, at the age of eighty-five years.

Mr. Pintard was the enlightened and active friend of every great enterprise for the benefit of the city, and in every good work. He was not only the founder of the New York Historical Society, but one of the originators of the free school system in the city, an active promoter of the Erie Canal project from the beginning, a most efficient member of the Chamber of Commerce, serving it as secretary ten consecutive years, and infusing into it new vitality; one of the founders of the American Bible Society, active in the foundation of the General Theological Society of the Episcopal Church in the diocese, and the chief mover in the establishment of the first savings bank in the city of New York, of which he was president thirteen years, retiring when he was nearly eighty-two years of age. Mr. Pintard has an undoubted and clear right to the title of progenitor of the historical societies in the United States.

The body of Mr. Pintard was buried in the family vault in St. Clement's Church, in Amity Street. Very few citizens of the great metropolis to-day have even the most remote idea of how much it owes to John Pintard for its prosperity and good name.

remained until 1832, when they were deposited in the Reinsen building, on Broadway. In 1837 they were taken to the Stuyvesant Institute, on Broadway. There they rested only four years, for in 1841 they were removed to the New York University. There they took a longer rest, and finally, in 1857, took up their abode in a building erected by the society on the corner of Eleventh Street and Second Avenue.

The members and friends of the Historical Society exhibited much zeal from the beginning, in efforts to secure for its collections manuscripts, books, rare pamphlets relating to American history, autograph letters and unpublished documents, files of American newspapers, especially of those published in the city of New York; specimens of American archæology, coins and medals, works of painters, sculptors, and engravers, and everything suitable for a museum of historical treasures.

For more than twenty years the society labored on with slender pecuniary means, continually adding to its list of members some of the best men in New York society, with its offices filled by persons of distinction in literature, science, and art. Its pecuniary power was so inadequate to the noble task it had undertaken that it found itself, at the beginning of the new era in the history of New York City, burdened with a debt amounting to about \$5000.

It was at this juncture that the society was strongly beset with a temptation which yielded to might have caused its annihilation. It was a supreme crisis in the history of the institution. At that time a number of gentlemen had associated in the formation of a society with the avowed purpose of encouraging and promoting the study of popular science, belles-lettres, and the fine arts. They named the association The New York Athenæum. Its members were some of the leading intellectual lights of the city. They had conceived the design of uniting all the literary societies of New York under the appropriate title they had chosen, for the purpose of creating an institution, by such a combination, which should be the most distinguished and powerful in the United States.

Members of the New York Historical Society, considering its pecuniary embarrassments, almost vehemently urged the propriety and even the necessity of joining such a combination, and to merge it into The New York Athenæum. At a meeting of the Historical Society, Dr. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, a prominent member, offered a resolution that in consideration of a sum sufficient to pay off its indebtedness the entire property should be transferred to the Athenæum.

An energetic and clear-headed young lawyer, a scion of one of the oldest and most distinguished Knickerbocker families in the city of New York, had recently been elected a member of the Historical Society, and took great interest in its affairs. He earnestly opposed Dr. Van Rensselaer's resolution, urging that such a sale of the treasures of the society would be dishonest, and in violation of the solemn pledges given to the public by its founders, for they represented that all donations, of whatever kind, should be held as part of the archives of the society, and for historical purposes. That young lawyer was the late Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., who, from that hour, was one of the most energetic and influential members of the Historical Society, dying while holding its presidential chair, at the age of eighty-six years.*

* Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., was born in Hanover Square, New York, on November 11, 1796. His ancestors were Huguenots who fled from persecution in France in the sixteenth century and settled in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Holland. The first of the name who emigrated to America was Johannes de Peyster, the possessor of much inherited wealth, who came to New Amsterdam with his wife about 1645, when he was twenty-five years of age. He became a successful merchant and a distinguished citizen, being in succession sheriff, alderman, and burgomaster of New Amsterdam, and in 1677 deputy mayor of New York. Two of his sons were afterward mayors of the city. The de Peyster family have ever held the highest social position in New York City.

The father of the subject of this sketch was Captain Frederic de Peyster, an ardent loyalist during the old war for independence, and an officer in the king's Third American Regiment, or New York Volunteers. He married a daughter of Commissary-General Hake, of the British army. Frederic was a student in Columbia College during the war of 1812, and became captain of the students' corps known as the "College Greens." They assisted in the construction of field works at McGowan's Pass and Manhattanville. He was graduated in 1816, and began the study of law with the Hon. Peter A. Jay, the eldest son of Governor John Jay. He concluded his legal studies under the tuition of Peter Van Schaack, of Kinderhook, one of the most learned lawyers in the State. De Peyster was admitted to practice as an attorney in the Supreme Court in 1819, and the same year he became a solicitor in chancery. It is said his reports in the latter capacity never revealed an error.

Young de Peyster was fond of military matters, and was active several years in the militia of the State, serving as brigade major in the Tenth Brigade, as aide-de-camp to Major-General Flemming, and as aide, with the rank of colonel, on the staff of Governor De Witt Clinton in 1825. Not long before he had raised the question whether an officer holding one military position could be legally elected to another—a salaried one—without thereby vacating the former office. It was decided by competent authority that he could not, and thus a test case, argued by de Peyster and won, gained him notoriety, and settled a vexed question in military circles.

From his early life Mr. de Peyster took an active interest in public affairs. So early as 1810, when he was fourteen years of age, he became a member of the Free School Society of New York, in which, in after years, he was a trustee. He possessed a decided literary taste, and he became prominently connected with several literary and learned societies. Joining the Historical Society of New York about 1826, he became its corresponding secretary in 1827, and was recording secretary from 1829 till 1837. He became

The resolution of Dr. Van Rensselaer was warmly discussed. The arguments of Mr. De Peyster prevailed, and the resolution was not adopted. After the adjournment of the meeting, Charles King (afterward president of Columbia College), seven years the senior of De Peyster, said to the latter :

“ Sir, you have caused a serious harm to both the Historical Society and the Athenæum by defeating that resolution. You have frustrated a laudable object, and by rejecting the proposed union this society will soon be a hopeless bankrupt.”

“ If the society will give me authority,” replied De Peyster, “ I will go to Albany as its representative and procure from the Legislature an appropriation sufficient to pay all its debts.”

“ If you shall do that,” responded King; “ interest the State Legislature so substantially in our affairs, you will make the New York Historical Society one of the leading institutions of our country.”

Mr. De Peyster was invested with proper authority. He went to Albany, laid a petition for the relief of the New York Historical Society before the Legislature, with a large number of whose members

corresponding secretary again in 1838, and remained in that position until 1843. In 1864 he was elected president of the society; held the office two years; was re-elected in 1873, and continued to hold the position until the time of his death, August 17, 1882. His gifts to the society were many and valuable. Some of the choicest books and works of art in its collection are his contributions. One of the most attractive of the latter is Crawford's colossal marble statue of an Indian sitting in a contemplative attitude, entitled “ The Last of His Race.” He purchased it after Crawford's death for \$4000. Mr. de Peyster was also a generous patron of art, as his home in University Place attested, and was always ready to contribute to funds for the erection of statues of eminent men in his native city. On anniversary and other celebrations of important events he was always active, and was frequently called upon to address the assemblage, which was always done in a happy manner. He was also active in all benevolent movements, and held an office of some kind in a score of different societies. He was also an earnest promoter of the cause of popular education, and his interest in his *alma mater* (Columbia College) was warm and active until the close of his life.

While Mr. de Peyster was master in chancery he was employed by a committee of the Tontine Coffee-House Association as an expert to ascertain the value of the lives of the nominees. He soon afterward became a member of that association, and was one of the last, if not the very last, survivors of that famous organization. He was elected a trustee of the New York Society Library, and was its president from 1870. He was vice president of the Home for Incurables, and one of the directors of the Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. For more than fifty years he was clerk of the board of trustees of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, founded by his father-in-law, John Watts. He was an active and most efficient member of the St. Nicholas Society and president of the St. Nicholas Club. Our space will not allow the mention of more of the objects of his care and untiring labors.

Mr. de Peyster was chosen to deliver an address on the occasion of the centennial



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he was personally acquainted, and urged his suit with so much logic and such weighty reasons for granting the prayer, that a bill speedily passed both houses appropriating \$5000 for the relief of the New York Historical Society. The burden of debt was thus removed, and the society started afresh and unembarrassed in its career of usefulness and honor.

The society has ever since gone steadily on in an upward journey, sometimes struggling with poverty, but never with doubt, and sometimes cheered by liberal bequests and donations, until it has reached its present high position as one of the leading and most useful institutions of the metropolis.

The New York Historical Society possesses a library of more than 70,000 volumes, and a very large number of pamphlets, maps, and files of newspapers; also a most valuable collection of inedited manuscripts, a curious collection of American antiquities, a rare and exceedingly valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities, and the largest and rarest permanent gallery of works of art on the American continent.

By the liberality of citizens of New York the society was enabled to

celebration of American independence at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1876. Several of his occasional addresses have been published in handsome book form. He was an earnest classical and biblical student: indeed no department of learning escaped his notice, and often engaged his profound study. In 1867 Columbia College conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D., and in March, 1877, the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, "in consideration of his eminent services in the cause of historical and antiquarian research," elected him an Honorary Fellow of that society.

Mr. de Peyster was married in his early manhood to the lovely and accomplished Mary Justina Watts, daughter of John Watts, the last royal recorder of New York City. She lived only thirteen months after his marriage, dying on July 28, 1821. She left an infant son, who is General J. Watts de Peyster. It was at Rose Hill, the country-seat of this son, at Tivoli on the Hudson, that Mr. de Peyster died, after a short illness. The funeral services were held at St. Paul's Church, at Tivoli, and were conducted by the rector and the Rev. Dr. Dix, rector of Trinity Church, New York.

General J. Watts de Peyster, his only child, has inherited his name and fortune. He was born in March, 1821. He has attained to much distinction as the author of valuable works on military and historical subjects. The former have won for him the warmest encomiums of military commanders. Some years ago he wrote an interesting biography of the Swedish Field-Marshal Torstenson, famous in the seventeenth century. So pleased with this biography was Oscar I., King of Sweden, that he expressed his pleasure by presenting the general with three handsome medals. Like his father, General de Peyster is well and honorably known, not only in the city but throughout the country. Three of his sons served in the late war for the preservation of the Republic. One of them, Lieutenant J. Livingston de Peyster, had the honor of first hoisting the national flag on the capitol at Richmond on the morning after the Confederate government had fled, which, General Grant said, "put the seal to the termination of the rebellion."

purchase the famous Egyptian collection of Dr. Abbott in 1859. It is by far the most interesting collection of the kind in this country. It contains three mummies of the sacred bull Apis found in the tombs of Dashour. It is said that no other specimen of the preserved animal may be found in the world. The collection also exhibits some rare works of art, and numerous objects which illustrate the social and domestic life of the ancient Egyptians. There are about eleven hundred and thirty pieces in the collection, every one of which is a study for the historian and the antiquary.

In 1856 the society determined to enlarge and extend its usefulness by providing a public gallery of fine arts in the city of New York. The plan was devised on the most liberal scale. A committee on fine arts was appointed, and constituted a part of the administration of the society. The result of the labors of that committee is most satisfactory. The gallery now embraces, in addition to the society's original collection of paintings and sculpture, the New York Gallery of Fine Arts, which came into the possession of this institution in 1858, through the exertions of the late Jonathan Sturges, an active and liberal member. That collection is the fruit of the taste, generosity, and munificence of Luman Reed, an enterprising merchant.

The gallery also embraces the remaining pictures of the American Art Union, also the justly famous Bryan Gallery of Christian Art, so rich in pictures by the old masters and pre-Raphaelite paintings. This collection was generously presented to the society in 1867 by the late Thomas J. Bryan, who continued to add to it until his death. The "Durr collection" of paintings was bequeathed to the society by the late Louis Durr, one of its members, in 1880, and was placed in the gallery in June, 1882. The society also possesses the original water-color pictures made by J. J. Audubon for his great work on natural history, thirteen specimens of ancient sculpture from Nineveh, presented by the late James Lenox, and fifty-seven pieces of modern sculpture by Crawford, Browne, and others.

The entire collection of paintings and statuary belonging to the New York Historical Society numbers nearly one thousand. In it may be seen many pre-Raphaelite pictures, and paintings by Cimabue, Giorgione, Correggio, Raphael, Titian, Del Sarto, Da Vinci, Murillo, Velasquez, Rembrandt, Paul Veronese, Ponissin, Van Dyck, and half a score of other renowned artists. For lack of room and good light these pictures appear to a great disadvantage, while the marvellous sculptures from Nineveh are hidden away in the crypt or basement room of the building.

So rapid has been the accumulation of the archaic and other riches (excepting money) of the Historical Society during the last few years, that larger space and a position nearer the centre of the class of population who enjoy and would profit by such exquisite pleasure as it can afford has been an absolute and keenly felt necessity. It is not creditable to the citizens of New York, so widely and justly praised for their enterprise, abounding wealth, generosity, intelligence, and æsthetic cultivation, to allow this venerable society, now fourscore years of age, with all its wealth of possible entertainment and instruction, to remain half smothered in close quarters, year after year, for want of pecuniary means to expand its usefulness and become one of the most attractive wonders of the great metropolis. It possesses an abundance of precious things which money cannot buy and the world cannot afford to lose.

The present number of the members of the Historical Society is about two thousand — life, resident, corresponding, and honorary. They embrace the best elements of society in New York. It has no debts, no mortgage on its building or its collections, and no outstanding bills.*

THE NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY ranks among the older of the benevolent institutions of New York City. It is believed to be the oldest benevolent association of printers in the United States. Its nativity was in the year 1809, and its natal day was the twenty-third anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

The avowed object of the society was "the relief of the indigent and distressed members of the association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity." To this purpose it has been religiously faithful, and its record is a noble one.

The society was incorporated by the Legislature of New York in 1818. The late Thurlow Weed, who became a member of the association in October, 1816, was chairman of the committee who procured the charter, and he would refer to it as his first effort as a "lobbyist." He was then twenty-one years of age. To effect its benevolent purposes the society was allowed by the charter to hold real and personal estate to the amount of \$5000. In case of sickness or other disability a member was allowed a prescribed sum per week from the treasury; in case of death a specific sum was given toward paying the expenses

* The officers of the society for 1883 are: Augustus Schell, president; Hamilton Fish, first vice-president; Benjamin H. Field, second vice-president; William M. Evarts, foreign corresponding secretary; Edward F. De Lancey, domestic corresponding secretary; Andrew Warner, recording secretary; Benjamin B. Sherman, treasurer; Jacob B. Moore, librarian.

of the funeral. Moderate sums were allowed to widows of members, and to full-orphaned children of members for a short time. In no case has the family of a living member any claim on the funds of the society.

The limited charter of the society was renewed in 1832, for fifteen years, and in April, 1847, it was organized under the general law of the State for charitable and benevolent institutions. Its present revised constitution has transferred the association from a relief society to meet the urgent necessities of the indigent and distressed into a benefit society, from which every member, when sick, by conforming to the provisions of the constitution and by-laws, may draw a certain amount without regard to his pecuniary condition.

During its long career the New York Typographical Society has never failed to meet all demands against its treasury, and has at this time quite a large fund securely and profitably invested. It also possesses a library of over four thousand volumes, some of which are exceedingly rare and valuable.

For many years in the earlier period of the history of the Typographical Society it took part in nearly all of the civic processions. It bore a conspicuous part, as we have seen, in the great celebration of the completion of the Erie Canal. The last public occasion in which it participated was the celebration of the successful laying of the telegraph ocean cable between the United States and Great Britain, in 1858.

Benjamin Franklin being recognized, by common consent, as the "patron saint" of printers, his birthday was honored by the Typographical Society for many years, usually in the form of a banquet, sometimes by an entertainment. The late William Cullen Bryant was a favorite president at the banquets, and John Brongham managed the entertainments. These have been abandoned of late years, and the society has taken its place among the quiet workers for the good of fellow-men.

During its existence of more than half a century since receiving its charter the New York Typographical Society has had only four treasurers—George Mather, James Narine, J. G. Clayton, and George Parsons—the latter still in office. T. C. Faulkner was its secretary for twenty-one consecutive years. The society has embraced in its membership many who have not only reflected honor upon the profession, but upon our country. Now its list of membership contains the names of many of the most influential printers in the city.*

* The officers of the New York Typographical Society for 1883 are : Edward Meagher, president ; John Brusnahan, vice-president ; George Parsons, treasurer ; R. H. Cressing-

On the 3d of November, 1820, at the office of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, William Wood posted a call for a meeting of merchants' clerks on the 10th, at a room in the Tontine Coffee-House, to consider a plan for establishing a library and reading-room. The call was addressed to "the clerks of South Street, Front Street, Pearl Street, and Maiden Lane." That original "poster" is preserved in the great library, which is the flourishing product of that tiny germ.

The meeting comprised about two hundred merchants' clerks. A plan was agreed to. On the 27th of the same month a constitution was adopted and officers were elected, with Lucius Bull as president. On the 12th of February following, in an upper room of the building known as No. 49 Fulton Street, the association was formally ushered into existence, by the presence of one hundred and fifty members (the total number of subscribers) and the deposit of about seven hundred volumes of books.

The association had a feeble existence—a struggle for life—for several years. The clerks could not, for a long time, induce the merchants to countenance their undertaking or give them aid. At length (1826) the library was removed to the printing establishment of Harper & Brothers, No. 82 Cliff Street, where that now great publishing house was just feeling the peace and joy of assured business prosperity. There the association had a reading-room in connection with the library, which was furnished with four weekly newspapers and seven magazines. The merchants now began to take an interest in the new enterprise, and soon began to give the association pecuniary aid. The year 1826 was the beginning of the era of the real growth and an ever-expanding field of usefulness for THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Before the close of that year the library contained six thousand volumes.

In 1828 a separate organization was effected for the purpose of erecting a building for a permanent home for the library, to be enjoyed without expense or any incumbrance. Arthur Tappan,* a silk mer-

ham, secretary; C. C. Savage, H. Bessey, W. Marshall, and S. F. Baxter, trustees, and ten directors.

* Arthur Tappan was born in Northampton, Mass., in May, 1786, and died in New Haven, Conn., in July, 1865. He received a common-school education, was clerk in a hardware store in Boston, and also engaged with his brother Lewis in the dry-goods business in that city. Arthur finally went to Montreal, but when the war of 1812 broke out he went to New York City, and established himself in the dry-goods importing business in 1814. He was very prosperous, very religious, and very benevolent. He was one of the founders of the American Tract Society, and gave liberally to its building fund. He gave largely toward the establishment of the Lane (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary at

chant, headed a subscription with a liberal sum. The required amount of money was soon raised, a building was erected at the corner of Beekman and Nassan streets, and on November 2, 1830, it was dedicated with the title of "Clinton Hall," in honor of De Witt Clinton, then the foremost man in the city and the State, and who gave the first book to the Mercantile Library—a "History of England." The persons who caused the erection of the hall were known collectively by the name of "The Clinton Hall Association."

Only about twenty years afterward it was found that the accommodations in Clinton Hall were too limited for the rapidly increasing number of books in the library. It was observed, too, that the population was deserting that quarter of the city. So, after much deliberation, the association purchased the Astor Place Opera-House, which was fitted up with a capacity of one hundred and twenty thousand volumes. In 1854 the library was moved into the new home, a distance of two miles from its former dwelling-place. Soon afterward the old hall was pulled down, and on its site the Nassan Bank erected a handsome building of light brown stone. It, too, has been pulled down, and in its place has risen Temple Court, a lofty structure of brick and stone, ten stories in height, the property of Eugene Kelly, a banker.

In the new Clinton Hall at Astor Place the Mercantile Library Association still lingers with its library, but will probably soon take another long stride northward, for now the centre of population is nearer Murray Hill. Besides, even now its home is too narrow for the literary family that occupies it. At the time of the removal of the association to Astor Place it had a membership of about three thousand merchants' clerks, and the library consisted of about twenty thousand volumes: in 1883 the number of persons entitled to the use of the library and reading-room—active and subscribing members, honorary members, editors using the library, and Clinton Hall stockholders—was about

Cincinnati, founded a professorship in Auburn Seminary, and erected Tappan Hall at Oberlin. With his brother Lewis, who removed from Boston to New York in 1827, he established the *New York Journal of Commerce*. He was one of the early and most vigorous opponents of slavery, and established the *Emancipator* in 1833 as the organ of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was one of the chief founders. He was made president of the American Anti Slavery Society, organized in Philadelphia, to which for some time he gave \$1000 a month. The financial troubles of 1837 ruined their house. Lewis established a mercantile agency, and in this business Arthur joined him in 1842. He had given up all his property to his creditors, and never lost his reputation as an honest man. To the end of his life he was the same earnest and benevolent Christian.

seven thousand. The association is clear of debt. The number of books in the library (1883) was over 200,000.*

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK was organized in 1828 by a few enterprising citizens, it is said, who met in a small room in Tammany Hall, corner of Spruce and Nassau streets. Its objects were to encourage and promote domestic industry in the United States by bestowing rewards and other benefits on persons excelling or making improvements in the branches of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts. This is the accepted history of the origin of the American Institute. Its origin may be found in a notable movement at an earlier date. In the spring of 1828 Peter H. Schenck, the founder of the Glenham Manufacturing Company, in Dutchess County, N. Y., issued a call for a convention of woollen manufacturers to assemble at the Eagle Hotel, in Albany. Only three persons responded to the call, namely, Peter H. Schenck and Elias Titus, of Dutchess County, and William Phillips, of Orange County, N. Y. Not discouraged by this seeming indifference, these three woollen manufacturers organized a convention by the appointment of Mr. Phillips president, Mr. Titus vice-president, and Mr. Schenck secretary. They passed a series of resolutions, and authorized the secretary to call a national convention in the city of New York. It was done, and Clinton Hall, then lately erected, was designated as the place for the meeting of the convention, early in the summer.

There was a numerous attendance of woollen manufacturers at Clinton Hall from all parts of the country. They organized an association. Cotton manufacturers were admitted to it, and finally practitioners of all trades; and at a meeting in the fall the association assumed the name of "The American Institute," which it still bears.†

The Legislature of New York granted the Institute a charter of incorporation in 1829. Its first president was William Few, whose

* The association has had fifty-five presidents. The officers for 1881-82 were: Charles H. Patrick, president; A. H. Timpson, vice-president; Robert L. Coursen, treasurer, and A. Wetmore, Jr., secretary.

† Elias Titus was the last survivor of the three real founders of the American Institute. He died in July, 1880. At the time of the little convention at Albany he had just established a woollen-mill on Wappinger's Creek, four or five miles from Poughkeepsie. For many years previous to his death it was carried on under the firm name of Elias Titus & Sons. The sons still continue the business. It is a notable fact that during the long period of fifty-four years, so skilfully has the establishment been conducted and so unsuspected has been the business standing of its proprietors in all the vicissitudes of business, the mills have never suspended work excepting in the case of an accident or for the purpose of making repairs.

name appears prominent in many public movements for the benefit of society at that time. John Mason was the first vice-president, Potter Ellis treasurer, and Thaddeus B. Wakeman corresponding secretary. Mr. Wakeman was for more than twenty years one of the most active members of the Institute. Indeed, he has been called the father of the American Institute. He served it as secretary from 1828 till 1848, excepting one year.

The first manufacturers' fair or exhibition of the American Institute was held in the Masonic Hall, which stood on Broadway near Pearl Street, and nearly opposite the City Hospital. The Hon. Edward Everett, then thirty-four years of age, delivered the first anniversary address in 1829. It was a brilliant display of oratory. The address was published, and went through two or three editions. The fair was a great success in every respect.

After holding five other fairs at the Masonic Hall, it was necessary to have more ample room. Niblo's Garden, on Broadway near Prince Street, was chosen for the purpose. Many shook their heads in doubt when this spot was selected so far up town. But the fair was well attended, and the exhibitions were held there, with ever-increasing popularity, until the place was consumed by fire in 1846.

Castle Garden, at the Battery, was next selected as the place for the annual exhibition, and there they were held for seven successive years. Then the managers of the Institute took a bolder step than when they chose Niblo's Garden for their place of exhibition. The Crystal Palace, built in 1853 for the exhibition of the industries of all nations, was standing empty. The managers of the Institute chose it for their fair in 1855. It was on the northern verge of the more refined society, occupying a portion of Reservoir Square, between Fortieth and Forty-second streets. The late exhibitions had made the citizens acquainted with that remote region, and the fair was successful. In that "palace" three other fairs were successively held, when, on a bright day in October (5th), 1858, fire assailed the building and the rich collections of the American Institute, and laid them in ashes in the space of one hour.

It was supposed by some that this terrible blow would be fatal to the American Institute. It reeled, but did not fall. Adversity stimulated increased activity, and to the surprise of many the Institute held a fair the next year in Palace Garden, in Fourteenth Street, on the site of the (present) armory of the Twenty-second Regiment. There the Institute fairs were held for several successive years, and these were uniformly profitable.



F. A. P. Zarnad

For forty years the American Institute had been a wanderer. It yearned for a home—a more spacious one, and possibly a permanent one. On Third Avenue, between Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth streets, was a large building which had been erected for a skating rink. These premises the Institute leased in 1868. Three buildings were added to the rink, when the whole covered forty building lots between Second and Third avenues. There is ample space for the exhibitions, which are kept open several weeks. There is a promenade concert given each evening during the exhibition, which attracts young people.

The office and other rooms of the Institute are in the Cooper Union. The library, established in 1833 by contributions of \$5 each from members of the Institute, contains over eleven thousand volumes. The purchases of books have been confined to works on agriculture, chemistry, and the industrial arts. The Institute is divided into three sections—namely, the Farmers' Club, under the direction of the Committee on Agriculture; the Polytechnic Section, under the direction of the Committee on Manufactures; and the Photographical Section, under the direction of the Committee on Chemistry and Optics. The Institute is governed by a board of trustees, elected by the members.*

The cultivation of the fine arts had not been conspicuous in the city of New York during the first half of the present century, and only a single institution professedly devoted to the promotion of a taste for pictures existed. It maintained only a feeble existence from the pabulum of public patronage.

The first school of art in the city was opened about 1792 by Archibald Robertson, a young Scotchman, who came to America on the invitation of Dr. Kemp, of Columbia College. His advent was under very favorable auspices. He was the bearer of the famous box, made of the oak tree that sheltered Wallace, which the Earl of Buchan sent to President Washington, with a request that he should allow Robertson to paint his portrait. The President graciously complied. He invited the young artist to dinner, and both he and Mrs. Washington sat to Robertson, who painted their portraits in miniature. That of Washington he copied in oil, the natural size, and sent it to the earl.

Young Robertson opened a seminary for teaching the arts of design in water-colors and crayon, and called it the Columbia Academy of Painting. He was quite successful, and when, ten years afterward,

* The officers of the Institute for 1883 are: Cyrus H. Loutrel, president; Thomas Rutter and Walter Shriver, vice-presidents; Charles McK. Loeser, secretary, and Edward Schell, treasurer.

the association alluded to was formed for the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts, he assisted in the task with his knowledge and advice.

This association had been suggested by Robert R. Livingston, who was the United States minister at the court of First Consul Bonaparte. An association was formed in 1802, and was composed chiefly of gentlemen of every profession excepting artists. John R. Murray, a merchant of taste and liberality, furnished the means for procuring from Europe, through Minister Livingston, a fair collection of casts from antique sculptures. The society was fully organized on December 3, 1802, with Edward Livingston as president. It was incorporated in February, 1808, with the title of "The American Academy of Fine Arts."

The casts that were sent over by Minister Livingston were partly presents from Bonaparte, in acknowledgment of the compliment of honorary membership which the association had bestowed upon him. He afterward sent to the Academy twenty-four large volumes of Italian engravings and several portfolios of drawings.

The liberal design of the founders of the Academy to establish a museum of the fine arts in the city of New York was not carried out. After two unsuccessful exhibitions of the casts and a few pictures, the former were stored, and remained useless and unknown for many years. Indeed the very existence of the Academy was almost forgotten by the public. Finally, in 1816, an effort was made to resuscitate the Academy. Leading citizens gave their countenance and support. Among the most active of these were De Witt Clinton, Dr. Hosack, Cadwallader Colden, and other influential citizens. Clinton was made president of the Academy. Room was procured of the city authorities in the old almshouse (on the site of the new Court-House), and there, in October of that year, the casts and many excellent pictures were exhibited, Joseph Bonaparte (also an honorary member) lending some from his rare collection for the purpose. The exhibition was a novelty, and the receipts exceeded all expectation.

Clinton was succeeded in the presidency by Colonel John Trumbull, then almost seventy years of age. Trumbull inaugurated a narrow and unwise policy in the management of the institution, and it soon declined in public favor. Instead of being a school of art, it became a society for the exhibition of pictures, and the same pictures were exhibited season after season. The novelty was gone, and the public withdrew its patronage. Another institution sprang into vigorous competition for public favor, and in a few years the American Academy of Fine Arts expired.

A catalogue of the tenth exhibition of the American Academy of Fine Arts lies before me. It denotes one hundred and fifty-six pieces in the exhibition—paintings, sculpture, and engravings. These were mostly the same pictures that hung on the walls in 1816. There were a few new ones by living artists in America. Of these one half were from the hand of Colonel Trumbull, the president of the Academy. The living local contributors were only sixteen in number.* What a contrast was this exhibition, less than sixty years ago, with the exhibitions to-day of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, the successor of the American Academy of Fine Arts. The catalogue of the fifty-eighth annual exhibition (1883) of the last-named institution denotes seven hundred and forty-six pieces and four hundred and fifty-one artists. Not one of the pieces was ever exhibited before.

The officers of the American Academy of Fine Arts at the time of its demise were : John Trumbull, president, and Archibald Robertson, secretary and keeper. The directors were : William Gracie, Benjamin W. Rogers, Henry F. Rogers, Gulian C. Verplanck, Archibald Robertson, Henry Brevoort, Jr., Samuel L. Waldo, Philip Hone, Ezra Weeks, William Cooper, and J. Van Rensselaer, M.D. The academicians were : John Trumbull, William S. Leney, John Macomb, Samuel L. Waldo, William Dunlap, Peter Maverick, Archibald Robertson, Alexander Robertson, Alexander Anderson, William Rollins, G. B. Brown, A. Dickinson, John Vanderlyn, and J. O'Donnel.

* These were John Trumbull, John Wesley Jarvis, William Dunlap, G. Marsiglia, C. C. Ingham, Henry Inman, Waldo and Jewell, Rembrandt Peale, N. Rogers, James Herring, Jr., N. Jocelyn, W. Birch, Miss Peale, William Wall, A. B. Durand (engraving of Trumbull's "Declaration of Independence"), and Gilbert Stuart.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE National Academy of the Arts of Design, it has been observed, was the competitor for public fame and the successor of the American Academy of Fine Arts. It was the logical product of the narrow, ungenerous, and unwise policy of the latter institution.

When Colonel John Trumbull, a soldier in and an artist of the period of the old war for independence, became president of the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York, on the retirement of De Witt Clinton, he introduced a policy which was calculated to repress rather than to encourage the aspirations of those who felt the inspiration of inborn genius for art. Trumbull had lived to the life-period of "threescore and ten," and during a time when there was very little encouragement, either in words of praise or offerings of money, for the practitioner of the fine arts. Almost the only branch of fine art in America productive of a livelihood for the artist was that of portrait painting. It ministered to egotism, and was patronized. Therefore Trumbull, who aspired to the position of an historic painter, had been full of grievous disappointments; and in comparative poverty toward the end of his earthly life, he seems to have felt that a part of his future benevolent mission in society was to prevent clever young men from following his unproductive profession as a vocation. To the admirable artist, the now venerable Weir, when the youth showed him evidences of genius and asked his advice, the veteran said, "You had better *make* shoes than attempt to *paint* them." And to the bright and enthusiastic boy, Agate, when the lad timidly showed the Nestor some of his excellent sketches, Trumbull said, "Go saw wood!"

Yet Trumbull was not naturally a churl. He was a kind-hearted, courteous gentleman, a scholar, a true lover of art and sincere admirer of genius. But he had become soured by vicissitudes, and was totally unfitted by circumstances for the important position of chief manager of such an institution as he then controlled.

Colonel Trumbull persistently opposed the establishment of schools of art in connection with the Academy, and when the directors had resolved to do so, he imposed such restrictions and allowed such

embarrassments that young students were practically prohibited from availing themselves of the privilege of drawing from the casts in the Academy. It was stipulated that they should draw only in summer, and then between the hours of six and nine in the morning. Those who attempted to comply with these rules were often subjected to indignities at the hands of a surly janitor, who "put on airs" because he had been a "Continental soldier," and this conduct was ever unrebuked by the president.

An unwise revision of the by-laws of the Academy was made, in which discriminations against professional artists were so conspicuous that they felt sorely aggrieved. It was decreed that academicians, not to exceed twenty in number, professional artists, should be chosen by the directors from the stockholders. As few artists were then rich enough to become stockholders, the number of academicians was very small. Only three artists were allowed a place in the board of eleven directors, and so artists were virtually excluded from the management of the institution. None but "artists of distinguished merit" were *permitted* to exhibit their works, while amateurs were *invited* "to expose in the gallery of the Academy any of their performances." These discriminations were offensive to the artists of the city. It effectually barred all young and growing artists who were yet "unknown to fame" from exhibiting works in the Academy.

At length an open rupture between the city artists and the Academy occurred. At that juncture (early in 1825) a tall, slender, personally attractive young portrait painter was among the aggrieved. He had struggled for existence in the city, with poverty in obscurity, while waiting for commissions; now he was known and prosperous. Social in his instincts, kindly in his nature, he had beheld with much concern that the artists of the city were standing apart, in an attitude of indifference toward each other, if not in actual antagonism. This state of things his loving nature deplored, and by his winning ways and manly words he had succeeded in bringing most of the artists into fraternal social relations with each other. This was a most auspicious circumstance at this critical moment in the history of the fine arts in the city of New York. There was a perfect sympathy of feeling concerning the grievances of the city artists, and they were ready to act in concert in an effort to provide a remedy for them. The artist alluded to was Samuel F. B. Morse, afterward the famous tamer of the steeds of Phaethon to the common intellectual uses of man.

Among the younger of the aggrieved artists was Thomas S. Cummings, a young man of twenty-one years, and a student with Henry

Inman.* In consequence of a personal affront and persistent injustice toward art students, young Cummings drew up a remonstrance and petition to the directors of the Academy, setting forth in the former the grounds of complaint by the artists, and in the latter praying that students might enjoy, without unnecessary hindrance, the privileges to which the directors had invited them. The petition was warmly commended by the artists. Early in the fall of 1825 many of them assembled at the studio of Mr. Morse, when it was concluded that further efforts to conciliate the directors and managers of the Academy would be useless, for there was a potent energy within the government of the institution inimical to the artists, and uncontrollable by the few directors who took an active interest in its affairs. The petition was not presented.

At the conference in his studio (No. 69 Broadway) Morse suggested that an association might be formed for the promotion of the arts of design and the assistance of students, composed wholly of artists, as such an association ought to be. This suggestion was heartily approved, and a formal meeting of the artists of New York was held on the evening of November 8, 1825, in the rooms of the New York Historical Society. Asher Brown Durand was called to the chair, and Mr. Morse was appointed secretary. At that meeting an association, to be composed of architects, painters, sculptors, and engravers, was organized, and called "The New York Drawing Association," with Mr. Morse as president. Its rules were few and simple. They provided that its members should meet in the evening, three times a week, for drawing; that each member should furnish his own drawing materials; that the expenses for light, fuel, etc., should be paid by equal contributions; that new members should be admitted on a majority vote, on the payment of \$5 entrance fee, and that the lamp should

* Henry Inman was for many years the leading portrait painter of the country. He was born in Utica, N. Y., October, 1801. He became a pupil of John Wesley Jarvis, and early excelled in the painting of miniature portraits. He afterward devoted his labors almost entirely to the production of portraits in oil, and spent some time in Philadelphia and Boston in the pursuit of his profession. Failing health induced him to visit England in 1844, where he painted portraits of Dr. Chalmers, Wordsworth, Macaulay, and other celebrated men then living. Returning in 1845 with unrestored health, he undertook to furnish the National Capitol with a series of pictures illustrating the settlement of the West, but did not complete the first one he undertook. He was a versatile painter. After his death a collection of one hundred and twenty-seven of his pictures was exhibited for the benefit of his family. Mr. Inman was at one time vice-president of the National Academy of the Arts of Design. He had exquisite literary taste, and wrote some valuable sketches. He died in New York in January, 1846.

be lighted at six o'clock and extinguished at nine o'clock in the evening.

“The Lamp!” It was a famous illuminator, which was extolled in song as

“A bright volcano hoisted high in air,
Smoking like Etna, shedding lurid light
On gods and goddesses and heroes rare,
Who were unmindful of their dingy plight.”

This lamp was a tin can, holding about half a gallon of oil, with a wick four inches in diameter, and set upon a post about ten feet in height. To secure sufficient light the wick was kept “high,” which made it smoke intensely, and showers of lampblack fell softly on every object in the room.

The organization of the New York Drawing Association was the planting of the germ of the National Academy of the Arts of Design. The president of the old Academy claimed the members of the Drawing Association as students of the elder institution. One evening, a few weeks after their organization, Colonel Trumbull entered their room while they were at work, took the president's chair, and beckoned young Cummings to him. He offered him the matriculation book of the Academy, with a request that he and his fellow-members should enter their names in it as “students of the American Academy of Fine Arts.” Cummings politely declined to receive the book, and bowing respectfully, retired. His fellow-members kept on with their work unmindful of the venerable intruder, who soon left the room, saying in a loud voice, “Young gentlemen, I have left the matriculation book; when you have signed it, return it to the secretary of the Academy.”

There was a flutter of excitement among the artists present after the intruder had retired. President Morse called the members to order, when the questions were discussed: “Have we any relation to the American Academy of Fine Arts? Are we its students?” The association replied to the first question, “None whatever,” and to the second question, “We are *not* students of the Academy. We have been set adrift, and we have started on our own resources.”

The die was now cast. Prompt action was necessary, and it was boldly taken. The few small casts which the association had borrowed from the Academy were sent back with courteously expressed thanks. Yet there was a strong desire to fraternize with the old institution, and arrangements to that end were made by conference committees. It

was agreed that the Drawing Association should have six representatives in the board of directors of the Academy. To make four of the six chosen for seats, stockholders, to meet the requirement of the laws of the Academy, the amount required was paid out of the treasury of the association. At the election which occurred, a fortnight afterward, only three of the six chosen were elected.

This violation of a solemn compact, this taking their money by a false pretext, made the members of the Drawing Association very indignant. The last link which bound them to the Academy, by honor or courtesy, had been ruthlessly broken. The elected members refused to serve. The Drawing Association, feeling itself competent to form an independent academy, resolved to do so, and to organize a new institution, to be managed by artists alone, and founded on such liberal principles as should tend to stimulate and foster a love for the practice of the arts of design.

For this purpose the New York Drawing Association met on the evening of the 14th of January, 1826. The president, Mr. Morse, after stating the chief object of the meeting, proposed a plan of organization as follows: "Let every member," he said, "take home with him a list of all the members of our association. Let each one select for himself from the whole list, fifteen whom he would call professional artists, to be the ticket which he will give at the next meeting. The fifteen thus chosen shall immediately select not less than ten nor more than fifteen professional artists, in or out of the association, who shall with the previous fifteen constitute a body to be called The National Academy of the Arts of Design. To these shall be delegated all powers to manage its affairs."

Mr. Morse, alluding to the name he had chosen for the new Academy, said: "Any less name than 'National' would be taking one below the American Academy, and therefore is not desirable. If we are simply associated artists, their name would swallow us up; therefore 'National' seems a proper one. As to the 'Arts of Design'—painting, sculpture, architecture, and engraving—while the fine arts include poetry, music, landscape gardening, and the histrionic arts, our name would express the exact character of our institution, and that only." *

Morse's plan was adopted by unanimous consent, and on the evening of January 18, 1826, the organization of the National Academy of the

* See "The National Academy of the Arts of Design and its Surviving Founders," in *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1883, by Benson J. Lossing.

Arts of Design was completed by the election of S. F. B. Morse president, John L. Morton secretary, and A. B. Durand treasurer, until a constitution should be adopted. This was soon done, when Thomas S. Cummings was elected treasurer, and filled that important office for fully forty consecutive years afterward. Of the thirty artists who were its founders, only three now (1883) remain upon the earth—namely, A. B. Durand, John Evers, and Thomas S. Cummings. The following are the names of the founders: Samuel Finley Breese Morse, Henry Inman, Asher Brown Durand, John Frazee, William Wall, Charles C. Ingham, William Dunlap, Peter Maverick, Ithiel Town, Thomas S. Cummings, Edward C. Potter, Charles C. Wright, Mosely J. Danforth, Hugh Reinagle, Gerlando Mavsiglia, Samuel Waldo, William Jewett, John W. Paradise, Frederick S. Agate, Rembrandt Peale, James Coyle, Nathaniel Rogers, J. Parisen, William Main, John Evers, Martin E. Thompson, Thomas Cole, John Vanderlyn, Alexander Anderson, and D. W. Wilson.

The new institution began its work with promptness and vigor. An Antique School was opened in a room procured of the Philosophical Society, and in May (1826) the first exhibition of the Academy was opened in the second story of a house on the corner of Broadway and Reade Street, lighted by day with ordinary side-windows, and at night by six gas-burners.* The pictures were one hundred and seventy-six in number, all by living artists, and never exhibited before. The private view of these pictures was attended by Governor Clinton and his suite, the mayor and common council of the city, the president and faculty of Columbia College, and distinguished persons in New York. It was a fixed rule of the Academy that a picture should be exhibited but once. This insured novelty. The new institution was very popular from the beginning.

The old Academy and its friends chose to consider its young sister as a rival, and unfair criticisms of its first exhibition, ungenerous attacks upon the reputation of some of its members, sneers concerning the incapacity of artists to manage business affairs, and free prophecies of its speedy failure and demise were seen in the daily newspapers. The

* The introduction of illuminating gas had not yet become general in the city. The first attempt to introduce it in the United States was made at Baltimore between 1816 and 1820. It was a failure. In 1822 it was successfully introduced into Boston, and in 1823 the first company for its introduction into New York was formed, with a capital of \$1,000,000. It was incorporated as "The New York Gaslight Company." The people were slow to adopt it, and the company was not in full operation before 1827, when the population of the city was about 160,000.

chief managers were spoken of as "beardless boys." One individual, who had been denied admission to its membership because of his quarrelsome disposition, kept up these attacks for years, but when age and poverty became his companions he acknowledged his error.

Meanwhile the old Academy was dying for want of nourishment. Attempts had been made by it to prolong its existence by union with its vigorous sister, but failed, and in 1841 it expired. Its statuary was purchased by the National Academy for \$400.

The National Academy of the Arts of Design was incorporated by the Legislature in 1828. It was migratory from the beginning. Its second exhibition was held over Tylee's baths, in Chambers Street. From 1829 for ten years it occupied more spacious apartments in Clinton Hall. Then it removed to the building of the New York Society Library, corner of Leonard Street and Broadway, where it remained ten years. Up to that time it had struggled under a burden of debt, but by the skilful management of Treasurer Cummings that load was entirely removed, and its schools were placed in a flourishing state. A library had been established, and its yearly exhibitions were more and more profitable.

Having purchased property on Broadway, opposite Bond Street, the Academy took possession of this new and more spacious home in 1849. After experiencing many vicissitudes, it sold this property at a profit sufficient to purchase the ground on which its home now stands, and leaving a surplus of \$10,000 in the treasury. For this auspicious result the institution is indebted to the financial ability and untiring and unselfish labors of Treasurer Cummings. And had the association listened to and heeded his counsels, a far better location than the one now occupied might have been secured at a less price, at the junction of Broadway and Fifth Avenue.

The corner-stone of the new Academy building was laid in the fall of 1862. The edifice was completed and dedicated to the Muse of Art in 1866, when Treasurer Cummings, seeing the institution comfortably housed and fairly prosperous, resigned his long-held office and retired to a pleasant country-seat in Connecticut.*

* Thomas S. Cummings was born on August 26, 1804. He was the only son of his parents. At a very early age he evinced taste and talent for art, and this was fostered by Augustus Earle, the "wandering artist," who found a home for a while under the roof of the elder Cummings, when the gifted son was about fourteen years of age. The father, however, had determined that his son should be a merchant, and he placed him in a counting-room. There he remained about three years, dutiful, industrious, and an apt learner of some of the best lessons of commercial life. There he acquired, by experience



Engr. by Geo. S. Peckham

Mass Taylor

The architectural style of the Academy building is called "Venetian Gothic," its exterior having been copied after a famous palace in Venice. It is built of gray and white marble and bluestone. The entire cost of the ground and buildings was about \$237,000.

The National Academy of the Arts of Design is a private association, managed exclusively by artists for the public good. Its means are devoted entirely to the cultivation of the arts of design. It comprises professional and lay members, the former being the academicians, associate and honorary, and the latter honorary members and fellows. Connoisseurs, amateurs, and all lovers of art may become fellows by the payment of a subscription of \$100. A subscription of \$500 consti-

and observation, a knowledge of the art of business management which was of essential service to him in all his after life.

But the genius of young Cummings could not be confined in its aspiration to the realm of trade. His longings to become an artist were irrepressible, and his wise father, perceiving the bent of his desire, gratified the youth by placing him under the instructions of Henry Inman, the eminent artist in oil and water colors. The making of small portraits in water-colors on ivory (called miniatures) specially delighted the pupil, and in very early life he became one of the most eminent artists in this line then living. This lofty position he held until Daguerre summoned the sun to the realm of human art, and instituted him an eternal rival of artists.

Inman and Cummings were business partners for six years, when the latter abandoned the use of oils and devoted himself exclusively to the production of small portraits in water-colors. In this style of art he produced some admirable compositions, which were reproduced by some of the best engravers of that day. Among these compositions, "The Bracelet," "The Bride," and "The Exchange of Queens," were most conspicuous for the accuracy of drawing and their exquisite coloring. Equally so were his large half-length figures in Scotch costume, which had all the strength of oil-color with the delicacy of the finest water-color pictures; also "The Ariadne" and "The Lily."

Mr. Cummings was one of the earliest and most efficient coadjutors of Mr. Morse in the establishment of the National Academy of the Arts of Design. He was a general favorite with all the artists, for to his commanding talent in the profession he added an urbanity of manner and a generosity of spirit that won all hearts. During his long personal connection with the Academy as its treasurer—a period of FORTY consecutive years—he was one of the most judicious, energetic, efficient, and untiring workers in its behalf, as its annals fully attest. He was especially helpful (thanks to his early business training) when dark clouds of pecuniary embarrassment overshadowed its prospects at times. Through his skilful management for several years of property belonging to the Academy, on Broadway near Bond Street, he secured for it at its final sale more than \$60,000 above its debts, with which it provided purchase money for the site of its present home and building thereon.

The schools of the Academy were special objects of the care of Mr. Cummings, and he conducted them for several years with success, on a plan of his own. He also conducted a private school for many years. Nor were his tastes or his labors confined to art; scientific and literary bodies, as well as the benevolent institutions of the city, felt his influence. Mr. Cummings succeeded Professor Samuel F. B. Morse as professor of the arts of design in the University of the City of New York, and held that position

tutes a fellow in perpetuity, with power to bequeath its privileges for all time. The academicians and associates are limited in number to one hundred each. In 1883 its academicians numbered ninety-two, and its associates eighty-two.

The art schools of the Academy were free until 1882. They consist of an Antique and Life school. In the latter are living models, draped and nude. The schools are open to both sexes. They were the special object of Treasurer Cummings's care during his official connection with the Academy for fully forty years. At an early period he introduced a plan of his own, and conducted the instruction with great success.*

until his retirement from the city. In lectures, essays, and other literary productions on the subject of art, he contributed largely. In 1865 he completed and published an octavo volume of three hundred and sixty-four pages, entitled "Historical Annals of the National Academy of Design." This will forever remain a trustworthy history of the foundation and progress of that institution during the first forty years of its existence.

When in 1838 Professor Morse was ready to exhibit his electro-magnetic telegraph to the public, Mr. Cummings, as will be observed hereafter, was a conspicuous witness of its first public test, at the University. He had lately been commissioned a brigadier-general by Governor Seward. In military science and tactics he became very efficient. He passed rapidly through all the grades of office in the Second Regiment N. Y. S. Light Infantry, from ensign to colonel, and commanded it several years before he became a brigadier. He was regarded as one of the soundest military jurists in the country. His decisions, made by virtue of his office, though sometimes contested by the most eminent legal talent in the city, were never reversed by higher authority.

More than thirty years ago the then Governor-General of Canada, visiting General Cummings's studio, saw a beautiful small copy, in water-colors by that artist, of the portrait of Mrs. Washington, by Stuart, and said, "How my Queen would delight in such a picture of that lady!" The artist generously presented it to her Majesty, and in due time received a letter of acknowledgment, with a beautiful gold medal bearing her effigy on one side.

General and Mrs. Cummings, who were married in 1822, are yet blessed with vigorous physical and mental health, the love and reverence of their children and their children's children, and the exquisite delights of a pure and serene domestic life of more than sixty years. They have also been blessed with fourteen children. Of their five sons, only one remains. The first died in youth. T. Augustus became a painter of considerable eminence, and died at the age of thirty-five. Henry R. became an eminent lawyer, and died leaving a family. Charles P. was a partner in one of the oldest and most respected banking houses in the city, and died leaving a family. George F., the last survivor of the sons, is a broker, and enjoys a high reputation in the moneyed circles of Wall Street.

* The National Academy of Design has had seven presidents — namely: S. F. B. Morse, A. B. Durand, Daniel Huntington, H. P. Gray, W. Page, J. Q. A. Ward, and W. Whittredge. The officers in 1883 were: Daniel Huntington, president; T. W. Wood, vice-president; T. Addison Richards, corresponding secretary; H. W. Robbins, recording secretary; Alfred Jones, treasurer. These are *ex-officio* members of the council. Other members of the council are: J. G. Brown, S. J. Guy, E. Wood Perry, J. Q. A. Ward, Charles L. Brandt, and M. F. H. De Haas.

Almost contemporaneously with the founding of the National Academy of the Arts of Design was the organization of the Sketch Club, one of the brightest and most intellectual of the social institutions in the city, composed of artists and literary and scientific men. The Bread and Cheese or Lunch Club, founded by James Fenimore Cooper and others in 1824, had expired in consequence of extravagance, in the spring of 1827. It had a happy existence. The inscription on a baby's memorial stone might have been adopted as its own :

“ Since I so soon am done for,
I wonder what I was begun for.”

The Sketch Club originated in this wise : One pleasant evening in May, 1827, Messrs. Morse, Durand, Cummings, and Ingham were engaged in social chat in the Antique school-room of the National Academy, over Tylee's baths. The just defunct Lunch Club was spoken of, when Ingham remarked, “ Now is an opportunity for the artists to form a club.” The suggestion met with a hearty approval, and it was agreed that the four artists present, each a founder of the Academy, should consider themselves the nucleus of such a club. The following week a meeting of the principal artists and literary men of the city was held at the house of Mr. Ingham, where the Sketch Club was organized. Mr. Ingham was chosen president, and John Imman secretary.

At that first meeting the rules for the government of the club were discussed. The Lunch Club, at which bread and cheese were the ballots used when voting for members (hence its other name), had met fortnightly at the old Washington Hotel, corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, where they were entertained at the expense of the host for the evening. This arrangement caused a rivalry in expense, which led to the breaking up of the club. It was resolved by the Sketch Club to shun this dangerous rock, and it was agreed that the members should meet at each other's houses in rotation, and to have the expenses as light as possible. It was decreed that the entertainment on such occasions should be confined to dried fruit, crackers, milk, and honey. Candidates for membership were elected by unanimous vote only.

The first meeting of the club was at the house of Thomas Cole. Everything was pleasing, even the figs, milk, and honey. An intellectual and merry company were present. The leading artists of the city were there, and a generous sprinkling of literary men—W. C.

Bryant, R. C. Sands, G. C. Verplanck, Fitz-Greene Halleck, John Howard Payne, James Hillhouse, D. C. Colden, and others.

The club was avowedly organized for the encouragement of good feeling among the members and improvement in the art which was to be practised at its meetings, namely, off-hand sketches of any subject, either with the pen or pencil. Though the arts of design were never wholly lost sight of, they were made subservient to the social element from the beginning.

There was much genuine fun—rare mingling of wit and wisdom—at the gatherings of the club. There were funny drawings, funny essays, funny sayings, funny songs, and rollicking good-humor. These were the chief features of the entertainments, as the minutes of the club abundantly reveal.

The “figs, milk, and honey” fare was soon abandoned for more generous, though not generally extravagant refreshments. The first outbreak was at the “up-town” residence of James Hillhouse, a member, on Broadway, between Broome and Spring streets. The hour devoted to drawing had passed, and the poets and essayists had read their impromptu sketches, when the drawing-room doors were thrown open and an elegant supper appeared. There was a general protest against this violation of the rules. But artists and poets are mortal, and in less than fifteen minutes all were seated in profound harmony at the well-loaded supper-table, seemingly unconscious of any misdemeanor. After that the records show that the members did not support existence on the food of John in the wilderness. On March 25, 1830, is this record in the minutes :

“An atrocious night, but good singing and estimable oysters. Punch supernatural, and fun abundant.”

Another record was as follows : “Resumed the consideration of railroads, architecture, play-actors from Garrick and Henderson down to Kemble and Jefferson, miniature painters, and divers other matters of no less interest. At length our numbers began to diminish insensibly, and by a strange coincidence the club grew musical as it grew thin.”

“Song and instrumental music,” says Mr. John Durand,* “often occur on the pages of the Sketch Club, while there are similar notices of stories, discussions, mirth, and philosophy. We find Mr. Bryant propounding ‘a sage notion that the perfection of bathing is to jump head foremost into a snow-bank.’ Scientific inspiration shows itself on this question : ‘Does heat expand the days in summer?’ Mr.

* “Prehistoric Notes of the Century Club.”

Verplanck throws antiquarian light on 'the precise form and capacity of antediluvian butter-churns.' "

The Sketch Club was reorganized in 1841, under the title of The Artists' Sketch Club, and was really a more professional organization than the old one, retaining, however, the literary and social elements in its membership. It existed two or three years, when its members founded the now famous Century Club of New York.

THE BREAD AND CHEESE OR LUNCH CLUB has been alluded to. Its membership embraced men who were conspicuous in the world of letters, the professions, and in public life. The club met bimonthly at the Washington Hotel, and there they frequently entertained distinguished guests. To this club the late Dr. John W. Francis belonged. "Our most renowned poet" [among the members] wrote Dr. Francis, "was Fitz-Greene Halleck; our greatest naturalist was Dr. James E. De Kay; * William and John Duer were among the representatives of the bar; Renwick of philosophy; letters found an associate in Verplanck and Charles King; merchants in Charles A. Davis and Philip Hone; and politicians who had long before discharged their public trusts were here and there chronicled in fellowship. The meetings (or lunches) of the club were often swelled to quite formidable assemblies, by members of Congress † and other distinguished public men.

Dr. Francis relates the following circumstance in connection with the Bread and Cheese Club. A theatrical benefit had been announced at the Park Theatre; the play was *Hamlet*. A subordinate of the theatre came in haste to Dr. Francis's office for a skull, and he was compelled to lend that of his old friend George Frederick Cooke, the actor. "Alas, poor Yorick!" It was returned in the morning. The ensuing evening there was a meeting of the Bread and Cheese Club. The circumstance became known to the members, and a general desire was expressed to investigate phrenologically the skull of the eminent actor. It was taken to the club by Dr. Francis. Daniel Webster, Henry Wheaton, the eminent writer on the "Law of Nations," and other distinguished persons were present, and joined in the investigation in accordance with the teachings of craniological science.

* A pleasant anecdote is related of Halleck and De Kay. They were both smitten by the charms of a young lady, and both paid court to her. Their rivalry was warm, but good-natured. Halleck, doubtful and impulsive, said to her one day, "Tell me, please, would you rather have Fitz or go to De Kay?" "Go to De Kay," was the reply. Fitz remained a bachelor.

† "Old New York," by John W. Francis, M.D., p. 291.

“Cooper,” says Francis, “felt as a coadjutor of Albinus, and Cooke enacted a great part that night.”

Club life had not then become so conspicuous a social feature in New York City as it was a few years later, and is now. There had been now and then a club in the city since colonial times. About 1750 there was a convivial club of which John Bard, Cadwallader D. Colden, Leonard Cutting, and others were members, and they were occasionally honored by the presence of men like Dr. Franklin and Chief-Justice Chew, of Philadelphia, and other distinguished persons from abroad.

In 1776 the Social Club was created in New York, composed of leading Tories, such as President Miles Cooper, of King's College, Lieutenant-Governor Colden, Dr. Clossy, and after possession of the city was gained by the British, it was swelled by army officers, among them Sir Henry Clinton and General Robertson.

After the peace no other social club appeared until the Tammany Society or Columbian Order arose, in 1789. The Belvidere Club was organized on the arrival of “Citizen” Genet, the Girondist of the French Revolution. It was vehement in the promotion of democratic doctrines. One of its members, a bookseller named Reed, had the head of Thomas Paine painted on his sign. At about the same time The Friendly Club sprang up, under the leadership of General Laight.

A literary club called the Drones, a society for the cultivation and diffusion of letters, appeared about 1792. Every member was to be recognized by proofs of authorship before admission. Among the members the famous Dr. Mitchill was conspicuous. The last survivor of the Drones was the late Chancellor Samuel Jones. Law, medicine, and divinity had each their representatives among the Drones. Samuel Miller, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, John Blair Lewis, Charles Brockden Brown, and John Wells were members of the club. Through the medium of the club Dr. Mitchill addressed the ladies on the value of whitewashing as among the most important of the hygienic arts in housekeeping, and showing that the alkalies are powerful conservators of health.

Of club life in New York more will be said hereafter, but before leaving the topic let us notice three social-benevolent institutions characterized by the features of separate nationalities—namely, the St. George's Society, the St. Andrew's Society, and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, or St. Patrick's Society. These still flourishing associations were in existence before 1830.

THE ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY was established in the city of New York in the year 1786. There had already existed a similar society with

similar aims before the old war for independence. That war had caused the dismemberment of the British Empire. Native Englishmen who had determined to make the city of New York their permanent home could not repress their affectionate remembrance of their native land and people, and their hearts yearned to give aid and assistance to those in distress who should come to our shores. Out of this desire arose the St. George's Society, three years after the peace between the United States and Great Britain.

The most prominent man in the organization of the St. George's Society was John Wilkes, "a true-born Englishman, with a heart full of kindness, and abounding in all the social affections, whose worth, justly appreciated as it was by numerous and respectable connections, soon created subscribers to the constitution." Englishmen of character coming to New York almost without exception became members, either permanent or honorary, according as their residence was either fixed or transient. The Rev. Dr. Moore, afterward bishop of the Diocese of New York, was also an early, efficient and cheerful member, personally assisting in all the work of the Charitable Committee.

The first president of the society was Goldsbrov Banyer, an Englishman by birth, and an active public man. The seal it adopted bore the expressive motto, "Let mercy be our boast, and shame our only fear," and is indicative of its long career of usefulness.

During the prevalence of the yellow fever in New York in 1822, the records of the society were hastily removed to a place above Canal Street. Their "Book of Minutes" was lost, and has never been recovered, so that the detailed history from Mr. Banyer's election to the presidency until 1824 is known only in vague recollection. It is known that until that time Mr. Banyer had six successors, and that the good work of the society went steadily on.

The present charter of the society was granted by the Legislature of New York in March, 1838. Its constitution declares the object of the society to be to "afford relief and advice to indigent natives of England and the British colonies, or to their wives, widows, or children in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and to promote social intercourse among its members. The property and income of the society can only be expended in charity. The persons eligible to membership are: a native of England, a son of a native, a grandson of a native, British officers and their sons wherever born, natives of any of the colonies, territories, or dependencies of Great Britain.

The society had, in 1882, nearly one hundred pensioners, who were paid monthly. Aid had been afforded to 1846 transients; 3662 meal

and 1223 lodging tickets had been distributed ; 15 situations had been procured ; 18 had been aided in getting to this country, and 174 to return to England.*

THE ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY of the State of New York was instituted in the city of New York in November, 1756, and is one of the oldest existing benevolent societies in the State or in the Republic. Several gentlemen, natives of Scotland and of Scottish descent, met and agreed to form themselves into a society for charitable purposes. They adopted a constitution, and elected Philip Livingston president, Dr. Adam Thompson vice-president, Malcolm Campbell treasurer, Richard Morris secretary, and David Johnston, Alexander Colden, Dr. James Murray, and Dr. William Farquhar, assistants.

The objects of the society were the promotion of social and friendly intercourse among the natives of Scotland in America, their connections and descendants, the relief of the worthy distressed, and finding employment for the industrious poor. In this work the society continued until the war for independence broke out. Then the public meetings of the society were suspended, and its work was done more by independent individual action than by the organized society. Its records from 1775 to 1784 are lost.

When peace came the work of the society was revived in all its wonted vigor. Its former constitution was revised and amended, and from that time until now it has never flagged in the faithful performance of its prescribed duties. The duties of the managers became more and more arduous as the city rapidly increased in population, for the objects of their care were scattered over a large and continually widening space. To relieve them an almoner was appointed in 1841, and that measure has proved very beneficial. The almoner visits in person every applicant, and reports to the managers. By that means all frauds are prevented and money most judiciously distributed.

The administration of the charities of the St. Andrew's Society is similar to that of the St. George's Society. During the year ending November, 1882, 3138 applications were attended to and favors bestowed, and in 92 cases aid had been afforded to persons to reach some other part of the country. The number of the members of the society, honorary, life, and resident, is 357. The anniversary dinner has always been regularly held, excepting during the Civil War. This

* The officers of St. George's Society for 1882 were : F. W. J. Hurst, president ; Edward Hill and Richard J. Cortis, vice-presidents ; John G. Dale, treasurer, and Alexander E. Tucker and F. G. Richardson, secretaries.



Edwards Purrapont

dinner is partaken of on St. Andrew's day, when each member appears with a St. Andrew's cross or a thistle displayed on the left breast. None but Scotsmen and the sons and grandsons of a native of Scotland, or the sons of a resident member, may be admitted as such.*

THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK is one of the old social-benevolent institutions of the city. It appears to be the successor of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick, which existed previous to the old war for independence. Like other similar organizations, its work and its records appear to have suffered from the confusion of the war of the Revolution. It reappeared after that event, and was reorganized in 1784.

According to Hardie, there was a society in New York "composed chiefly of natives of Ireland," formed in 1815, called the Shamrock Friendly Association. Its object was to befriend Irish emigrants on their arrival in the United States by giving them useful information and procuring them employment. Their views and benevolent offices were "not confined to country, politics, or religion," said Hardie, who wrote in 1826; "it is enough that the applicant is a *stranger* to insure him protection."

This was probably the old society of Irishmen bearing a new name, and which was finally incorporated by act of the Legislature of New York, passed February 13, 1827, with its present title (1784) of The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. This title appears to be the one it assumed at its reorganization in 1784. It proposed to celebrate its centennial anniversary on the 17th of March, 1884.

In compliance with one of its by-laws, adopted in 1832, the members of the society meet in social intercourse at dinner on St. Patrick's day, each year, "the anniversary of Ireland's tutelal saint," as the law expresses it. These dinners have always afforded the most pleasant, witty, and agreeable social gatherings of the kind in the city. Perfect harmony prevails at these dinners, as well as at the meetings of the society. This is due to the fact that the association is composed of different religious denominations and of different political views. At the meetings of every kind the subjects of religion and politics are never discussed, only the charitable and social objects of the society. To this feature is due the long and healthful life of the association.

* The officers of the St. Andrew's Society for 1883 are: Walter Watson, president; Bryce Gray and James Fraser, vice-presidents; J. Kennedy Tod, treasurer; Walter C. Brand, secretary, and William Gordon, assistant secretary; John Paton, William A. Paton, John Mackay, Thomas Henderson, Jr., Robert H. Robertson, and William Lyall, managers.

Out of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick grew the present Irish Emigrant Society and the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, now one of the largest savings institutions in the city. Prior to the organization of these institutions the St. Patrick's Society, commonly so called, was very active in extending charitable aid to indigent persons of the Irish race in the city, especially in aiding emigrants upon their arrival in this country in finding employment. That duty is now discharged by the commissioners of emigration, of which the president of the Irish Emigrant Society is one.*

THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, founded in 1814, was composed of scientific and literary gentlemen. Among its founders were De Witt Clinton, Dr. Hosack, Dr. Mitchill, Dr. Macneven, Dr. Francis, Dr. Griscom, and others. Francis had just returned from Europe, and brought with him much knowledge of scientific facts and current history of philosophy abroad, derived from acute observation. Clinton was chosen the first president of the society. It gathered a valuable library, and flourished for many years among the useful institutions of New York City.

THE LYCEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY was also a flourishing institution at the time we are considering. In its origin it was a private association of young gentlemen who held meetings occasionally in one of the lecture-rooms of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. It was incorporated by an act of the Legislature passed April 20, 1818, and was furnished by the city authorities with a suite of apartments in the New York Institution. It soon formed quite an extensive cabinet, and before the year 1830 no collection in the country was richer in the departments of herpetology and ichthyology. It had gathered an extensive collection of fossils from Europe, nearly a whole skeleton of a mastodon, and large portions of the only North American specimen of the megatherium which had hitherto been discovered. It had recently established a new department of comparative anatomy, and was rich in cranial illustrations of ethnology. The presidents of the institution down to 1827 were Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill and Dr. John Torrey.

The Lyceum of Natural History is now situated on Madison Avenue, and besides a good library has a collection of more than three thousand specimens of plants.

THE NEW YORK ATHENÆUM, alluded to in connection with the New

* The officers of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick for 1882-83 were : Charles P. Daly, president ; John Savage, first vice-president ; Robert Sewell, second vice-president ; William Whiteside, treasurer ; John McK. McCarthy, secretary ; Eugene Kelly, almoner ; R. A. Caldwell, M.D., physician.

York Historical Society, was founded on the first of June, 1824. Until that time New York was probably the only city of equal size in the world in which an association for the promotion of the highest cultivation in science, art, and literature combined might not be found. For the noble purpose of creating such an institution, and with the laudable ambition to make it the leading society of the kind, distinguished members of the professions, of the arts, and of literature in the city associated, under the title of The New York Athenæum.

The association consisted of resident and honorary members, the former divided into four classes, namely—associates, patrons, governors, and subscribers. From these classes the funds for carrying on the society were derived. It was decreed that \$200 constituted a patron, \$100 a governor, \$5 an associate, \$20 and \$10 a subscriber, the latter class being divided into two kinds. The \$20 contributors were entitled to tickets of admission to the lectures, library, and reading-room for himself and family; the \$10 subscribers were entitled to these privileges for himself only. The patrons and governors were each entitled to three transferable tickets of admission to the lectures, the library, and the reading-room, and other tickets for the members of their families. The patrons constituted a board, and had absolute control of the funds of the association, no part of which could be appropriated without their sanction.

The library was to comprise, when complete, all the standard elementary works of science and literature of every civilized nation, ancient and modern. Monthly lectures were to be given, open to both sexes. The Athenæum was fully equipped for operations in 1826, and arranged the following scheme of lectures for that year: Roman Literature, Professor Charles Anthon; Phrenology, Dr. Charles King; Taste and Beauty, Professor John McVickar; The Revival of Classical Literature, Richard Ray; Chemistry, Professor James Renwick; Commerce, John Hone, Jr.; Painting, Samuel F. B. Morse; Political Economy, William Beach Lawrence; Poetry, William Cullen Bryant; Oriental Literature, the Rev. John Frederick Schroeder; Anniversary Discourse, the Rev. James M. Mathews, D.D.

After engaging for more than twenty years in its useful labors, and accomplishing a vast amount of social benefit by infusing the hard materialism of purely commercial life with the spirituality and amenities of intellectual culture and taste, the institution was merged into the New York Society Library in 1838, which became the recipient of its collection of valuable books.

CHAPTER IX.

AMONG the more important institutions in our country founded for the diffusion of religious knowledge and the principles of Christianity, and the spiritual enlightenment of mankind, which may claim the city of New York as the place of their nativity previous to the year 1830, are the American Bible Society, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the New York Bible Society.

The first Bible society in the United States was instituted at Philadelphia in 1808. Others were instituted the next year in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. These local societies rapidly increased and were necessarily feeble, working under serious disadvantages. At the head of the New Jersey Bible Society was the earnest patriot and Christian, Elias Boudinot, of Burlington, and in 1815 that society proposed a plan for a National Bible Society, and notice was given of a convention to be held in the city of New York on the 8th of May, 1816, to consider the plan.

The convention assembled at the appointed time in the consistory room of the Reformed Dutch Church, in Garden Street, New York. It was composed of delegates from thirty-five local Bible societies, besides four representatives from the Society of Friends or Quakers, making sixty in all. The convention was organized by the appointment of Joshua M. Wallace, a delegate from the New Jersey Bible Society, as president, and the Rev. J. B. Romeyn, D.D., and the Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D., secretaries. After full and free discussion the committee.

“*Resolved*, That it is expedient to establish, without delay, a general Bible institution for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment.”

A constitution was then adopted, and an address to the people of the United States was ordered to be printed and sent out into all parts of the Republic; executive officers were chosen, an energetic board of managers were appointed, and the AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY began its useful and wonderful career of benevolence.*

* The following gentlemen, sixty in number, were members of the convention which formed the American Bible Society, to wit: Rev. John Bassett, D.D., Bushwick, N. Y.;

The constitution of the society was drawn by an able committee, composed of the Rev. Drs. Nott, Mason, Beecher, Rice, Morse, and Blythe, the Rev. Messrs. Wilmur and Jones, the Hon. Messrs. Samuel Bayard and William Jay, and Mr. Charles Wright. The powerful address to the people of the United States was written by the Rev. Dr. John Mason, and was sent out, with the constitution, to every part of the country. The Hon. Elias Boudinot was elected the first president of the society. Its affairs are managed by executive officers and a board of managers, the latter consisting of thirty-six laymen, one fourth of whom go out of office each year, but are re-eligible. Since its organization it has had nine presidents and one hundred and fourteen vice-presidents. The presidents were elected in the following order of time: Elias Boudinot, 1816; John Jay, 1821; Richard Varick, 1828; John Cotton Smith, 1831; Theodore Frelinghuysen, 1846; Luther Bradish, 1862; James Lenox, 1864; William H. Allen, LL.D., 1872, and S. Wells Williams, LL.D., 1881.

At the outset the society encountered the strong opposition of Bishop John Henry Hobart, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who was the

Samuel Bayard, Princeton, N. J.; Rev. Lyman Beecher, secretary of the convention, Litchfield, Conn.; Thomas J. Biggs, Nassau Hall, Princeton, N. J.; Rev. Samuel Blatchford, D.D., Lansingburg, N. Y.; Rev. James Blythe, D.D., Lexington, Ky.; Rev. David S. Bogart, Long Island, N. Y.; Rev. John M. Bradford, D.D., Albany, N. Y.; William Burd, Lynchburg, Va.; John E. Caldwell, New York; Levi Callender, Catskill, N. Y.; Rev. John Chester, Albany, N. Y.; Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Chambersburg, Penn.; Rev. Eli F. Cooley, Cooperstown, N. Y.; James Fenimore Cooper, Cooperstown, N. Y.; Orrin Day, Catskill, N. Y.; Thomas Eddy, New York; Henry Ford, Cayuga County, N. Y.; Rev. Robert Forrest, Delaware County, N. Y.; John Griscom, New York; Rev. James Hall, D.D., Statesville, N. C.; Rev. J. P. K. Henshaw, Baltimore, Md.; Joseph C. Hornblower, Newark, N. J.; Rev. Heman Humphrey, Fairfield, Conn.; William Jay, Bedford, N. Y.; Rev. David Jones, Newark, N. J.; Rev. Isaac Lewis, D.D., Greenwich, Conn.; General John Linklaen, Cazenovia, N. Y.; Rev. John McDowell, Elizabethtown, N. J.; Rev. John M. Mason, D.D., New York; Rev. Philip Milledoler, D.D., New York; Rev. Jedediah Morse, D.D., Charlestown, Mass.; Valentine Mott, M.D., New York; William C. Mulligan, New York; John Murray, Jr., New York; Rev. John Neil, D.D., Albany, N. Y.; Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D.D., Schenectady, N. Y.; Rev. Andrew Oliver, Springfield, N. Y.; Isaac W. Platt, Nassau Hall, Princeton, N. J.; Rev. Alexander Proudfit, D.D., Salem, N. Y.; Rev. John H. Rice, Richmond, Va.; Rev. James Richards, D.D., Newark, N. J.; Rev. John B. Romeyn, D.D., secretary of the convention, New York; Joshua Sands, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. Gilbert H. Sayres, Jamaica, N. Y.; Robert Sedgwick, New York; Ichabod Skinner, Connecticut; Rev. Samuel Spring, D.D., Newburyport, Mass.; Rev. Gardiner Spring, New York; General Joseph G. Swift, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Rev. N. W. Taylor, New Haven, Conn.; Adrian Van Sinderen, Newtown, N. Y.; Guysbert B. Vroom, New York; Joshua M. Wallace, president of the convention, Burlington, N. J.; Henry W. Warner, New York; Rev. John Williams, New York; William Williams, Vernon, N. Y.; Rev. Simon Wilmur, Swedesboro', N. J.; Rev. George S. Woodhull, Cranberry, N. J.; Charles Wright, Flushing, N. Y.

recognized head of the High Church party. In a pastoral letter, dated April 3, 1815, on Bible and Prayer-book societies, the bishop warned Episcopalians against deserting the separate management of their respective concerns, to unite with those who did not value the apostolic and primitive characteristics of their church.

The bishop was answered by William Jay, of Bedford, also an earnest Episcopalian, who took the ground that it was the interest and the duty of churchmen to unite with others in the distribution of the Bible. Mr. Jay was one of the most active members of the American Bible Society. The controversy thus opened was vigorously renewed the next year by the same gentlemen.

The society is strictly unsectarian, and issues the Scriptures in all languages, without note or comment. For twenty-five years after its organization it prosecuted its work without being incorporated, with great inconvenience, and often at the imminent peril of its highest interests. On March 25, 1841, the Legislature of the State of New York granted it a charter, and by special acts afterward gave it permission to buy, hold, and convey real estate. It is legally qualified to guard every trust committed to it. It has on its register about two thousand auxiliary societies.

During the earlier years of its life the American Bible Society was migratory, first occupying a room in the City Hospital; then in the City Hall; then a place in the rooms of the New York Historical Society; then in the office of its agent, corner of Nassau and Cedar streets; then a room seven by nine feet square, in the printing-office in Cliff Street; then in a room twenty feet square, in the rear of the Merchants' Exchange; and after other removals it settled down in a building of its own in Nassau, near Beekman Street. The operations of the society increased rapidly. More room was necessary. Land was purchased at Eighth Street, between Third and Fourth avenues, and there the corner-stone of the present Bible House was laid, on June 29, 1852. The edifice, built of brick, six stories in height, and occupying a whole square, was completed and occupied the following year. The funds for the erection of this imposing structure were free-will offerings of friends of the institution. Not a dollar raised for publication and distribution of the Scriptures was invested in it.

The working force at the Bible House is divided into executive and manufacturing. About three hundred persons are employed. The motive power is a sixty-horse power engine, which moves presses that print about two million Bibles a year. There is also a Bible for the blind, printed in raised letters.

The total receipts of the society to the close of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1882, were \$20,399,000, of which amount \$3,400,000 were bequests from more than three thousand persons. The total number of volumes issued by the society to the same date was 40,407,584. A large proportion of these were distributed among the soldiers of the army and seamen; in hotels, railways, and steamboats, criminal and humane institutions, immigrants, and among the destitute poor. The society has circulated the Bible in more than eighty different languages and dialects.*

New York City is the birthplace of the MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the United States.

One Sunday in the year 1816, Marcus Lindsay was preaching in Marietta, Ohio, when a colored man named Stewart was converted. While praying in the fields afterward Stewart heard a voice, like that of a woman, calling to him from the north-west to preach the gospel. He obeyed. With a knapsack he travelled along roads and through the woods until he came upon some Delaware Indians who were preparing for a dance. He captivated them by singing a hymn, and then he preached to them. He went on farther toward the north-west until he reached Upper Sandusky (now Fremont), where the voice that seemed to call him forward ceased.

At the house of the agent of the Wyandots at Sandusky, Stewart met Pointer, a backsliding Methodist Indian, whom he had known in Kentucky. The evangelist said to him :

“ To-morrow I must preach to these Indians, and you must interpret.”

“ How can I, without religion, interpret a sermon ?” said Pointer, bursting into tears.

After a night of prayer, Pointer was on hand the next day, when Stewart preached. The congregation consisted of one old squaw. Stewart preached faithfully. The next day a man came with the squaw. The following day eight or ten were there, and soon they were listening in crowds. There were many conversions. This extraordinary occurrence was noised abroad. The Church throughout the land was deeply stirred. The harvest among the barbarians of the forest seemed waiting for the sickle, and the “ protracted meeting” at Upper San-

* The president of the American Bible Society is S. L. Williams, LL.D., of New Haven, Conn., assisted by thirty-two vice-presidents in various States of the Republic. Its secretaries are the Rev. Drs. Edward W. Gilman, Alexander McLean, and Albert S. Hunt; its assistant treasurer is Andrew L. Taylor, and its general agent is Caleb T. Rowe. It has thirty-four managers.

dusky led to the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church three years later.

An enterprising young merchant in New York City (Gabriel P. Disosway) went to the Rev. Nathan Bangs* and pleaded for the immediate organization of a missionary society such as other denominations had formed. Mr. Bangs was cautious. He conferred with the Rev. Joshua Soule. The project was favorably considered. Men at the West pleaded. The matter could not be postponed. Local missionary societies were springing up.

New York City then constituted one circuit. The preacher in charge met the preachers in weekly conference. At one of these meetings the Rev. Nathan Bangs, Freeborn Garrettson, Samuel Merwin, Joshua Soule, Thomas Marvin, Laban Clark, Seth Crowell, Samuel Howe, and Thomas Thorpe were present. It was resolved to form a missionary society. A committee (Clark, Bangs, and Garrettson) drafted a constitution, which was subsequently submitted to a public meeting of the church and friends of missions in the Forsyth Street meeting-house on the evening of April 5, 1819. The house was filled. The Rev. Nathan Bangs was called to the chair, and Francis Hall was appointed secretary. On motion of Freeborn Garrettson, it was

“*Resolved*, That it is expedient for this meeting to form a Missionary and Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America.”

The constitution was amended and adopted, subscriptions were received, and the new-born society elected its officers. They chose Bishop William McKendree president, Bishop Enoch George first vice-president, Bishop Robert T. Roberts second vice-president, the Rev. Nathan Bangs, New York Conference, third vice-president, Francis Hall clerk, Daniel Ayres recording secretary, Thomas Mason corresponding secretary, the Rev. Joshua Soule treasurer. Thirty-two managers

* Nathan Bangs, D.D., was born at Stamford, Conn., May 2, 1778, and died in New York City May 1, 1862. He began business life as a schoolmaster and land surveyor. In 1801, at the age of twenty-three, he entered the Methodist ministry as an itinerant. In this pursuit he travelled seven years in Canada. In 1808 he returned to the United States and had charge of circuits, stations, and districts until 1820, when he was appointed agent and editor of the Methodist Book Concern in the city of New York. He was for five years editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, and also editor of the books issued from the Concern for several years. He served as corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society 1836-41, was president of the Wesleyan University at Middletown 1841-43, and for ten years afterward was pastor of Methodist churches in New York City and Brooklyn. Dr. Bangs wrote several valuable books, among them a “History of the Methodist Church” and a “History of Missions.”

were chosen, of whom twenty-six were citizens of New York, three were citizens of Brooklyn, and three were citizens of Westchester.*

The society encountered opposition from the beginning, especially from Methodists who were friends of the American Bible Society, because of its Bible feature. It was also opposed because it was believed that it would attempt to labor in a foreign field when, it was argued, the rapidly increasing population in our own country would demand more money and laborers than the church could supply. The society had a long and persistent struggle with prejudice, ignorance, and misapprehension, but brave souls were in the forefront of the battle. Auxiliary societies were formed in various cities, and three months after the organization of the parent society a Female Auxiliary Society was formed in the city of New York, of which Mrs. Mary W. Mason was chosen president. She held that office during the entire existence of the society, a period of almost half a century. It seems to have antedated all other missionary organizations of women in the land.

The General Conference gave the enterprise its countenance and moral support. It steadily overcame obstacles, and soon became a cherished institution of the church. Its missions spread all over the United States and beyond on the American continent, and the banner of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was seen in time on every continent and on many islands of the sea. Its harvests have been rich and marvellous; its ripe and gathered sheaves have been abundant—tenfold more abundant than was ever dreamed of by its founders.

This aggressive missionary society has flourishing stations in Africa; in Japan, China, and India in Asia; in Germany and Switzerland; in Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden); in Italy; in Bulgaria and Turkey; in Mexico and South America, and all over the domains of our Republic where missions are needed, and among the Indian tribes. Everywhere special attention is given to the establishment of week-day and Sabbath schools for the instruction of adults and the young, especially for the latter.

The annual receipts of the society from voluntary contributions and apportionments seem to be adequate to meet all demands upon the treasury. Its work, however, is continually extended in proportion to the means afforded. Some idea of the extent of this work may be formed by the fact that the appropriations for 1883 for carrying on the

* "Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church," by Rev. John M. Reid, D.D., LL.D.

enterprise were about \$778,000. Of this amount nearly one half was appropriated to foreign missions. The largest amount of contributions to the treasury of the society, in one year, was in 1881, when the amount was \$691,666.*

The best service which this great missionary society is doing for the cause of Christianity and true religion, for the spread of rational and enlightened civilization and good living throughout the world, is done by the influence of its numerous schools for the sound education of the heads and hearts of the young. This sweetening and strengthening the fountains of life is truly a divine service.

The present NEW YORK BIBLE SOCIETY had its origin in the year 1822, and at its organization, in the fall of 1823, it took the name of "The Young Men's Bible Society."

During the prevalence of the yellow fever in the city of New York, in the summer of 1822, many residents and business men below Beekman Street fled from the pestilence to the country beyond the rivers or to the sparsely inhabited region on the island above Canal Street. On their return advantage was taken of an extraordinary religious revival which had occurred early in the year, beginning in the Brick (Presbyterian) Church, of which the late Dr. Spring was pastor, to enlist young men of the city in the cause of a wider spread of the Bible.

There then existed in the city a "New York Bible Society," which had been formed in 1819 by the union of two similar associations. That society strongly favored the idea of a kindred association, as an auxiliary or otherwise, composed of young men, and was active in the formation of the new association. Already other societies were actively engaged in the same work, notably the American Bible Society, The Auxiliary Female Bible Society, The Marine Bible Society, and The Young Ladies' Bible Society, all laboring vigorously in the city of New York. Yet there appeared to be a special work of usefulness for young men to do, and at a meeting held in a school-room in Thames Street, on September 22, 1823, the Young Men's Bible Society was formed, with Horatio Gillet as president; Anthony P.

* The officers of the society (1883) are: the Rev. Bishop Matthew Simpson, D.D., president; Bishops Bowman, Harris, Foster, Wiley, Merrill, Andrews, Peck, Warren, Foss, and Hunt, and the Rev. Drs. Crawford, Curry, and Wise, and Messrs. G. L. Fancher, J. H. Taft, Oliver Hoyt, H. W. Forrester, and George J. Ferry, vice-presidents; John M. Reid and Charles Fowler, corresponding secretaries; J. M. Phillips, treasurer; J. M. Waldron, assistant treasurer; James N. Fitzgerald, recording secretary, and David Terry, emeritus recording secretary.



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Halsey, George Colgate, John Neilson, Jr, Louis King, Henry Bennett, and John Sands, vice-presidents ; Frederick Bull, corresponding secretary ; George A. Bartow, recording secretary, and Silas M. Butler, treasurer. There was a board of managers appointed.

In October the president and secretary were authorized to purchase one hundred Bibles for distribution, and in November the store of J. P. Havens was made the "repository" of the Bibles.

At the outset the new association found little to do. The field was already filled with laborers, and it was compelled for some time to "stand in the market-place all the day, idle," because it could not find legitimate employment. So late as the close of March, 1824, there had been only *one* Bible "distributed."

Wearied with the irksomeness of enforced inactivity, the society, in May following, offered to supply the Sabbath-schools of the city with Bibles, for prizes, a labor hitherto performed by the elder society, to which the tender of the personal services of the board was made. These proposals were acceded to, and the Young Men's Bible Society began its work, which has never since ceased. The *methods* of performing its labors were defective, and were soon afterward modified.

The society worked in harmony with cognate institutions. It engaged in the good work of supplying destitute families with the Scriptures, and in 1830 it began the service of supplying the humane and criminal institutions with Bibles and Testaments. The same year the society sent two thousand Testaments for Sabbath-schools to be formed in the Western States, and at the beginning of 1831 fully three thousand Testaments were forwarded to St. Louis. Soon after this the Young Ladies' New York Bible Society relieved it of the burden of supplying the Sunday-schools of the city with Bibles.

The sphere and influence of the Young Men's Bible Society rapidly expanded in all directions. In the summer of 1831 the New York City Bible Society surrendered its field of operations to it, and in 1840 the Marine Bible Society turned its work over to the vigorous association which was then supplying seamen, soldiers in garrisons, and the city hotels with the Scriptures. Finally the "Parent Society," as it was called—the New York Bible Society—gave up its work and its name to its younger coadjutor, and it has since been known as the New York Bible Society. During the Civil War its labors were immense and salutary. Its means were adequate to its wants, for its energy and good judgment were proverbial, and contributions to the society were generous.

The work of the New York Bible Society* still goes vigorously on in the distribution of the Scriptures among the destitute of the city, the arriving immigrants at Castle Garden, the seamen who go from the port of New York, and in other fields. During the eleven months ending August 31, 1882, the society distributed in the homes of the city, among the immigrants at Castle Garden, and among the shipping, 125,935 copies of the Scriptures—Bibles, Testaments, and parts of the Bible. Forty-two of the benevolent and criminal institutions of the city, 23 Sunday-schools, and 17 missions were supplied. †

An active and powerful auxiliary of the society above mentioned in the diffusion of religious knowledge and evangelical Christian principles is the AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY in the city of New York, undenominational in its character. It was founded in 1825, with a view to uniting local tract societies which had sprung up, in one national institution. The New England Tract Society, which had been founded at Amherst, was then located at Boston, with the name of the American Tract Society. It united with the New York National Society as a branch of that institution, and that union continued until 1859, when the hesitancy of the society to publish tracts on slavery caused the Boston branch to withdraw and resume its independent position for some years.

For the first two years of the existence of the American Tract Society only tracts were published, for adults and children. In the third year volumes appeared, and in the fourth year systematic tract distribution was begun. The colportage system was adopted in 1841. That system has been the mainspring which has kept the work of the society in successful operation. From that time to 1875, a period of thirty-four years, the colporteurs had distributed 10,500,000 copies of its publications, of which number 2,780,000 were given away.

The publication of periodicals devoted to the cause of the society was the next step in its progress. The *American Messenger* was first published, then a paper similar to the *Messenger* in the German language. In 1852 the publication of *The Child's Paper* was begun. These were

* The officers of the society for the year ending September 1, 1882, were : Morris Budlong, president ; Daniel J. Holden, Alfred Neilson, vice-presidents ; James Kydd, corresponding secretary ; W. M. Williams, recording secretary ; Joseph A. Welch, treasurer. It has six agents, namely, Alexander Watson, John S. Pierson, William G. Jones, K. W. Kraemer, Ernst Jackson, W. H. R. Neilson, and forty-eight managers.

† Mr. Pierson, one of the agents, writes : " This report (1882) does not show the present work of the society fairly, as there has been a temporary relaxation of work in some departments, pending proposed changes."

all published monthly. *The Child's Paper* was handsomely illustrated from the beginning. It now has a circulation of nearly one hundred and eighty thousand monthly. In 1871 three new periodicals were added to those already mentioned—the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, the *German People's Friend*, a small weekly, and the *Morning Light*, for beginners. The society also publishes an illustrated paper in the Spanish language, called the *Star of Bethlehem*.

The operations of the American Tract Society are now immense in volume and far-reaching and salutary in their influence. The whole number of distinct publications issued by the society in 1882 were 6574, of which 1448 were bound volumes, the remainder paper-covered books, tracts, leaflets, cards, and handbills. The whole number issued at foreign stations, approved by the society's Publication Committee, was 4321, of which 686 were bound volumes. These various publications may be classed under the heads of expository, Christian evidences, biography, narratives for young people, narratives for children, stories for young children, awakening and conversion, consolation, and Christian edification. The books and tracts are printed in the English, German, French, and Spanish languages.

The American Tract Society possesses a spacious brick building, five stories in height, on the corner of Nassau and Spruce streets, New York. When the society was formed Spruce Street was a narrow lane. On the site of the Tract House was a miserable old wooden tavern, and opposite it, on the site of the New York *Times* building, was a one-story wooden lecture-room belonging to the Brick Church on Beekman Street. This was replaced by a neat brick edifice a few years afterward. The Tract Society and the New York *Observer* were the pioneers of the printing establishments which have since given the open space in that neighborhood the name of Printing-House Square. The society is governed by a board of directors, elected annually.*

One of the latest and best organizations in the city of New York for promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people of the city, especially of the poor, is that of the NEW YORK CITY MISSION AND TRACT SOCIETY, organized in 1827.

The germ of this institution was planted (as is frequently the case)

* The officers for 1882-83 are : Hon. William Strong, LL.D., of Philadelphia, president; Rt. Rev. Benjamin B. Smith, D.D., LL.D., of New York City, vice-president, with fifty-one honorary vice-presidents; Rev. J. M. Stevenson, D.D., corresponding secretary, with colportage; Rev. William W. Rand, publishing secretary; Rev. G. L. Shearer, financial secretary; Samuel E. Warner, assistant secretary; Rev. Thomas Armitage, D.D., recording secretary; O. R. Kingsbury, treasurer.

by a woman. A woman's mind conceived its plan, and a woman's hand began the good work. Dr. Adam Clarke said, in substance : " In all benevolent works one woman is equal to seven men and a half."

The incipient step in the formation of this society was taken by the noble wife of Divie Bethune, the daughter of the sainted Isabella Graham, in the year 1822. The organization was completed by the adoption of a constitution and the appointment of officers, at a public meeting held at the Brick Church chapel, on the site of the New York *Times* building, March 25, 1822. This, it is believed, was the first step in organized woman's work in city missions, and in the work of distributing religious tracts.

This association of women went on quietly and unostentatiously, doing a vast amount of good labor, and working with the American Tract Society until 1827, when men, perceiving their good deeds and appreciating their influence, resolved to form a City Tract Society on the same plan. Accordingly, the following notice appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*, of which the good Francis Hall was proprietor, on the 19th of February, 1827 :

" A public meeting will be held at the City Hotel this evening, at 7½ o'clock, for the purpose of forming a New York City Tract Society, for the supply of our seamen, our humane and criminal institutions, and for other local tract operations in this city. Several addresses will be delivered. A general attendance of all who are friendly to the object is requested."

A large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen convened on the specified evening. The venerable Colonel Richard Varick,* the president of the American Bible Society, and then seventy-five years of age, presided, and the Rev. W. A. Hallock was chosen secretary. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Somers and Monteith, and by the Rev.

* Richard Varick was born in Hackensack, N. J., in March, 1753, and died in Jersey City, N. J., in July, 1831. He was a lawyer practising in New York City when the old war for independence began. He entered the military service as captain in Macdougall's regiment, joined the Northern army under General Schuyler, and became that officer's secretary. He was afterward deputy muster-master-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. After the capture of Burgoyne, Varick was acting inspector-general at West Point, where he remained until after the treason of Arnold, when he became a member of General Washington's military family, and was his recording secretary until near the close of the war. After the British evacuated the city of New York, in 1783, Colonel Varick was appointed recorder. He assisted in the revision of the State laws. He was Speaker of the Assembly in 1787. In 1789 he was appointed attorney-general of the State, and subsequently mayor of New York. Colonel Varick was one of the founders of the American Bible Society, and succeeded John Jay as its president.

Drs. Milnor, Knox, Spring, Brodhead, and Macaulay. The participants were persons of various religious denominations. A constitution was read, adopted, and numerously signed by ministers and laymen.

The officers of the society chosen for the first year were : Zachariah Lewis, president ; the Revs. John Stanford, Cave Jones, and Henry Chase, Drs. John Neilson and John Stearns, and Messrs. Thomas Stokes, Gerard Beekman, and Arthur Tappan, vice-presidents ; Gerard Halleck, corresponding secretary ; Oliver E. Cobb, recording secretary, and Ralph Beekman, treasurer. Seventy directors were chosen. Among them appeared many names whose bearers have been conspicuous in every good work in the city until our day.

Perceiving, from actual observation, the pressing need of woman's influence and woman's work in their operations, the society founded by Mrs. Bethune was made an "annex" of the society just formed. Instead of the two sexes laboring together—instead of joining forces as one family on an equal footing as to duties and privileges—the women's society was permitted to take the rank only of an "auxiliary" of the men's society ; and to this day it is called the Woman's Branch of the New York City Mission and Tract Society, with a separate organization, in which only women are officers and honorary members, missionaries, and nurses. They make separate reports, but claim the right, and exercise it, of dating their "branch" from 1822, five years before the men's society existed.

The main society, at its first organization, appointed a woman agent. She seems to have been very efficient, for at the end of her first month's labor she reported visits to ninety families, and calls upon several clergymen in reference to forming auxiliary tract societies in the several churches.

During the first year the New York City Mission and Tract Society, through the agency of its committees and volunteer visitors, distributed 2,368,548 pages, or 592,137 tracts of four pages each. At the end of six or seven years, so useful and so extended became the work that it was deemed advisable to engage men as missionaries who should devote their whole time to Christian efforts among the poor and neglected. Mainly through the liberality of two or three persons, the society was enabled, in 1833, to begin this its best missionary work. Within two years the number of these missionaries was increased to fourteen. For thirty years these "tract missionaries," as they were called, carried on their evangelizing work with great success, having distributed during that time an aggregate of 30,000,000 tracts, been instrumental in effecting 7000 conversions, and spending \$400,000. They had brought

thousands of men, women, and children into churches and Sabbath-schools, and planted many a fruitful seed by the agency of prayer-meetings in neglected neighborhoods.

In 1864 the society was reorganized. A secretary was appointed, with enlarged duties and powers, and a room in the Bible House was rented. Then it began the publication of reports and papers on the methods and results of city evangelization. At the annual meeting that year the name of the institution was changed to that of the New York City Mission and Tract Society, which it now bears, and in 1866 it was incorporated by the Legislature of New York. The same year a superintendent of missions was appointed for the organization of mission chapels and services. The first of these chapels was established in 1867, and known as Olivet Chapel. It is between First and Second streets and First and Second avenues. Other chapels and services were soon organized, and the good work (the amount of which is incalculable) has gone on with ever-increasing power and beneficence.

According to the annual report of the society for 1882 there were 5 mission churches and chapels; 47 missionaries employed; 5 mission Sabbath-schools, with 2500 children taught during the year; aggregate attendance upon religious services during the year, 250,000; 2245 families and 8980 individuals aided, and \$4422 cash distributed; 2391 Bibles and Testaments given away, and 10,039 volumes loaned and given; 2646 children led to Sabbath-schools and 306 to day-schools; 13,939 persons persuaded to attend churches and missions; 998 temperance pledges signed, and 750,000 tracts distributed. It now employs 18 missionaries.

During the fifty-six years of its existence the society has distributed about 53,000,000 tracts, made 2,600,000 missionary visits, supplied to the destitute 92,357 Bibles and Testaments, loaned and given about 189,000 books, gathered into Sabbath-schools 119,309 children, and into day-schools 24,096; induced 276,118 persons to attend divine services, obtained 59,342 temperance pledges, and expended \$1,331,483. In addition to this sum more than \$200,000 have been raised for building chapels and churches in the city. In 1870 the mission converts were organized in bands of Christian brotherhoods, and the Christian ordinances were administered in the mission chapels. These are undenominational.

The Woman's Branch of the New York City Mission and Tract Society resolved in 1863 that henceforth their work should be directed to raising the money for the support of the missionary women. It was reorganized in 1875. The board of managers constituted five of their

number an executive committee, to give special attention to business details. A superintendent was appointed to give instruction and directions to missionary women, write up a history of their work, and make appeals to the benevolent women of the city. According to the sixteenth annual report (for 1882) the benevolent work of the Woman's Branch has been widely extended in its scope and usefulness. The Branch is separate from the City Mission Society in organization and support. It holds intimate relations with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. It employs eight female missionary nurses who have been trained in hospitals, and thirty-three missionary women. It has sewing schools and sewing meetings for the poor ; promotes the cause of temperance among children of intemperate parents by Bands of Hope ; has a pleasant Christian Workers' Home for the missionaries, which embraces, in the family, twenty-two missionaries and nurses. It distributed in 1882 64,000 tracts and about 1100 Bibles, took about 800 children to Sabbath-schools, made 25,000 missionary visits, gave away over 3000 garments, gave for the relief of the sick and destitute \$3325, and furnished the services of nurses to 2700 patients.*

* The officers of the City Mission and Tract Society for 1883 are : Morris K. Jesup, president ; John Taylor Johnston, vice-president, and Lewis E. Jackson, recording secretary and treasurer. There are forty-eight directors.

The officers of the Woman's Branch are : Mrs. Morris K. Jesup, first directress ; Mrs. Horace Holden, second directress ; Miss Mary N. Wright, treasurer ; Mrs. R. M. Field, secretary, and Mrs. A. R. Brown, superintendent. There are thirty-two active managers, representing fourteen churches, all Presbyterian or Reformed.

CHAPTER X.

ONE of the most important associations in a commercial city is an organization of judicious men having a special oversight of everything pertaining to its trade, ever watchful of all its industrial interests, vigilant in the detection of legislation inimical to those interests, and wise in its suggestions regarding enactments which touch, for good or evil, the springs of prosperity of the country.

Among these organizations the NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE is the oldest and most influential of its kind in the United States. It was constituted in 1768 by twenty leading merchants in that city, some of whom afterward appeared conspicuous in public affairs, especially during the war for independence, which broke out soon afterward. Some of them were on one side and some on the other, in the discussion of the vital political questions of the day.

These merchants associated for the avowed purpose "of promoting and extending all just and lawful commerce, and for affording relief to decayed members, their widows and children." The association received a charter from Lieutenant-Governor Colden, dated March 13, 1770, giving it the name of "The Corporation of the Chamber of Commerce in the City of New York." The privileges of this royal charter were confirmed by the State government of New York in 1784.

That association was organized in troublous times. The industries of the English-American colonies were in a depressed state. Unwise and unjust navigation and revenue laws, and persistent resistance to the operation of these laws, had deranged commerce, and uncertainty had paralyzed business of every kind. The great quarrel between Great Britain and her American colonies, which speedily led to a dismemberment of the empire, was then waxing hot. Non-importation agreements and ministerial menaces had created a feverish state of mind on both sides of the Atlantic. It was at this juncture that these twenty merchants met and formed the venerable association which exists in full vigor and abounding usefulness to-day. It resolved, at the outset of its career, on motion of Mr. Verplanck, that none but merchants should be members of that body. At that period the merchants con-

trolled the politics of New York. A majority of the Provincial Assembly were merchants.

Although Massachusetts had just issued its famous circular letter to its sister colonies, asking them to unite in resisting the oppressive measures of Parliament ; although New York City was in a blaze of excitement, and the Sons of Liberty were stoutly defending their liberty-pole against the ruthless hands of insolent British soldiers—force against force—and civil war seemed imminent, these twenty merchants, calm and dignified in the midst of the storm, made only the following minute of their proceedings at the momentous meeting on April 5, 1768 :

“ *Whereas*, Mereantile societies have been found very useful in trading cities, for promoting and encouraging commerce, supporting industry, adjusting disputes relative to trade and navigation, and procuring such laws and regulations as may be found necessary for the benefit of trade in general :

“ For which purpose, and to establish such a society in the city of New York, the following persons convened on the first Tuesday in, and being the 5th day of, April, 1768 :

“ John Cruger,	Thomas White,
Elias Desbrosses,	Miles Sherbrooke,
James Jauncey,	Walter Franklin,
Jacob Walton,	Robert Ross Waddel,
Robert Murray,	Acheron Thompson,
Hugh Wallace,	Lawrenee Kortright,
George Folliot,	Thomas Randall,
William Walton,	William McAdam,
Samuel Ver Planck,	Isaac Low,
Theophylact Baehé,	Anthony Van Dam,

who agreed that the said society of merchants should consist of

“ A president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary, and such a number of merchants as already are, or hereafter may become, members thereof, to be called and known by the name of THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

“ The members present unanimously chose the following gentlemen their officers for the year, to commence on the first Tuesday in May next :

“ John Cruger, president :	Elias Desbrosses, treasurer ;
Hugh Wallace, vice-president ;	Anthony Van Dam, secretary.

“The following gentlemen, who are of the society, not being present, assented to the same :

“ John Alsop,	Philip Livingston,
Henry White,	James McEvers.”

John Cruger, the first president of the Chamber of Commerce, was mayor of the city at the time of its organization, and was speaker of the Colonial Assembly from 1769 to 1775. During the perilous times preceding the outbreak of the Revolution his influence was powerfully exerted in maintaining order among the citizens. An active member of the Stamp Act Congress which met in New York in 1765, he was chosen to prepare the famous Declaration of Rights which was put forth by that body. Mr. Cruger left the city before it was occupied by the British in 1776.

The brothers Walton, Jacob and William, were among the most eminent and opulent merchants of New York in the middle of the last century. Jacob died in 1769. William, who was a son-in-law of De Lancey, built the beautiful mansion in Pearl Street, New York, opposite the (present) publishing establishment of Harper & Brothers, and known as the Walton House. It disappeared a few years ago, before the march of commercial business. It was, when built, the most elegant mansion on the continent.

Robert Murray and Walter Franklin represented the Quaker element in the commercial features of New York at that time. Murray had a country-seat on the Inceberg (now known as Murray Hill, in the city), and it was at that mansion where Mrs. Murray detained the British officers, by good cheer and fascinating conversation, while General Putnam, with a detachment of the Continental army, flying from the menaced city of New York, made good his retreat to the main army, encamped on Harlem Heights.

The Chamber of Commerce maintained its organization and held meetings pretty regularly during the later portion of the stirring period of the Revolution. Its sessions ended in May, 1775, but on the 21st of June, 1779, such of its members (mostly Tories) who remained in the city met in the Merchants' Coffee-House, corner of Wall and Water streets, and with the consent of the British commandant renewed the sessions of the Chamber. Its operations were chiefly directed to aiding the military governor in municipal affairs, such as regulating the prices of provisions, the rates for carmen's services, and also for the encouragement of privateering, by assistance in recruiting for that service under the proclamations of the British admirals.



Engraved from the original drawings and plans

ART AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

In 1770 Mr. Cruger retired from the presidency. His successors in the office until the return of peace were Hugh Wallace, Elias Desbrosses, Henry White, Theophylact Bache, William Walton, and Isaac Low. The act of reincorporation passed the Legislature of New York on April 13, 1784. The incorporators named were Samuel Broome, Jeremiah Platt, John Broome, Benjamin Ledyard, Thomas Randall, Robert Bowne, Daniel Phoenix, Jacob Morris, Eliphalet Brush, James Jarvis, John Blagge, Viner Van Zandt, Stephen Sayre, Jacobus Van Zandt, Nathaniel Hazard, Abraham P. Lott, Abraham Duyée, William Malcolm, John Alsop, Isaac Sears, James Beekman, Abraham Lott, Comfort Sands, Joseph Blackwell, Joshua Sands, Lawrence Embree, George Embree, Gerardus Duyekineck, Jr., Cornelius Ray, Anthony Griffiths, Thomas Tueker, John Berrian, Isaac Roosevelt, John Franklin, John H. Kip, Henry H. Kip, Archibald Currie, David Currie, and Jonathan Lawrence.

The descendants of most of these men who revived the Chamber of Commerce after peace was established, and were the active coadjutors of the first president of the reincorporated institution (John Alsop*), are recognized among the leading architects of the commercial greatness of New York City, which developed so wonderfully after the completion of the Erie Canal. They have ranked among the most enterprising, honorable, and prosperous merchants, and by their business probity and high personal character as citizens have contributed largely to the elements which constitute the good name of the metropolis.

From May, 1775, until June, 1779, the Chamber of Commerce, as we have observed, did not hold a meeting. From the time the British took possession of the city in 1776 until they evacuated it, many of the members, of English descent, co-operated with the British authorities, naval and military. From its recharter in 1784 it has been an active body in New York, having cognizance of most of the subjects of a commercial nature which have been before the community.

The Chamber of Commerce proposed the union of the Great Lakes with the Hudson River so early as 1786—the suggestion of the Erie Canal. Of the entire canal policy of the State, especially that of De Witt Clinton and his coadjutors, from 1811 until the completion of the

* John Alsop was an opulent merchant and a most earnest patriot. He was a native of Middletown, Conn., to which place he retired when the British took possession of New York in 1776. Alsop was a man of great intellectual strength. He was a representative of New York in the first Continental Congress in 1774, and remained in that body until 1776. His daughter Mary became the wife of the eminent Rufus King. Mr. Alsop died at Newtown, L. I., in November, 1794.

great artificial aqueous highway in 1825, this body was a uniform and powerful supporter. While others doubted and many sneered, the wise and enterprising merchants of New York who composed the Chamber of Commerce were its firm friends.

The Chamber made the first movement in favor of fortifying the city of New York, by a memorial to Congress, sent by the hands of Colonel Ebenezer Stevens in 1798, when war with France seemed imminent. Stevens was an active member of the Chamber. One of its most efficient members at its revival was John Pintard, who, as we have observed in speaking of the New York Historical Society, was foremost in every good work in the city for a quarter of a century.

In all the vicissitudes in public affairs which at different periods have unsettled the national policy and disturbed the relations of commerce, this Chamber has steadily adhered to the line of duty it had originally assumed, abstaining from all interference in the affairs of government in time of peace, excepting advisory, taking no part in political discussions, but always faithfully performing its obligations to support the cause of law and order, and to defend the honor of the country. When the Republic was in peril after the attack on Fort Sumter, the Chamber of Commerce was the first body in the city of New York that flew to the rescue, as we shall observe hereafter.

The first meeting of the members of the Chamber of Commerce for the purpose of organization was at the house yet standing at the corner of Pearl and Broad streets. It was afterward France's Tavern, where General Washington parted with his officers at the close of the Revolution. The next year rooms were rented in the Exchange, at the lower end of Broad Street. Ten years later the Chamber occupied rooms at the Merchants' Coffee-House, corner of Wall and Water streets. In 1817 it was located in the old Tontine Coffee-House, on the next corner above. From the completion of the Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street, in 1827, it occupied rooms in that building until driven out by the great fire in 1835. From that time until 1858 its meetings were held in the directors' room of the Merchants' Bank, in Wall Street, and since then it has occupied its present quarters, at No. 63 William Street.

In 1875 a Court of Arbitration of the Chamber of Commerce was established by act of the Legislature, with an arbitrator at its head, who holds office during good behavior. He has power to administer oaths and affirmations to be used before any court or officer; to take proof and acknowledgment of any charter party, marine protest, contract, or other written instrument, and to require any witness to appear

and testify before him, or the Court of Arbitration, or before the board of arbitrators. His salary is \$10,000 a year, paid out of the State treasury, the Chamber of Commerce providing rooms for the use of the Court of Arbitration. Either party to a controversy may, within a specified time, appoint in writing one person to sit with the official arbitrator to hear and determine the matter.

Parties having cases to be adjudicated in this court—controversies or matters of difference arising within the port of New York, or relating to a subject matter situate or coming within that port—may voluntarily submit the same to this Court of Arbitration, by written submission or by personal appearance in the court and an oral submission. This measure works with success in avoiding protracted litigation in the ordinary courts of law.*

A MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE—a gathering-place for merchants for conference and an exchange of ideas and values—has an intimate relation to a Chamber of Commerce, in its chief mission. These exchanges originated in the commercial cities of Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, and were introduced into England by Sir Thomas Gresham at a little port in the middle of the seventeenth century. He resided some time in Antwerp, and he chose the *Bourse*, or Merchants' Exchange building, of that city as his model for the great London Exchange edifice which he erected.

The first Merchants' Exchange in New York City was in a building at the foot of Broad Street in 1752. When the Tontine Building was completed, at the corner of Wall and Pearl streets, it was removed to that fine edifice, which was erected for the express purpose of a Merchants' Exchange. In 1825 a fine structure of white marble from Westchester County, for a Merchants' Exchange, was begun in Wall Street, below William Street, and was completed in 1827. At that time it was the finest building in the city excepting the City Hall,†

* The officers of the Chamber of Commerce for 1882-83 were: Samuel D. Babcock, president, and George Wilson, secretary.

† The City Hall standing in the Park was erected early in this century—1803 to 1808—at a cost of more than half a million dollars. When completed it was on the outskirts of the city. It is built on three sides of white marble, and on the fourth side (the north) of brown freestone. It is in the Italian style of architecture, two hundred and sixteen feet long and one hundred and five feet wide. The City Hall is the headquarters of the municipal government. Below are the offices of the mayor and clerk of the common council, the common council chamber and other city offices, and the library. Above (second story) is the "Governors' Room," containing portraits of all the governors of the State, of the mayors of the city, and of men of national renown, and used for official receptions. The building is surmounted by a cupola containing a four-dial clock, which is illuminated at night. The City Library is in the east wing of the City Hall.

not excepting the Masonic Hall, on Broadway, nearly opposite the City Hospital. It had a front of 115 feet on Wall Street, and was three stories high above the basement, which was considerably elevated. It extended through to Garden Street, 150 feet. The designs and plan of the building were furnished by M. E. Thompson, one of the founders of the National Academy of the Arts of Design.

The first and second stories of the Exchange comprised one order, which was the Ionic, in imitation of the Temple of Minerva at Priene, in Ionia. A recessed portico about forty feet in width, in an elliptical form, was introduced in front. A screen of four large columns and two antæ extended across the front of the portico nearly on a line with the front of the building. These columns were 30 feet high and 3 feet 4 inches in diameter at the base. The shaft of each column was composed of a single block of marble. They supported an entablature, upon which rested the attic or third story, making a height of about 60 feet from the ground.

The interior of the Exchange was chaste and classic in architecture. The building was surmounted by a cupola 24 feet in diameter, and about 60 feet in height from the roof of the Exchange to the top of the lantern which stood on this superb dome. The observatory was circular, and was supported externally by Ionic columns. From this observatory was an extensive view of the whole city and the rich and varied scenery on every side. This fine edifice, with a marble statue by Ball standing in the centre of the Exchange room, was destroyed by the great fire in New York in December, 1835.

The MASONIC HALL above alluded to was, next to the Merchants' Exchange, the finest edifice in the city of New York (excepting the City Hall) in 1830. It was designed by Hugh Reinagle, and was in the pure pointed Gothic style. The ornamentation of the interior was after that of the chapel of Henry VII. The corner-stone of the building was laid on St. John's Day (the summer solstice), June 24, 1826. It had a front of 50 feet on Broadway, and a depth of 125 feet. The entrance hall, at the centre of the building, was 10 feet in width, and was enriched with arches, pendants, open friths on the spandrels, and a beautiful frieze of raised Gothic ornaments. On each side of this hall were stores in front, and places for refreshments in the rear.

The second story was one grand Gothic saloon, 90 feet in length, 47 feet in width, and 25 feet in height. It was intended for concerts, balls, and public meetings. The third story was arranged in richly furnished rooms for the use of the Masonic fraternity. A writer of that day describing the edifice put the record of its dimensions in

italics, with an exclamation-point at the end, for the building seemed of marvellous capacity and beauty. Compared with scores of edifices seen in the city to-day, this Masonic Hall and the Merchants' Exchange appear insignificant in dimensions.

The front of the Masonic Hall was built of light granite. The centre door was made of solid oak, with carved panels and massive framework. The central window was a splendid piece of Gothic architecture 22 feet in height and 10 feet in width. The sites of this hall and of the old Tabernacle near by are now covered with commercial buildings.

While the Masonic Hall was a-building, public indignation was vehemently aroused by the alleged murder of William Morgan, in western New York, by the Masons, because he had divulged some of their secrets. Shrewd politicians took advantage of the excitement, formed a political Anti-Masonic party, and endeavored to make the Masonic order odious in the public mind. They succeeded for a while, and so unpopular became the very name of Masons that as a matter of policy the name of the new edifice devoted to the use of the fraternity was changed to Gothic Hall.

The building of the Merchants' Exchange and the Masonic Hall marked the opening of a new era in domestic architecture in New York City, both in style and materials. These structures were seeds sown in rich soil, and have produced a wonderful harvest. They were prophecies of magnificence and of extravagance in expenditure in buildings, when dwelling-houses should be superbly palatial in size and decoration, and mere business houses should vie in spaciousness and elegance with the municipal halls and the gathering-places of the guilds in the old commercial cities of Europe. That prophecy has been fulfilled in our day.

In less than a decade of years after the completion of the structures just mentioned a city newspaper remarked: "New York is undergoing a wonderful transformation, especially Broadway; and very soon it will be a city of brick instead of wooden buildings." Since that time—a period of fifty years—what marvellous transformations have taken place in the great, growing city! It is now largely a city of freestone dwellings in its best sections, and of stone and iron in its business streets. The rough cobble-stones that covered the streets have given place to pavements almost as smooth as tile-flooring, and almost as solid as unseamed rock. Already in 1830 the transformation had begun, under the stimulating power of enterprise, prosperity, and rapidly increasing wealth.

At the beginning of the first decade (1830-40) the commerce of the

city of New York had begun to feel the expansive energies of new life. There was marked vigor in all its functions, and the city presented valid claims to the dignified title of the Commercial Metropolis of the Republic. Its foreign commerce (imports and exports) in 1823 was, in value, about \$38,000,000 ; in 1830 it exceeded \$50,000,000.

Down to the year 1830, and even somewhat later, some of the leading branches of trade had particular localities which were really business centres of each branch. The hatters and fur-dealers were in Water Street, where damp cellars were considered desirable, especially for the raw materials of the hatter's wares. Swift & Hurlburt, who began business in 1835, were the first in the hatter's trade who broke out from the environs of Water Street and opened an establishment on Broadway.

The stove-dealers were also in Water Street, and that is still distinguished by the numerous establishments of this kind, in the neighborhood of the foot of Fulton Street. The wholesale druggists were chiefly in Fletcher Street, which extended from Pearl Street to the East River. The shipping merchants were chiefly in South Street, below Peck Slip. The wholesale grocers were in Front Street. The leather-dealers were in the region known as The Swamp, between Beekman, Cliff, Pearl, William, and Frankfort streets, embracing the area of the old Beekman Swamp, which found an outlet for its surplus water into the East River below Peck Slip. The wholesale dry-goods merchants were in Pearl Street, below Coenties and Peck slips ; the silk merchants were in Hanover Square, and the merchants' clothing establishments were also in Pearl Street.

South Street still remains the headquarters of shipping merchants and the shipping business of all kinds. About 1830 a few large shippers built wharves and stores on Washington Street, then the Hudson River front of the lower part of the city ; but the river was so frequently filled with ice during a part of the year that they returned to South Street. Among those who thus retraced their steps and amassed large fortunes was the late Jesse Hoyt.

Lent's Basin, between Whitehall Street and Coenties Slip, was occupied by the largest vessels that brought Western produce from Albany to New York. The larger commission merchants were on the south side of Coenties Slip, such as Suydam, Sage & Co., Samuel Tooker & Co., Peter Nevins, James N. Cobb, and others. On the south side of the slip was the landing-place of the Boston packets. These packets carried most of the merchandise from the West, by the Erie Canal, for the Boston merchants before the railroads were built. "The 'Hub'

has put on a good many airs since it was compelled to go to New York for a barrel of flour," wrote an old New York merchant.*

Old Slip and Coffee-House Slip were often crowded with the larger sailing packets from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah, before ocean-steam navigation was introduced. Burling Slip was the haven for transient sailing vessels.

The Swamp continues to be the business centre of the leather trade in New York, and now embraces about one hundred business firms. These merchants are towers of strength in the business and financial world.

The tanning of leather was one of the leading industries of New York so early as the period of the Dutch occupation of Manhattan Island. For generations it was always connected with the business of shoemaking. The first tannery and shoe manufactory was established by Coenradt Ten Eyck, on Broad Street, in 1653. He died there in 1680, leaving his business to his three sons. At that time the tanners made up their own leather into shoes.

About 1661 Abel Hardenbroeck carried on the same business at the corner of Broad Street and Exchange Place. He appears to have been a rowdy, for he was complained of and brought before the magistrate on charges of "creating an uproar with soldiers," breaking windows, and other disturbances of the peace. He appears to have been a sort of rogue also in business, for he was charged before the burgomaster of New Amsterdam with "making shoes that ripped in the soles." The punishment awarded for the last-named offence was the making of a new pair and paying several guilders to the burgomaster who reprimanded him. Broad Street was for some time the centre of the tanning and shoemaking business in the city.

In 1669 (after the first English occupation of the city) a patent was granted to A. & C. Van Laer for a mill for preparing tanning-bark for use. It was not long after this that the business was driven from the city, beyond the palisades at Wall Street. The tanners were assigned sixteen acres of land for their pursuit, extending from the east side of (present) Maiden Lane to Ann Street, between Gold Street and Broadway, to the site of the New York *Herald* publishing house. This lot of land was called the "Shoemakers' Portion." Their tanning-pits were near the junction of Maiden Lane and William Street. One of the wealthiest proprietors of the Shoemakers' Portion gave the land on which the North Dutch Church was erected, on the corner of (present) Fulton and William streets.

* John W. Degrauw, in the New York *Evening Post*.

When the population spread beyond the city limits of New Amsterdam, and away toward the (present) City Hall Park, the tanners were again compelled to remove their works. They settled along the line of the "Collect" or "Fresh Water Pond," to (present) Canal Street, where they continued to pursue their trade until after the Revolution, when they located within the area of the Swamp, which had been closed up and several streets had been made through it. Ferry Street was so called because it led directly to the Brooklyn ferry.

William Beekman, the original owner of the Swamp, came to New Netherlands in 1647, in the employ of the Dutch West India Company. He was an enterprising citizen, became wealthy, and built a residence on the edge of the Swamp, on the high ground near the corner of Beekman and Cliff streets, where St. George's Chapel afterward stood. He died there in 1707. His landed property there was first sold in lots in 1717. Balthasar Bayard owned seven acres adjoining Beekman's land, and these acres constituted a part of the Swamp. This included Frankfort and Vandewater streets, and extended to Pearl and Rose streets. A part of Bayard's land was sold in 1783 to the widow of Hendrick van de Water.*

A hundred years ago the vicinity of the Swamp was the most populous part of the city. On its eastern border, Pearl Street, Franklin Square, and Cherry Street formed the extremely fashionable quarter of New York. The Waltons, the Franklins, the Pearsalls and other notable merchants dwelt there. In the residence of Walter Franklin, the first dwelling-place of President Washington, De Witt Clinton was married to that Quaker merchant's daughter.

After the Revolution the tanners began to desert the vicinity of the Collect, and located around Jacob and Frankfort streets, in the Swamp. The old vats at the Collect were left open, and became a subject of complaint in 1797 as dangerous.

From the time of its first occupation by tanners and manufacturers of leather until now, the occupants of the Swamp have grown in wealth and business and social influence. The Swamp has been transformed from a place of manufactures † to a mart. Within the last fifty or sixty years its volume of business has enormously increased. In 1827 the number of hides of sole leather received in New York

* For these facts I am indebted to a series of interesting articles in the *Shoe and Leather Reporter*, vol. xxiv., written by F. W. Norcross.

† There are, perhaps, persons living who then saw no house in the space bounded by Jacob, Gold, Ferry, and Frankfort streets — nothing but tan-yards or vats. The houses surrounding these vats were very small, and all built of wood.



Thomas S. Cummings. N. A.

(almost wholly in the Swamp) was 265,000 ; in 1837, 665,000 ; in 1847, 1,168,000 ; in 1857, 3,248,000 ; in 1867, 3,824,687 ; in 1877, 4,242,570, and in 1881, 5,457,417.

Among the "men of the Swamp" were found some of the most valuable citizens of the metropolis fifty years ago, such as Gideon Lee,* Israel Corse,† Abraham Bloodgood,‡ David Bryson,§ Jacob Lorillard, Abraham Polhemus, Peter McCartee, Richard Cunningham, William Kumble, Hugh McCormick, Shepherd Knapp, Jonathan Thorne,||

* Gideon Lee was mayor of the city in 1833-34. A biographical sketch of him will be found on a subsequent page.

† Israel Corse was a Friend or Quaker, a native of Chestertown, Maryland, where he was born in 1769. At the age of seventeen he was apprenticed to a tanner in Camden, Delaware. When his apprenticeship expired he was worth just seventy-five cents. On that capital he began business, married Lydia Trotts, a farmer's daughter, who brought him quite a fortune, at that day, in money, and a greater fortune in love, prudence, and industry. Only two of their several children (Barney and Lydia) survived. Israel lived in Camden until he amassed a fortune of \$10,000, when he came to New York in 1803, where his wife died. He married again. He went into business in the Swamp. His son Barney married a daughter of Samuel Leggett ; his daughter Lydia married Jonathan Thorne, who, on the retirement of Israel from business in 1830, became a proprietor of the concern, with his brother-in-law, Barney Corse. Israel lived several years in Vandewater Street. He afterward occupied a house in East Broadway, where he died in 1842. Israel Corse was one of the devoted band who succeeded in ridding New York City of the curse of lotteries and made the selling of lottery tickets a crime.

‡ Abraham Bloodgood was a remarkable man. He died in 1837. Mr. Bloodgood was an earnest Republican or Democrat, and a bright light in Tammany Hall. At one time, when there was a split in the Backtail party in the city on some local question, he was the leader of the "Swamp Clique" in opposition to the "North River Squad," as the two factions were respectively called.

§ David Bryson, another remarkable man, was a native of Ireland. He came to America after the Irish rebellion in 1798, with Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. Macneven, and other Irish patriots. He began business in the Swamp as a tanner and currier, became wealthy, and sent funds to Ireland so soon as prosperity was assured, to enable his parents to come to America. David Bryson was a wise business man, and those who knew him best loved him most. He was one of the founders of the Phœnix Bank and a long time, and until his death, one of its directors. His son Peter was its cashier at one time.

|| Jonathan Thorne lived in good health of body and mind until 1884. He was born in the town of Washington, Dutchess County, N. Y., on April 20, 1801. His great-grandfather, Isaac Thorne, came from Long Island and settled in that region in 1720. He was a member of the Society of Friends or Quakers, and so is the subject of this sketch.

Jonathan Thorne's father, Samuel Thorne, began life as a merchant in Washington in 1794, and continued in that pursuit until 1814, when he purchased a farm not far away, and which now constitutes the famous Thorndale estate. He desired his only son, Jonathan, to be a farmer, and it was for that purpose that the broad acres were bought. The young man, after several years' experience, felt a restless desire to try his fortune in business in New York. Thither he went in 1820, and engaged in the dry-goods trade.

Thomas Everett, Morgan L. Smith, James, George, and Thomas Brooks, Daniel Tooker, Peter Bonnett, Henry Ottery, and others. The late Charles M. Leupp, a son-in-law and partner in business of Gideon Lee, once said :

“ The Roman mother, Cornelia, when asked to display her jewels, sent for her sons and pointed to them. So can we to these [hide and leather] fathers, and claim them as our jewels. Let us cherish their example, and emulate their noble qualities, so that hereafter our successors may, in like manner, be not ashamed of any of us, but be proud to exclaim, ‘ He, too, was a Swamper.’ ”

At the end of three years his father, needing his assistance on the farm, induced Jonathan to abandon his business in the city and join him. The young merchant of twenty-three did not return alone, for he had married the amiable Lydia, daughter of Israel Corse. She cheerfully left the city for a home in the country for his sake. But her husband yearned for the greater activity of mercantile life, with all its possibilities for larger pecuniary gain than that of farming, and in March, 1830, they returned to New York. His father-in-law, then grown aged and wealthy, desired to retire from business, and offered to transfer it to young Thorne. The latter hesitated, for he was ignorant of tanning, and indeed of other parts of the business. His brother-in-law, Barney Corse, who was his father's business partner, finally induced Thorne to join him. So it was that Mr. Thorne entered upon the business of a manufacturer of leather and a leather merchant in 1830, and continued it without interruption until 1880, a period of fifty years. For forty years he was at the head of the largest house in the business.

The new firm went under the old name of “ Israel Corse & Son ” until 1832, when Mr. Thorne bought the interest of his brother-in-law, and for the first time put up his own name over the door. After that there were several changes in the composition of the firm. For about fifteen years his son Edwin (now of Thorndale) was a member.

No merchant ever enjoyed a better reputation for honor and probity than Jonathan Thorne. He made it a rule from the beginning to win the confidence of his customers in his integrity. There are three kinds of leather—perfect sides, slightly damaged sides, and badly damaged sides. He always instructed his men when assorting leather to put with the badly damaged sides the slightly damaged ones. This was his invariable habit. Very soon he gained a reputation of immense value to him. His “ damaged ” leather, containing so much slightly injured leather, always commanded a higher price than damaged leather in general, and secured for him an enviable reputation. He had the satisfaction of an approving conscience and of illustrating the truth of the maxim that “ honesty is the best policy.”

Mr. Thorne came into the possession of the estate of Thorndale on the death of his father, in 1849. He made it his summer residence. Observing the inferiority of the live-stock even in the fine farming region of Dutchess County, he determined to give his country the benefit of an importation of England's finest Shorthorn or Durham cattle. He paid as high as \$5000 for a single animal, but found the venture finally profitable. In time the Thorndale stock became famous among breeders on both sides of the Atlantic, and animals were exported from it to England.

Mr. Thorne left business with an ample fortune, and lives in elegant retirement in Fifth Avenue, New York. His wife died in the city of London, England, in 1872, and in 1874 he married Mrs. Merritt, daughter of George S. Fox.

About the year 1830 the methods of mercantile life in New York were rapidly changing. Up to about that period railroads for travel were unknown in America. A visit of a country merchant to New York was a marked event in his life. He generally went to the city twice a year (fall and spring) to purchase goods. An advertisement of one of these merchants in a Poughkeepsie newspaper, in the fall of 1824, reads :

“ I have been in New York a fortnight making a careful selection of goods, and I now offer for sale, at a moderate profit, a large assortment of articles suitable for the fall and winter.”

The wholesale dry-goods merchants, as we have observed, were then chiefly to be found in Pearl Street. The families of many of them lived over their stores and boarded the clerks, and apartments not so occupied were boarding-houses. These were exclusively for country merchants. Those who traded in rural districts kept a variety store—dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery, medicines, etc. They remained several days in the city, buying their various goods, and it was an object of jobbers to have one of their best salesmen board at a large lodging-house for country merchants.

Merchants' clerks in those days performed manual services unknown to their class in 1883. There were very few carts then used by the dry-goods merchants. Most of their limited business in city transportation was done by street porters, with hand-carts and large wheelbarrows. They stood at street corners ready to take or go for a load. They were regularly licensed, and wore a brass plate with their number on the register engraved upon it. Their charges for any distance below Chambers Street was one shilling ($12\frac{1}{2}$ cents) ; for any distance above Chambers Street, a pistareen ($18\frac{3}{4}$ cents). Such heavy trucks as are now seen were never heard of. “ When our employer would purchase a lot of goods at auction,” wrote the late William E. Dodge concerning his experience as a dry-goods clerk, “ it was our business to go to the auction-rooms and compare them with the bill, and if two of us could carry them home we did so, as it would save the shilling portorage. I remember that while in this store I carried bundles of goods up Broadway to Greenwich Village, near what are now Seventh and Eighth avenues and Fourth to Tenth Street.”*

* William E. Dodge was an eminent merchant and philanthropist. He was born in Hartford, Conn., September 4, 1805 ; went to New York in 1818, and became a clerk in a wholesale dry-goods store. In 1827 he began business for himself in the same line. The next year he married Melissa, a daughter of Anson G. Phelps, a dealer in metals. They celebrated their golden wedding June 24, 1878, at their country-seat in Tarrytown-

The retail trade was mostly in William Street and Maiden Lane, excepting a few fashionable houses on Broadway. The cheap retail stores were in upper Pearl and Chatham streets. The trade was mostly divided by sections, some selling almost entirely to Southern merchants, others to Northern and Western merchants, and others to Eastern and Long Island merchants. A "jobber" before 1830 was considered sound and had good credit if he had invested in business \$15,000 to \$20,000. Probably not over a half dozen persons in New York sold goods to the value of over \$1,000,000 a year; now there are some who sell a million a week.*

on-the-Hudson, where their seven children, all sons, were present. In 1833 Mr. Dodge sold out his dry-goods business and became a partner with his father-in-law, under the firm name of Phelps, Dodge & Co. He accumulated a large fortune, continuing in business until his death, February 9, 1883.

Mr. Dodge was singularly active in various business enterprises and in religious and philanthropic movements. For twelve years he was a director of the Erie Railway Company; was president of the Houston and Texas Railroad, and one of the founders of the Central Railroad of New Jersey and of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad. He was a director in other railroad companies, in banks, and in insurance, trust, and telegraph companies. He was a member of the famous Peace Congress at Washington in 1861, and of the Indian Commission appointed by President Grant. Mr. Dodge was a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress, in which he served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In 1866 he was a delegate to the Loyal Convention held in Philadelphia. He was also for many years an active member of the Union League Club. In 1855 he became a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, was its vice-president four years, elected president in 1867, and re-elected for three successive terms.

He was connected with the Presbyterian Church, and was an elder and for twenty years a Sabbath-school superintendent. In his early days he assisted in the organization of the Young Men's Bible Society of New York, and was at his death a manager of the American Bible Society. He was deeply interested in Young Men's Christian Associations, in foreign missions, in the cause of temperance, and in various organizations for the promotion of religion and morality, and in the physical comfort of his fellow-men. He was president of the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, of the National Temperance Society, and of the Christian Home for Intemperate Men, and was largely instrumental in providing a similar institution for women. He was a director of the Union Theological Seminary, and did much for educational institutions, especially, of late years, among the freedmen. A strict sabbatarian, he left the direction of the Central Railroad of New Jersey because they allowed trains to run on Sunday.

Mr. Dodge's hand was always open, and his charities are said to have amounted annually to \$100,000. His remains were buried in the family vault in Woodlawn Cemetery.

* Address by William E. Dodge, at Association Hall, April 27, 1880.

CHAPTER XI.

THE various industrial pursuits in New York about 1830 were stimulated by the increased activity in commercial business. The shipbuilding interest especially felt the thrill of the new life. The shipyards, as the places of business of the shipbuilders were called, were clustered on the shores of the East River, from Catharine Street to Thirteenth Street.

Chief among the shipbuilders at that time was Christian Bergh, father of Henry Bergh the philanthropist, whose yard was near the (present) Grand Street ferry. He was a native of Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, N. Y., where he was born, in April, 1763. His ancestors had come to America from Germany in the seventeenth century. Having learned the business of marine architecture thoroughly, and being very expert and very honest, he never lacked employment for a day.

The United States Government appointed him to superintend the construction of the frigate *President*, a 44-gun ship built at New York, and at the beginning of the second war for independence (1812-15) he was sent to Oswego, on Lake Ontario, where, with Henry Eckford, he built the brig *Oncida*, under the direction of Lieutenant Melancthon Woolsey, of the United States Navy. After the war he established a shipyard at the foot of Scammel Street, on the East River, where he built packet-ships for American lines for European ports. There for many years Mr. Bergh's tall and commanding figure might be seen, in blue coat and trousers and white neckcloth. He was very popular because of his suavity of manner and inflexible integrity.

Christian Bergh was a bright light in Tammany Hall, and often presided with dignity at the meetings of the sachems, but persistently refused to take a public office of any kind. His dislike of debt was almost a passion with him. In his last illness he became impressed with the idea that his physician's bill had not been paid. He desired his son Henry to fill out a check. On being reminded that it was not yet presented nor yet due, he nevertheless persisted, and to quiet him a check was filled out, and with trembling hand he signed it. A few days afterward the famous shipbuilder and honest citizen died (June 24,

1843), at the age of eighty years. Christian Bergh was the first ship-builder who had the courage, the humanity, and the common-sense to employ colored men in his yard.

Below Bergh's shipyard was that of Thorn & Williams, at the foot of Montgomery Street; of Carpenter & Bishop, near the foot of Clinton Street. Adjoining the latter were the yards of Ficket & Thomas; of Morgan & Son, at the foot of Rutgers Street, and one or two others below. Above Bergh were the yards of Sneedon & Lawrence, near the foot of Corlears Street; Samuel Harnard's, near the foot of Grand Street; Brown & Bell's, from Stanton to Houston Street (a part of which Henry Eckford had formerly occupied, and part by Adam and Noah Brown); Smith & Dimon's, from Fourth to Fifth Street; Webb & Allen's, from Fifth to Seventh Street; Bishop & Simonson's, from Seventh to Eighth Street, and higher up were the yards of Steers Brothers, William H. Brown, and Thomas Collyer. There were smaller establishments, the whole numbering more than thirty.

The shore of the East River above the northernmost yard, at the foot of Thirteenth Street, presented a fine sandy beach, where and at the foot of Corleas Street the Baptists immersed their converts in the limpid water, and where, in summer twilight, groups of men and boys, women and girls, at a place called Dandy Point, might have been seen enjoying salt-water baths. They often arrived in big wagons, holding more than a dozen of both sexes, who at different places, the men at one spot the women at another, changed good garments for old ones, without the convenience of bathing-houses. Near by was a house for plain refreshments, kept by a Scotchman named Gibson—"Sandy Gibson." Williamsburgh, opposite, was then a straggling hamlet of cottages, with orchards and gardens.

Two of the shipbuilders here mentioned were apprentices to Henry Eckford, who in the early part of this century was the most eminent marine architect in the country. He was a native of Scotland, who came to New York in 1796, when he was twenty-one years of age. He and Bergh became acquainted at an early day, and were ever afterward fast friends. They lived near each other, Bergh on the north-east corner of Scammel and Water streets, and Eckford in Water Street. Their chief happiness outside their homes was in visiting each other. On a hill near by Miss MacLaughlin kept a dairy farm, and supplied the shipbuilders with milk. Two of Eckford's apprentices, Thomas Megson and William Bennett, are yet living in the city of New York.

Eckford established a shipyard near the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, in

1801, and soon acquired an excellent reputation. He built a ship of 1100 tons for John Jacob Astor, and was employed by the United States Government in building vessels for the navy during the war of 1812-15. After the war he was made superintendent of the Brooklyn Navy-Yard. He was a faithful public officer. One day he found the blacksmith of the yard shoeing the commodore's horses. He ordered them to be immediately removed, saying, "The business of this shop is to repair government vessels, not to shoe commodore's horses."

Eckford built the steamship *Robert Fulton*, which in 1822 made the first successful ocean voyage, by steam, to New Orleans and Havana. He also built six ships of the line for the government, made a plan for the reorganization of the navy, at the request of President Jackson, and in 1831 constructed a ship of war for the Sultan of Turkey. He entered the service of the Turkish Government as naval constructor at Constantinople, but died within a year after his arrival there—November 12, 1832.

Among the eminent shipbuilders of that day who survived to the period of the present generation may be named Isaac Webb, the great builder of packet-ships, born in Stamford, Connecticut, in 1794, and died in 1843; Stephen Smith, a native of the same town; David Brown, who died in 1852; Jacob Bell, and Jacob A. Westervelt, a native of New Jersey, the son of a shipbuilder, an apprentice with Bergh, and afterward his partner in business, and engaged in building Havre and London packets before the year 1837. He was mayor of the city of New York in 1852, and immediately afterward built the United States steam-frigate *Brooklyn*.

Another of the old shipbuilders of New York is John Inglis, born in 1808, and became an apprentice to Stephen Smith. He built the steamships *Milwaukee* and *Red Jacket* on Lake Erie in 1837, and on his return to New York established an immense shipyard at the foot of East Fourth Street, where he sometimes employed between 400 and 500 men. His specialty was steamship building. He constructed government vessels during the Civil War. He also built river and Sound steamers of great speed. Before 1866 he had built 56 large steam vessels.* The later shipbuilders and the business of shipbuilding will be considered hereafter. About the year 1844 began the most important era in shipbuilding.†

* A bronze medal was awarded to John Inglis & Sons, by the American Institute in 1863, for a model of the revenue cutter *Ashuelot*, which was lost in the East Indies in 1882.

† The labors and the wages of workmen in the shipyards (and indeed everywhere else) fifty years ago and now appear in strong contrast. The mechanic then worked from

The manufactures in the city of New York at the beginning of this decade were neither extensive nor various, but very soon circumstances produced a rapid increase in the kinds and products of the mechanic arts. The people of our country depended largely upon Europe for the products of the loom and the forge, for foreign labor was so low that American mechanics could not profitably compete with it.

To remedy this disability tariffs on foreign goods were established. So early as 1816 Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were associated in establishing the "American system"—that is, stringent tariffs for the protection of American manufacturers of every kind. The tariff of 1816 did not effect much in the way of encouraging our manufacturers, neither did a more stringent tariff law in 1824, but that of 1827-28 was effectual, and greatly stimulated the growth of the mechanic arts and textile manufactures. It did more: it awakened the hostility of the cotton-growers of the South, and led to the intense and dangerous political disturbance known in history as the Nullification movement in South Carolina.

At the beginning of this decade there were in the city of New York a score or more of incorporated manufacturing companies, organized under a State law of 1811, allowing any "five or more persons" to form a company for the manufacture of certain specified articles. The principal of these companies were:

The Eagle Manufacturing Company, for the manufacture of cotton, woollen and linen goods; the Copper Manufacturing Company, for the manufacture of copper and brass; the Patent Oil Company, for pressing and straining oil; the New York Gas-light Company, for manufacturing illuminating gas; the New York Laboratory Association, for the manufacture of white and red lead and other paints; the New York Company, for the same purpose; the New York Steel Company, Steam Saw-mill Company, the Linen Company, the New York Manufacturing Company, the New York Sugar Refining Company, and the New York Chemical Company. There were also two chartered coal companies, "for the purpose of exploring and working mines of coal and other valuable minerals, and for delivering at New York coal for

sunrise to sunset, or from four o'clock in the morning until half past seven o'clock in the evening, for \$1.25 a day. He was allowed an hour for breakfast and two hours for dinner. Then in the shipyards the heaviest timbers, now handled by steam or horse power, were carried on the shoulders of men; and many hours were consumed in sawing a stick of live oak by hand, one workman standing in a ditch below, his face protected from the sawdust by a veil, while now a circular saw driven by steam or horse power would do the same work in about one minute.

fuel, from the Ohio River," etc. These coal companies had been organized and chartered in 1814, when anthracite first became publicly known as fuel. It was not generally introduced into the city of New York before 1825.

About 1832 English mechanics, disheartened by "dull times" at home and attracted by "flush times" in New York and Philadelphia, began to come over in quite large numbers. They introduced new branches of mechanical business. These took permanent root. Inventive genius was stimulated in a remarkable degree, and from small beginnings fifty years ago New York has become the leading manufacturing city in the Republic. In 1880 the number of its manufacturing establishments was 11,339, employing over \$181,000,000 of capital, and producing in that year goods of the value of \$472,926,437.

The increase in the commercial and manufacturing operations in the city at that time demanded an increase of banking facilities for furnishing currency and aiding a universal credit system. There were then sixteen banks of issue and deposit in the city of New York, including a branch of the United States Bank, with an aggregate capital of \$17,640,000. They were : The U. S. Branch Bank, \$2,500,000 ; Bank of New York, incorporated in 1791, \$1,000,000 ; Manhattan Bank, incorporated in 1799, \$2,050,000 ; Merchants' Bank, incorporated in 1803, \$1,400,000 ; Mechanics' Bank, incorporated in 1810, \$1,500,000 ; Union Bank, incorporated in 1811, \$1,000,000 ; Bank of America, chartered in 1812, \$2,000,000 ; City Bank, incorporated in 1812, \$1,250,000 ; Phoenix Bank, chartered in 1812, \$500,000 ; Franklin Bank, incorporated in 1818, \$500,000 ; North River Bank, incorporated in 1821, \$500,000 ; Tradesmen's Bank, chartered in 1823, \$600,000 ; Chemical Bank, incorporated in 1824, \$500,000 ; Fulton Bank, incorporated in 1824, \$500,000 ; Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, incorporated in 1825, \$1,000,000, of which \$500,000 was employed in banking ; and the New York Dry Dock Company, chartered in 1825, \$700,000. Eleven of these banks are in existence in 1883.

There was then only one savings bank in the city, located in Chambers Street, and open only on Monday afternoons from four to six o'clock, and on Saturday afternoons from four to seven o'clock ; on quarter days, from eleven to one o'clock. The genesis of this first savings bank in the city of New York is interesting. It was the offspring of the active brain and benevolent nature of John Pintard.

Pintard called a meeting of a few gentlemen at the City Hotel, on November 29, 1816. The philanthropist, Thomas Eddy, was called to the chair, and J. H. Coggeshall was chosen secretary. Pintard had

prepared the following resolution before he went to the meeting, which was offered by John Griscom, and unanimously adopted :

“*Resolved*, That it is expedient to establish a savings bank in New York City.”

Pintard had also prepared a constitution. It was offered by Zachariah Lewis, and adopted. The association was organized by the choice of twenty-eight directors, with De Witt Clinton at their head. The officers chosen were William Bayard, president ; Noah Brown, Thomas H. Smith, and Thomas C. Taylor, vice-presidents.*

The institution did not go into operation until Saturday evening, July 3, 1819, at six o'clock, in a basement room in Chambers Street. The office of deposit was kept open that evening until nine o'clock, when the sum of \$2807 had been received from eighty-two depositors. The largest deposit was \$300, the smallest \$2.† Within the following six months there had been received \$153,378, from 1527 depositors.

This first Bank for Savings, the first organized in the city of New York, is yet a flourishing institution, occupying an elegant banking-house built of white marble, in Bleecker Street. In 1883 there were twenty-three savings banks in the city of New York. The original Bank for Savings, established in 1819, had received, during 63½ years, from 490,541 depositors, the sum of \$162,032,515 ; to which add interest up to January 1, 1883, \$29,501,761, making an aggregate of \$191,534,277.‡

When this savings bank was firmly established, Mr. Pintard, in pursuance of his usual custom when he had achieved a great success, withdrew, but in 1828 he accepted the presidency of it, and held that office until 1841, when he was eighty-one years old, and was growing blind. It has been well said, “ There never was a man in the city who could start great measures as John Pintard could. He could indite a

* The following named gentlemen were chosen directors : De Witt Clinton, Archibald Gracie, Cadwallader D. Coïden, William Few, John Griscom, Jeremiah Thompson, Duncan P. Campbell, James Eastburn, John Pintard, J. H. Coggeshall, Jonas Mapes, Brockholst Livingston, Richard Varick, Thomas Eddy, Peter A. Jay, J. Murray, Jr., John Slidell, Andrew Morris, Gilbert Aspinwall, Zachariah Lewis, Thomas Buckley, Najah Taylor, Francis B. Winthrop, William Wilson.

† John Pintard, John E. Hyde, Duncan P. Campbell, William Bayard, Colonel William Few, James Eastburn, Thomas Eddy, Zachariah Lewis, John Mason, Jacob Sherrel, William Wilson, and Jeremiah Thompson were present that evening.

‡ The officers of this Bank for Savings for 1883 were : Robert Lenox Kennedy, president ; Wyllis Blackstone and Benjamin H. Field, vice-presidents ; George Cabot Ward, secretary ; David Olyphant, treasurer ; William G. White, comptroller, and James Knowles, accountant at the bank.



Daniel Appleton

handbill that would inflame the minds of the people for any good work. He could call a meeting with the pen of a poet, and before the people met he would have arranged the doings for a perfect success.”

At the time we are considering there were ten marine-insurance companies and twenty-eight fire-insurance companies in the city of New York, with the agencies of four outside companies—namely, the Duchess and the Orange County, the Western (at Buffalo), and the Utica fire-insurance companies.

The marine-insurance companies were : the New York, the Ocean, the American, the Pacific, the Union, the Atlantic, the Mohawk (for marine, canal, lake, and river insurance), the Neptune, and the Niagara, with an aggregate capital of \$4,600,000.

The fire-insurance companies were : the Mutual, the Washington, the Eagle, the Hope, the Globe, the Franklin, the Merchants', the Mercantile, the Mechanics', the Manhattan, the Fulton, the Farmers', the North River, the Chatham, the Equitable, the Phoenix, the New York Contributorship, the Jefferson, the United States, the Ætna, the Sun, the Protection, the Howard, the Traders', the Tradesmen's, the Firemen's, and the Lafayette, with an aggregate capital of over \$10,000,000.

The fire department was then a volunteer association, and remained so until the year 1865. It was an ancient institution in the city—ancient as the beginning of the administration of Peter Stuyvesant of the government of New Netherlands.

In 1648 Stuyvesant appointed four fire-wardens to inspect the wooden chimneys of the little village of New Amsterdam. A fine of about \$1.30 was imposed upon all whose chimneys were found to be imperfectly swept. These fines were to be used for providing leather fire-buckets and hooks and ladders. The fire-warden was among the official dignitaries of the town, and was not to be treated with disrespect. Madaline Direks, one of the good dames of New Amsterdam, was fined “two pounds Flemish” for saying to a fire-warden as she passed his door (only in a joking way, she pleaded), “There is the chimney-sweep in the door ; his chimney is well swept.” “Such jokes,” the court said, “cannot be tolerated,” and the dame was made to pay dearly for her fun. One half of the fine went to the church and the other half to the poor.

After the English occupation (1683) the office of “viewer and searcher of chimneys and fire-hearths” was established, and a fine of fifteen shillings was imposed upon those who should allow their chimneys to take fire ; now the fine is \$5.

As the city increased, numerous hooks and ladders were added to the scores of fire-buckets. There was no fire-engine in the city before 1731. In May of that year the city authorities ordered the purchase of two engines, and appointed the mayor and two aldermen a committee to "agree with some proper merehant or merehants" to send to London for the same. A room in the old City Hall, in Wall Street, was fitted up for their reception and security. These engines were queer looking machines. Each consisted of a short "oblong-square box, with the condenser in the centre, and was played by short arms at each end, and mounted on four block-wheels, made of thick plank. There was no traveller forward for wheels to play under the box;" so, when it turned a sharp corner, the engine must have been lifted around.* The engines were filled by means of fire-buckets. No suction-pipes were used before the year 1806.

In 1737 the Legislature of New York, sitting in the city, passed an act for the appointment of twenty-four "able-bodied men, who shall be called the firemen of this city, to work and play the fire-engines, and who shall be exempt from serving as constables, or doing militia duty during their continuance as firemen." This was the beginning of the New York fire companies. This act was passed in consequence of a large fire which had recently occurred in the city. Thirty "strong, able, decent, honest, and sober men" were chosen for the service out of the six wards of the city—five from each ward.† The first engine-house had been erected at the corner of Wall and Broad streets the year before.

Near the close of the last century each engine-house was furnished with long poles, on each of which twelve leather fire-buckets, provided by the city, might be carried, for it was found inexpedient to depend upon private houses for a sufficiency of fire-buckets.

In 1798 "The Fire Department of the City of New York" was incorporated by act of the Legislature. It was to consist of all persons

* In "The Story of the Volunteer Fire Department of the City of New York," by George W. Sheldon, p. 6, may be seen a picture of one of these engines. To that excellent work the writer is greatly indebted.

† The men who composed the first fire company in the city were: John Tiebout, Hercules Wardeven, Jacobus de la Montagne, Thomas Brom, Abraham Van Gelder, William Roome, Jr., Walter Heyer, Johannes Alstein, Evert Pells, Jr., Jacobus Stoutenburgh, Peter Lote, Peter Braner, Albertis Tiebout, John Vredenburgh, John Dunsecombe, Johannes Roome, Peter Marschalk, Petrus Kip, Abraham Kip, Andrew Meyer, Jr., Robert Richardson, Rymer Burgus, Barent Burgh, David Van Gelder, Johannes Van Duerson, Martinus Bogert, Johannes Vredenburgh, John Van Suys, Adolphus Brase, and John Mann.

then or who might be thereafter members of any fire company of the city of New York. This brought the firemen of the city into closer social relations, and the spirit of the corps was very high. They served without pay, excepting in the form of some privileges, and they performed the arduous and sometimes dangerous service of the department with the utmost enthusiasm. "The pride and ambition of each fire company," said the now venerable Front Street merchant, Zophar Mills, the president of the Exempt Firemen's Association, to Mr. Sheldon, "were to be the first to reach a fire, and the most efficient in putting it out. We had as much love for that as we possibly could for anything else. We would leave our business, our dinner, our anything, and rush for the engine. The night I was getting married there was a fire. I could see it, and I wanted to go immediately. But the next morning early, before breakfast, there was another fire, and I went to that. So you may judge how we liked it. If we had a parade, we paid the expenses ourselves. We always paid for the painting, repairing, and decorating our engines. The engine to which I belonged (No. 13) was silver plated—the first that was so—at a cost perhaps of \$2000. We didn't ask the corporation to foot the bill. . . . There were few 'roughs' then, as in modern times. Nor were there any salaries, except in the case of the chief engineer and temporarily of the assistant engineer. Firemen now are liberally compensated; they get \$1200 a year each, and are retired on half pay, if infirm, after ten years' service." *

Mr. Mills is a most remarkable man. His physical and mental energy was always marvellous, and he retains these characteristics now, at the age of seventy-five years. For thirty years he was an active member of the fire department of New York City, as a private, foreman, assistant engineer, and president of the department. He began the peculiar service by running with Engine No. 13, when he was a boy thirteen years of age. "For a number of years," says Mr. Sheldon, "he acted as leader of the floor at the annual ball of the department, and also as treasurer of the ball committee. In a single night often he would be at the treasurer's office, would leave for the ball-room and show the firemen how to dance, would run with his engine to a fire, and then return and dance until morning.

Mr. Mills, in his prime, had a voice of wonderful power. "He had a throat like a lion," said an old fireman to Mr. Sheldon. "I slept in the attic of my house in order more easily to hear alarms of fire. I've

* Sheldon's "Story of the Volunteer Fire Department," p. 20.

heard Zophar Mills's halloo from Pearl Street, when I was in bed in William Street, 'Turn out ! turn out ! Fire ! fire !' Of course when he yelled that, out I went. The tones of his voice had come to me through five blocks—from Pearl to Cliff Street, from Cliff to Vandewater, from Vandewater to Rose, and from Rose to William—say eight hundred feet at least, and they could be heard distinctly at that distance." On one occasion he ran all the way from Pearl Street to the Hell Gate ferry, at Eighty-sixth Street, and then crossed the river. Mr. Mills was born in the city of New York in September, 1809.*

The New York Fire Department has always been prompt and energetic in responding to the public desires when any great parade of citizens was to take place, like that of the reception of Lafayette in 1824, the great canal celebration the next year, in honor of the revolution in France in 1830, the introduction of the Croton water in 1842, and the completion of the laying of the Atlantic cable in 1858.

In 1791 some members of the Volunteer Fire Department, at a convivial party, initiated measures for creating a fund called the "Fire Department Fund," for the benefit of indigent and disabled firemen. In the charter of the department, obtained in 1798, there was a provision for the maintenance of such a fund. For a long series of years the recipients of the benefits were few, and a surplus was accumulated. It was invested in fire-insurance stock, and was all lost when the great fire of 1835 ruined many insurance companies. But the citizens of New York, appreciating the services of the department, came to the rescue, and contributed \$24,000 toward a reinstatement of the fund. It experienced vicissitudes afterward, and the Legislature gave it aid at one time.

After the volunteer system was succeeded by a Paid Fire Department, this trust was confided to the Exempt Volunteer Firemen. It then amounted to \$90,000 ; it is now (1883) over \$130,000. The Paid Fire Department has a fund of more than \$400,000. From time to time this fund of the volunteer firemen was increased by the proceeds of entertainments freely given by theatres, etc. Among the most active promoters of that fund was the now venerable John W. Degrauw, who was an energetic fireman from 1816 to 1837. For many years he was president of the fire department.†

* In December, 1853, on the retirement of Mr. Mills from the office of president of the fire department, a series of complimentary resolutions was passed, and in August, 1853, the representatives of that department presented him with a tea-service of silver which cost \$1000.

† John W. Degrauw was an active merchant at the beginning of 1883, although then

The Association of Exempt Firemen was formed in 1841, for the purpose of protecting the benevolent fund of the department, for there had been at that early day some talk of a Paid Fire Department. In the fall of 1843 the name of the society was changed to "The Association of Exempt Firemen of the City of New York," with the avowed object of affording such aid to the fire department in the city as lay in their power. The first president of the association was Uzziah Wenman; the present (1883) incumbent is Zophar Mills, elected in 1876.

The bill establishing the Paid Fire Department in the city of New York was passed by the Legislature on the 30th of March, 1865. The department as a body had vehemently opposed the measure. It was intimated that the firemen would, in a body, resign and abandon their apparatus. There was much excitement in the city. On one engine-house were posted the words "To let;" on another, "Closed in consequence of a death in the family;" and on another, "Shut up for one year; occupants gone to Saratoga." The firemen met in most of the engine-houses to consider the situation, and most of them "took the

nearly eighty-six years of age, having been born in May, 1797, in the ward in which his store now is, No. 67 Washington Street. He is of Huguenot descent. His father and grandfather were soldiers during the whole of the old war for independence. He went into a store as clerk seventy-five years ago, and has been in business ever since.

"I'll tell you how I live," Mr. Degrauw said to the author of "The Story of the Volunteer Fire Department" in 1880. "I ride every day, and go to bed every night at nine o'clock. I get my dinner here [in his store—he lives in Brooklyn]—they send it to me from home—and take a little drop of brandy and water. I'll show you my dinner today." He brought out a little basket containing a bottle of preserved berries, a cup of custard, and some bread and butter. "I go home for supper; no meat, but a piece of toast, something light, and a cup of tea. Then to bed (unless somebody comes in), and half a wineglass of brandy or gin. I never chewed tobacco. I have smoked about all my life, but I've given that up now. At present I burn only two or three cigars a day."

Mr. Degrauw is a remarkable man. His memory goes back to the earlier days of this century, when "boys skated from Broadway near Pearl Street to the North River," and flew their kites on the green hills at Leonard Street, beyond the old hospital, "away out in the country." He helped cast up intrenchments at McGowan's Pass (now in Central Park), Manhattanville, and Brooklyn during the war of 1812. He served a term in the State Legislature, and at an early age became an active volunteer fireman. He has ever been a passionate lover of flowers, and he introduced the custom of decorating the coffin and the church with flowers at funerals. For thirteen years he was president of the old Brooklyn Horticultural Society. Of music too he is fond, and has been for many years a member of the executive committee of the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

Mr. Degrauw was a volunteer fireman twenty years, a member of Company 16 during the whole time. For several years he was a trustee and president of the fire department; chairman of the school committee of the Trustees' Fund provided for the education of firemen's children; helped to make arrangements for the earliest firemen's balls, and secured benefits from the managers of theatres.

matter philosophically." At a meeting at Firemen's Hall, on the first of April, Chief-Engineer Decker advised the firemen to continue their services to the city, and there was a most generous spirit displayed. By their conduct at that crisis the firemen of New York won the respect and gratitude of the citizens. The Volunteer Fire Department was disbanded, and the Paid Fire Department took its place. The property of the department was turned over to a board of fire commissioners, appointed by the governor of the State.

The changed conditions of the city made this revolution in the fire department necessary. The introduction of steam fire-engines diminished the number of men necessary to the successful working of the machines. The rapid extension of the area of the city and other conditions made it advisable to have a fire department composed of men who would give their entire time to the extinguishment of fires.

The firemen of New York City have ever been ready to act promptly and bravely in defence of their country. In the war of the Revolution, in the second war for independence, and in the late Civil War, their conduct, at home and in the field, was ever conspicuous.*

The steam fire-engine was introduced into the city of New York in 1841. The frequency and extent of conflagrations in the city during the winter of 1839-40 called the attention of the citizens generally, and of the insurance companies in particular, to the subject of adopting more efficient means for extinguishing fires than the city possessed.

* Scores of anecdotes, amusing and pathetic, have been related concerning the conduct of New York firemen. The following characteristic one will suffice as an example :

"In Barnum's old Museum, on the present site of the *Herald* office, some firemen once appeared as actors in a play entitled *The Patriots of '76*. Barnum's manager had observed that the Lady Washington Light Guards, a target company composed of members of Engine Company No. 40, marched with considerable precision, having been drilled industriously. 'Why not get them to perform some of their evolutions in our new military play?' he thought. The idea was not distasteful to the men of the engine company, and they agreed to accept the proposal and turn over the proceeds of the engagement to some of their number who were out of work. In due time they appeared on the stage of the lecture-room of the Museum, some dressed as Hessians and Continentals, others as Indians, and one as Moll Pitcher, the famous heroine of Revolutionary days; but while in the midst of a most exciting act the City Hall bell sounded an alarm of fire. 'Boys,' cried their foreman, who was acting with them, 'boys, there's a fire in the Seventh District!' The words had scarcely escaped his lips when his thirty comrades bolted from the stage, rushed up Broadway for their engine, and soon returned with it—the most extraordinary looking fire company ever seen in the streets of a civilized or uncivilized community, Moll Pitcher at the head of the rope, and a live Indian brandishing a foreman's trumpet. On reaching the fire, followed by a motley and jeering crowd, they applied themselves earnestly to the brakes, while the manager in the Museum was endeavoring to explain to his audience the cause of his sudden dilemma."

The untiring efforts of the well-organized Volunteer Fire Department seemed insufficient to perform the arduous duties required of them, and general alarm pervaded the community.

At this juncture the Mechanics' Institute of the City of New York offered its gold medal—the highest honor within its gift—as a reward for the best method of applying steam as a motor for fire-engines. Several plans were submitted, and the award was given to Captain John Ericsson, an eminent Swedish engineer, who had recently come to America from England. He estimated the power of the engine which he proposed to be equal to that of 108 men.*

Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati had steam fire-engines before New York, owing to the opposition of the Volunteer Fire Department in the latter city. It was seen that if four or five men could handle a machine, there was no use of having sixty men and several assistants to do the work. The occupation of the Volunteer Department would be gone. This opposition was effectual to prevent their introduction for many years. The chief engineer, so late as 1859, said to the common council that their introduction “ would embarrass seriously the volunteer system.”

Through the exertions of the underwriters a steam fire-engine appeared in the city in 1841. It was built by Paul Hodge & Co., in Laight Street. It could throw 10,000 pounds of water through a two and one eighth inch nozzle to a height of 160 feet a minute. But it was embarrassed in various ways by the practical opposition of the firemen. Nevertheless the steamers by their own merits finally conquered all opposition, and when the volunteers perceived their introduction inevitable, they wisely concluded the new machines would be valuable auxiliaries of the hand-engines. In time the steamers superseded the latter, and now (1883) the city of New York possesses about fifty steam fire-engines and as many hose-tenders.

* Engravings of this engine, elevation and plans, were made by the author of this work, and published in Mapes's *Repertory of Arts, Science, and Manufactures* for October, 1840 ; also in the *Family Magazine*, edited by the present writer.

CHAPTER XII.

AT the beginning of the first decade the city of New York was furnished with an amended charter. A city convention, composed of five members from each ward (sixty-five in all), chosen by the people in pursuance of a recommendation of the common council, met in June, 1829, for the purpose of revising and proposing amendments to the charter. A series of amendments was agreed to, after a protracted discussion. These were submitted to the people of the several wards, and approved by them in ratification meetings. Application was then made to the Legislature to ratify these amendments by law, and to make them a part of the charter. This was done on April 7, 1830.

The essential alterations in the charter consisted in a division of the common council into two distinct boards, consisting of a board of aldermen and a board of assistants, to sit and act separately, with concurrent and equal powers. These two boards constituted together the legislative department of the municipal government. It provided that every law, ordinance, or resolution of the common council must pass both boards, and be submitted to the mayor before it passes, and if he, within ten days, returned the same with objections, it must be reconsidered, and pass both boards by a majority of all the members elected to each before it became a law of the corporation.

It provided for the choice, for one year, of one alderman and one assistant alderman in each ward. The two boards were empowered to direct a special election to fill any vacancy that might occur in their respective boards. Each board was given authority to compel the attendance of absent members, to punish members for disorderly behavior, and to expel a member with the concurrence of two thirds of the members elected to each board. Any law, ordinance, or resolution might originate in either board, and might be amended or rejected by the other.

It prohibited any member of either board from holding any office of which the emoluments were paid from the city treasury, or by fees directed to be paid by any ordinance of the common council, or from

being interested, directly or indirectly, in any contract, the expense of which should be paid by the city government.

Hitherto the mayor and recorder were *ex-officio* members of the common council ; the amended charter declared that neither of these officers should be a member of the council after the second Tuesday in May, 1831. The mayor, as before, was to be appointed by the governor of the State, by and with the consent of the State Senate ; but by the alteration of the charter, and by act of the Legislature, March 3, 1834, it was provided that the chief magistrate of the city should be chosen annually by the electors of the municipality.

The amended charter provided that in the absence of the mayor, or when there should be a vacancy in the office, the president of the board of aldermen should exercise the functions of mayor. The mayor was required to communicate to the common council at least once a year (oftener if required) a general statement of the condition of the city government, finances, and improvements, and recommend such measures as he should deem expedient. The common council were prohibited from borrowing moneys on the credit of the corporation, except in anticipation of the revenue of the year, unless by a special act of the Legislature, and their intention to do so must be published two months preceding the charter election. It provided that the executive business of the corporation should be performed by distinct departments, which it was the duty of the common council to organize and appoint for that purpose.

This charter remained in force and unamended until 1849, excepting in the matter relating to the election of the mayor by the people. The first chief magistrate of the city chosen by the electors was Cornelius W. Lawrence, who was elected by the Democratic party in 1834.

For several years previous to the creation of this amended charter, New York had been governed by one body, composed of the mayor, recorder, and common council (the latter consisting of one alderman and assistant alderman from each ward), sitting in one chamber. The corporation was vested with the power of enacting municipal laws and of enforcing their observance, under proper penalties. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen were *ex-officio* justices of the peace, having power to hold courts of General Sessions and to decide as to all offences coming under the cognizance of the regular justices of the peace. They were likewise included in the commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of capital offences, and were empowered to hold a court of Common Pleas, which had been called the Mayor's Court, in which civil actions of every description were tried.

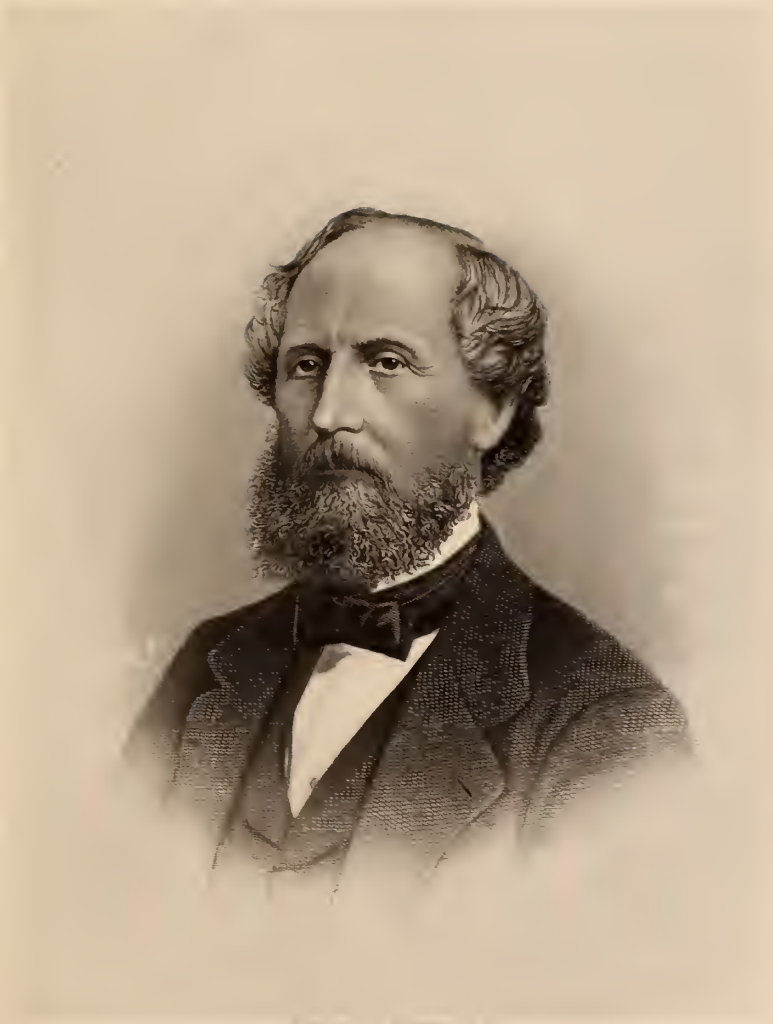
In 1821 a permanent law judge was appointed to preside in the Mayor's Court, an act having been passed changing the name to the Court of Common Pleas for the City of New York. This act was drawn by John Anthon, then the most prominent practitioner in the Mayor's Court. The officer thus created was called the first judge, to hold office during good behavior, or until he should attain the age of sixty years. In 1822 the term of this office was changed to five years, and the power of appointment, theretofore lodged in the Council of Appointment, was vested in the governor of the State. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen were still authorized to sit in that court, but the first judge was empowered to hold the court without them ; indeed it was made his special duty to hold it. John T. Irving, a brother of Washington Irving, was the first judge appointed under this law, and the mayor in 1821-23 (Stephen Allen) ceased to preside in this court. In 1823 Richard Riker, the recorder, took the place of the mayor as the presiding judge of the Court of Sessions, and Irving sat as the judge of the Court of Common Pleas. This court was changed in 1846.

Judge Irving (born in 1778) was, in many respects, a model judge. He was remarkable for strict integrity, a strong love of justice, and for exact and methodical habits. He was attentive, careful, painstaking ; considered every case so attentively that his judgments were rarely reversed, and were uniformly treated by courts of revision with great respect.

Like his brother Washington, he had talent and taste for literary composition. He published in the newspapers, particularly in the *Morning Chronicle*, a Democratic journal started by his brothers, prose and poetical pieces, especially poetical attacks upon his political opponents, remarkable for their point, brilliancy, and satire. When he became judge his conscientious application to his duties ended his literary career, and no doubt shortened his life. At his death, which occurred in March, 1838, at the age of sixty, the bar of New York caused a handsome marble tablet, with his bust in relief and a suitable inscription in Latin, to be placed in the court-room. The following is a copy of the inscription :

“ VIRO · HONORATO
JOANNE · T · IRVING

QVEM · JVDICES · OFFICIO · MVLTOS · PER · ANNOS · FVNCTEM
ET · LEGVM · DOCTRINI · ET · MORVM · INTEGRITAS · FELICISSIME · CONDECORABANT
IVRISCONSVLTI · NEO · EBORACENSES · QVIBVS · ET · AMICI · ET · MAGISTRI
TAM · TRISTE · RELQVIT · DESIDERVM
H · M · PONENDVM · CVRAVERVNT.”



Jos W. Child

It was during the presidency of Judge Irving in the Court of Common Pleas that New York presented a remarkable array of brilliant lawyers. In that court might have been seen Thomas Addis Emmet,* Peter A. Jay,† Peter W. Radcliffe, Samuel M. Hopkins, John Anthon,‡ Martin S. Wilkins, Elisha W. King, David B. Ogden, William Samson, William Slosson, Pierre C. Van Wyck, John T. Mulligan, Robert Bogardus, Thomas Phoenix, Joseph D. Fay, David Graham, Sen., Hugh Maxwell, John Leveridge, Ogden Hoffman (then rapidly rising in the profession), and others.

There was a Court of Sessions, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, a Marine Court, and ward district courts. The Court of Sessions was a tribunal for determining in all cases of felony and of offences committed within the city, and had power to appoint special sessions of the peace for the same purposes. The judges of the Court of Sessions consisted of the recorder and two aldermen; that of the Court of Oyer and Terminer consisted of the recorder and aldermen, and was empowered to try all cases of treason, felony, and other inferior crimes. The Marine Court was a tribunal consisting of three judges, two of whom were

* Thomas Addis Emmet, LL.D., a political refugee from Ireland, was an eminent member of the New York bar. He was born in Cork in 1764, and died in New York City in November, 1827. An obelisk of white marble marks his grave in St. Paul's churchyard, near Broadway. He was a brother of the celebrated Irish patriot and martyr, Robert Emmet, and a son of a distinguished Dublin physician. He studied medicine in Edinburgh and law in England, was admitted to the Dublin bar in 1791, and soon rose to distinction in his profession. He was a leader of the league known as United Irishmen, and was one of the general committee of that body. During the outbreak in Ireland in 1798 he was arrested, with others, and suffered imprisonment in Scotland more than two years, during which time he wrote a work entitled "Pieces of Irish History," on which he had been engaged, and illustrative of the condition of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, which was printed in New York in 1807. He was finally permitted to withdraw to France, where he was joined by his family, and came to America, arriving at New York in November, 1804. There he soon became distinguished in his profession as a laborious and successful pleader and finished orator. In 1812 he was attorney-general of the State of New York, but served only six months. In 1824 Columbia College conferred on Mr. Emmet the honorary degree of LL.D.

† Peter Augustus Jay was the eldest son of Governor John Jay, and was his private secretary while governor and chief justice. He was president of the New York Historical Society, and an active member of the New York bar. In 1816 he represented a district in the New York Assembly, and was recorder of New York City in 1819-20. Columbia College conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D.

‡ John Anthon, LL.D., was a native of Detroit, where he was born in 1784. He was in the military service in the war of 1812. He was a most industrious lawyer, and tried more causes, it is said, than any other man, at the New York bar or elsewhere. He was instrumental in establishing the Superior Court in the city of New York, and the Law Institute. He was president of the latter at the time of his death, in March, 1863. He published several works of great interest to the legal profession.

always present at a trial, or no legal decision could be obtained. It was empowered to try actions for debt to the amount of \$100 or less, to determine seamen's wages to any amount, and in actions of assault and battery or false imprisonment among seamen and passengers. It was distinct from all other courts of justice ; it had no power to hold sessions of the peace, but as to keeping the peace its officers had the same power as other magistrates. The ward district courts tried questions of debt and trespass to the amount of \$50 ; also all petty cases, such as came under the cognizance of justices of the peace in towns. The sessions were held every day excepting Sundays and holidays. The district courts now are similar to those of 1830.

The duties of the police of the city at that time were regulated and discharged by three justices appointed for the purpose by the common council. The chancellor, justices of the Supreme Court, and members of the common council might attend the sessions of the Police Court, which were held every day excepting Sunday, and assist the police justices. At least one police justice and the police clerk had to be in attendance at sunrise every morning to take cognizance of offences committed during the night against the peace and good order of the city. Besides the ordinary duties of examining persons brought up for breaches of the peace and other offences, and binding over the parties to be prosecuted at the sessions when that appeared necessary, the police magistrates possessed powers, in certain cases, similar to those exercised by aldermen of the city in certain cases out of the sessions, such as "illegitimate children, apprentices, servants, vagrants, vagabonds," etc. For these sessions they received the same fees as aldermen, besides a fixed salary.

The night guardians of the peace and of the property of the citizens of New York before 1831 were a few watchmen, stationed upon prescribed "beats" and subject to certain rules. They were appointed by the common council. A prescribed number of men — trustworthy men—were chosen from among the householders who were citizens, as "captains of the watch." These, under the Watch Committee of the corporation, fixed the rounds of the watchmen, who were also appointed by the common council, prescribed their duties, visited the stations, reported delinquencies, suspended an offending watchman till the pleasure of the common council should be known, and made a return every morning to the police justices of the names and number of watchmen on duty the preceding night, and the delinquents, if any. For these services each captain of the watch received \$1.87½ as a compensation for each night's service.

The watchmen were divided into companies, and to each company were added twelve substitutes, to act in case of absence of the regular watchmen. The watchmen were summarily dismissed if found sleeping or intoxicated while on duty, or absent without sufficient excuse. It was their duty to arrest offenders and detain them until discharged. In addition to these routine services, the watchmen were required, in case of a riot or disorder, or on any extraordinary occasion, to assist those in other districts. For all this prescribed vigilance, for exposure to the vicissitudes of weather and to the danger of encounters with desperate men, the watchmen in the city of New York fifty years ago were paid the munificent sum of 87½ cents for every night's service!

The most notable man among the officers appointed to administer justice and preserve order in the city of New York fifty or sixty years ago was Richard Riker, a sort of vicar-general of the police, night-watch, and fire departments, when exercising the functions of his office. He was an upright and sagacious judge at the head of a court, and an estimable citizen. He served as recorder of the city twenty years, at three different times, beginning with 1815 and ending with 1838. Mr. Edwards, in his interesting volume, "Pleasantries about Courts and Lawyers of the State of New York," gives most agreeable glimpses of the character and career of Recorder Riker.

"No one," says Mr. Edwards, "can take up works containing criminal trials of the period when Mr. Riker was presiding judge without being satisfied that he was a sound criminal lawyer. His decisions were generally correct, and what is not common with a criminal magistrate, he rather softened toward the erring as his years on the bench increased—perhaps even a weakness was exhibited in the familiar style he used. But with him it was honesty of heart. He was the last man to wound by word or manner." *

Recorder Riker was remarkably courteous and gentlemanly in his deportment, treating all persons of high or low degree with equal suavity. He was so childlike in his confidence, that when sitting at chambers to grant orders, for which judges were then paid a fee by fixed statute, he seldom looked over the papers, but signed his name almost as a matter of course. It is related that Anthony Dey, who loved the recorder, made a small wager that he would induce Mr. Riker to grant an order for his own commitment to prison. Dey took a mittimus to him to that effect. He signed it, and took the prescribed fee for his signature. The paper he had signed authorized the sheriff

* "Pleasantries," p. 389.

of New York City and County to "commit Richard Riker, Esq., recorder and supreme court commissioner, to the common jail!"

At the beginning of the century, when Mr. Riker was a young man and political party spirit was fierce between Republicans and Federalists, after the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, a duel had been fought between De Witt Clinton, then mayor of New York, and Colonel John Swartwout. Riker, then about thirty years of age, was a warm political partisan and an ardent personal friend and admirer of Clinton. They had studied law together, and were as intimate as brothers. He had been Mr. Clinton's second in the duel. After that event Clinton was scandalously maligned in the opposition newspapers. He was satirized and caricatured. Mr. Riker was indignant, and published his sentiments in defence of his friend so freely that it caused a challenge to fight to be sent to him by Colonel Swartwout's brother Robert.

Young Riker, brave as he was generous, accepted the challenge. They fought at Weehawken, near where General Hamilton fell a few months later. Mr. Pierre C. Van Wyck was Mr. Riker's second. At the word given Riker fell, severely wounded in the right leg a little above the ankle joint.

The wounded man was taken on a litter to his house in Wall Street, near the old City Hall, where he then kept bachelor's hall with his brother. Dr. Richard Kissam, his warm friend, was in immediate attendance.

"Would you like a consultation of surgeons?" asked Kissam.

"What would be the result?" inquired Riker.

"The result would be that the leg must be taken off," was the reply.

"What chance do I stand for my life by keeping my limb?" inquired the sufferer.

"One chance in ten," was the reply.

"I accept the chance cheerfully," said Riker; "so now, my friend, do what you can, and by the aid of the Almighty and a fine constitution I may yet save both limb and life."

This duel was fought on November 14, 1803. When Swartwout was afterward asked how Riker appeared on the field he replied, "As brave as Julius Cæsar."

Mr. Riker's political enemies tried to have the wounded man arrested for the misdemeanor of fighting a duel, but his friend General Hamilton persuaded the law officers to stop the proceedings. At that time Mr. Riker was deputy attorney-general of the State. The wound made him lame all his life.

“It is a pity,” says Edwards, “Halleck, so full of heart himself, should, in mere playfulness, have penned and allowed the following incorrectness to go in type in his poem, ‘The Recorder,’ published in 1828 :

“ ‘The Recorder, like Bob Acres, stood
Edgewise upon a field of blood,
The why and wherefore Swartwout knows ;
Pulled trigger, as a brave man should,
And shot, God bless them, his own toes.’ ”

In the same poem Halleck wrote :

“ My dear Recorder, you and I
Have floated down life’s stream together,
And kept unharmed our friendship’s tie,
Through every change in Fortune’s sky,
Her pleasant and her rainy weather.”

As an instance of Mr. Riker’s engaging manner, it is related that when John Van Wyck took Swartwout’s challenge to him (who was apprised of the errand), he cheerfully invited the bearer into his office, saying unconcernedly that he had an interesting law case, and would like to have Van Wyck’s views upon it. So pleasant and kindly was the impression which was made of Riker in the mind of Swartwout’s messenger that he went back and told his principal he would not act as his second.

Recorder Riker’s methods in quelling riots—using kindness instead of ball and bayonet—were marvellously successful. Undoubtedly his own personal character had much to do in his achieving success.

On one occasion there was a riot in the Five Points, then the worst sink of iniquity in the city. Men, women, and children were hurling missiles of every kind in a fearful manner. The recorder was urged to call out the military to suppress the disturbance. The mob was composed largely of Irish. He called on the aged Father O’Brien, a Roman Catholic priest, and invited him to assist in quieting the mob. The good priest put on his stole, and with a missal in hand walked arm-in-arm with the recorder to the scene of excitement. The priest went reading his book. In an instant after he appeared the mob began to disperse, and very soon disappeared down cellar steps and through narrow alleys. Before the two had reached the Points, not a person was to be seen.

On another occasion, returning in the evening from his almost daily visit to his aged mother, “up-town,” near Canal Street, the recorder

saw a crowd of white men in Broadway, near Anthony (now Worth) Street, fiercely attacking a house occupied by colored people, and pelting them with missiles as they attempted to leave the house. The occasion for the attack was the marriage of a white girl to a negro. The frightened inmates rushed to the street for safety just as the recorder appeared. He went into the midst of the colored people and told them to gather around him and he would protect them. Missiles were flying thick and fast. Mr. Riker called on the assailants to stop. A voice cried out :

“ That’s the recorder ; don’t throw those stones ! ”

The assailants obeyed, and then shouted, “ Hurrah for the recorder ! let him pass. ”

Mr. Riker led the colored people in safety to the City Hall, where they were kept in security until morning.*

At this period the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, at first organized as a patriotic, benevolent, and social institution at the beginning of Washington’s first term as President, was a controlling power in the Democratic party in the city of New York, and has been ever since.

It was founded chiefly through the exertions of William Mooney, an upholsterer in New York City. Its first meeting was held on May 13, 1789, about a fortnight after Washington’s inauguration in the New York City Hall. The society took its name from St. Tammany or Tammanend, a noted Delaware chief, supposed to have been one of those who made the famous treaty with William Penn. It was a tra-

* Richard Riker was born at the family homestead on the shore of Bowery Bay, L. I., just opposite Riker’s Island, on September 9, 1773. The tract of land on which his birth-place stood was given by William, Prince of Orange, in 1630, to Geysbert Riker, the progenitor of the family in this country. The house in which he was born was burned by the British during the old war for independence ; for his father, Samuel Riker, was a leading patriot in that region, and his mother, Anna Lawrence, was the daughter of another zealous patriot, Thomas Lawrence. It was rebuilt at the close of the Revolution.

Mr. Riker’s father was an active member of the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Newtown, a lieutenant of a troop of light-horsemen, and the first supervisor of the town elected by the people at the close of the war, 1783. It is related that when Richard was three years of age a British officer and some of his men were quartered upon the family of Mr. Lawrence, Mrs. Riker’s father. She was then an inmate of the house. One day the little boy was playing on the grass, near where the officers were sitting, watched by his mother. The boy, perceiving a small ornamented dirk in the officer’s belt, suddenly seized it, drew it from its sheath, and thrusting it toward the officer, said :

“ Dis is the way my papa ’ticks the Reg’lars. ”

The officer, amused by the spirit of the boy, playfully caught him in his arms and said :

dition that he "loved liberty more than life," and he was therefore chosen to be the tutelar saint of the new patriotic organization. Tammany was canonized by his admirers during the old war for independence, and he was established as the tutelar saint of the new Republic.

In imitation of a similar society which had been formed in Philadelphia, the officers consisted of a grand sachem and thirteen inferior sachems, representing the President of the United States and the governors of the thirteen States. Besides these there was a grand council, of which the sachems were members. It very soon became exceedingly popular, and its membership included most of the best men of New York City. No party politics were allowed to be discussed at its meetings.

But circumstances soon changed the character of the association. On account of the violent resistance to law of the secret Democratic societies at the time of the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794, President Washington denounced "self-constituted societies." Nearly all the members of the Tammany Society, believing they were included in this condemnation, withdrew from it. Mooney and others adhered to the organization, and from that time it became a political society, taking sides with Jefferson and the Democratic party, of which he was the father. They first met as such at Martling's Long Room, on the south-east corner of Nassau and Spruce streets.

In the year 1800 the Tammany Society determined to build a "wigwam," and Tammany Hall, after considerable delay, was erected, on the site of Martling's. The corner-stone was laid in May, 1811, and the

"It I meet your father in battle, I will spare him for your sake, my brave little fellow!"

Richard received a good English education, and studied law with Samuel Jones. A fellow-student was De Witt Clinton. They there formed a mutual friendship, which was warm and unbroken until death.

In early manhood Riker was deputy attorney-general of the State of New York, and afterward a Supreme Court commissioner. General Hamilton was his personal and political friend. At past thirty years of age he married a daughter of Daniel Phoenix, a leading man in New York City. He was one of a party who received General Washington at France's tavern, and read an address of the citizens to him after the evacuation of the city by the British, in November, 1783. Mr. Phoenix was for many years treasurer of the city. Mr. Riker was married (probably) at Mr. Phoenix's country residence at Greenwich Village, on Manhattan Island.

Mr. Riker was first chosen recorder of the city in 1815, and served four years. He was again chosen in 1821, and served two years, and being appointed recorder again in 1824, he served fourteen years successively. He died at "Arch Brook," his country residence, at the foot of Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth streets (East River), in New York City, on October 16, 1842. He has two daughters living in the city of New York—Mrs. Samuel Spring and Mrs. Harris Wilson.

hall was finished the next year. The venerable Jacob Barker, who died in Philadelphia in 1871 at the age of ninety-two years, was the last survivor of the building committee of thirteen. This hall was abandoned a few years ago (now occupied by the *Sun* newspaper establishment), and a new building was erected in Fourteenth Street, not far from Irving Place.

One of the most active members of the Tammany Society for many years was the Hon. Clarkson Crolius, who was the grand sachem or sagamore of the institution. Year after year the political and social power of the Tammany Society increased, and now it is considered the most thoroughly organized body of the kind in the Republic. It ordinarily polls about half of the entire vote of the city. It has committees in every district in the city, and a central or general committee of over eleven hundred members. This committee is, in theory, the head of the party, but usually the most active and influential member of the party—a “boss”—controls that committee by seeing that only such men as suit his views are chosen by it. The executive body of this central committee is the Committee on Discipline, of which, generally, the chief of the party is chairman. Before the Committee on Discipline any member, either of a district committee or of the central committee, may be summoned and tried for party disloyalty, and, if found guilty, expelled.*

It was at the beginning of this decade that political party spirit, which had been kept partially subordinate to the public good for several years, appeared in a most aggressive and alarming aspect. It had been aroused, fostered, and stimulated by the events of the presidential election which placed General Andrew Jackson in the chair of Chief Magistrate of the Republic, in the spring of 1829.

A disturbing and dangerous element had now begun to appear prominently in our political system. The practical effects of universal suffrage, very little restricted, had opened a wide door for the political

* The device of the certificate of membership adopted by the society was a pointed arch composed of two cornucopias resting on two columns, on each side of which were two figures, one of Liberty, the other of Justice. On a pedestal bearing the former were the figures 1776; on that bearing the latter were the figures 1789. Below the foundation upon which the two columns rest is an arch resting upon rocks. The arch is composed of thirteen stones, bearing the respective names of the thirteen original States. The key-stone is Pennsylvania, and it is supposed by some that this feature in the Tammany certificate of membership was the origin of the calling of Pennsylvania the Keystone State. Below this arch is a view of land and water and symbols of agriculture and commerce. The certificate was designed by Dr. Charles Buxton, and engraved on copper by George Graham.



Eng. by G. S. [unreadable]

R. B. Whiston

influences of a new class of citizens. These were aliens from Europe, most of them illiterate, and all of them strangers to our laws and our free institutions. These immigrants were mostly from Ireland. They were met by naturalization laws which discriminated in their favor, as to native-born citizens.

The American citizen arriving at the "age of accountability" has to wait *seven* years before he may exercise the great right and privilege of the elective franchise; the foreigner, however ignorant or debased, might attain that grand acquisition of American citizenship in *five* years.

This discrimination had been made by a party in power for the purpose of securing the votes of these foreigners, of whom fully ninety per cent could neither read nor write, and who, as a rule, could be bought and sold like "dumb, driven cattle." New York City, into which a greater portion of the tide of foreign immigration was pouring at that time, was the first to experience the pernicious effects of the new order of things. These effects were rapidly developed, and it was not long before sensible and observing men perceived, with anxiety if not alarm, that the elections were becoming more and more mere shadowy imitations of the grand institution they pretended to represent. Instead of being the theatre for the exercise of one of the holiest rights and privileges of an American citizen, it had become a place of traffic between demagogues and ignorant voters, in which the commodities exchanged were the products of knaves and dupes. The vicious system then developed logically led to the fearful election riots of 1834, which will be considered presently.

Let us now turn to a more pleasant theme.

CHAPTER XIII.

A WRITER in 1850, alluding to the period of the first decade, said it was "the Augustan age of American literature." It was, indeed, comparatively so, for there was then a brilliant constellation of intellectual lights of various magnitude in the firmament of letters. A large number of these were then in New York City. Such a cluster had never been seen before. There were veteran writers whose laurels were secure ; there were young aspirants for fame which they afterward obtained in full measure.

There was also at that time a remarkable cluster of artists in the city of New York : some veterans wearing their laurels proudly, others of rare promise, who then and afterward fully vindicated the claims of American artists to the meed of superior excellence.

The literary men and artists were working together in the spirit of fraternal love. The recent creation of the National Academy of the Arts of Design ; the Sketch Club, with its twofold character, and other pleasant associations had brought the men of letters and of art into closer social communion than they ever had been before. There was then another bond of union still more potent than these. It was the New York *Mirror*, whose editor-in-chief and proprietor was George P. Morris, the eminent lyric poet. In its pages appeared the contributions of all the leading literary men of the day, and in its few illustrations were displayed the genius of the best painters, draughtsmen, and engravers of the time in the city of New York. The *Mirror* was the most generous patron of literature and the fine arts of that time, and had a deservedly high reputation and wide circulation.

In the opening number of the ninth volume of the *Mirror* (1831-32) appeared a remarkable poetical contribution, in which the literati and the artists (painters, engravers, and musicians) who contributed to its pages were introduced by name. The poem was from the pen of an anonymous correspondent. General T. S. Cummings, who was one of the leading artists of the day, and now (1883) one of the three survivors of the founders of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, is quite certain the author was A. J. Mason, an Englishman, who was

one of the most expert engravers on wood of that time. Mr. Mason had come to New York in 1829, and in 1832 was chosen professor of wood engraving in the National Academy of the Arts of Design.*

The poem alluded to was entitled "The Ninth Anniversary: A Dramatic Medley in one Act." The *dramatis personæ* were, of Immortals, the nine Muses, and of Mortals, the editors, collector, and "printer's devil" of the *Mirror*, and the librarian of Clinton Hall.

Three of the goddesses—Polyhymnia, the muse that presides over singing and rhetoric; Erato, the presiding genius of lyric and tender poetry, and Terpsichore, the muse presiding over dancing—are first represented in a scene on the Battery, with music in Castle Garden. It is moonlight, and they begin chanting thus:

Polyhymnia. When shall we three meet again
In honor of the *Mirror's* reign?
Erato. When the present volume's done,
When the Ninth is Number One.
Terpsichore. That won't be till June has run.
Pol. Where's the place?
Era. Within the Park. †
Terp. There to meet with—
Era. M—s. †
Terp. Hark!

* Abraham J. Mason was born in London, April 4, 1794, and became an orphan at the age of nine years. In 1808 he was bound as an apprentice to the wood engraver, Robert Branston, for seven years. He remained with Branston as assistant five years more. He engraved on metals also, but in 1821 he engaged in engraving on wood, professionally, on his own account. In 1826 he was chosen a member of the Royal Incorporated Artists, and the next year was on the committee of management of the London Mechanics' Institution. He delivered a discourse on the history of wood engraving before members of that body, and was invited to repeat it before the Royal Institution of Great Britain. It was given in the spring of 1829, before the literary men of the country. In the summer he gave a full course of lectures on the subject before the Mechanics' Institution. In the autumn of that year Mr. Mason came to the United States with his family, bringing with him letters of introduction from eminent men (among them Lord Brougham) to Dr. Hosack and other scientific men in the city of New York. He was made an associate of the National Academy of the Arts of Design in 1830, and delivered his course of lectures before that body. In 1832 he was chosen professor of wood engraving to the Academy. He also lectured in Boston. He was an anonymous contributor to the *Mirror*, and some of his engravings appear in that periodical.

So limited was the demand for wood engravings in this country that Mr. Mason returned to England late in 1838. He was a poet as well as an artist. I have a copy of a little volume entitled "Poetical Essays, by A. J. Mason," illustrated with exquisite wood engravings by himself, and printed in London in 1822. The engravings are from designs by John Thurston.

† The Park Theatre.

‡ Morris.

Pol. I come, Euterpe.

Era. Clio calls

From the Castle Garden walls.

All. Fair or foul, we pay no fare,
Hover o'er the bridge, and through the air."

Euterpe, the presiding genius of music ; Thalia, the muse who presides over comic poetry, and Clio, the genius of history, meet in the Park Theatre, while music is resounding from Peale's Museum. They enter into conversation thus :

" *Euterpe.* Where hast thou been, sister, say ?

Thalia. Strolling up and down Broadway,
Stripping vice of its disguise,
Shooting folly as it flies.
Paulding * now demands my aid ;
That's a call I can't evade.
Halleck † asks no favors, bless him !
All the sisters so caress him.
Cox, ‡ you know, in Albion's isle
Waits for my inspiring smile ;
Thither in a shell I'll sail,
Bannered with a peacock's tail ;
He will folly's emblem view,
And then he'll do, he'll do, he'll do !

Eut. I'll give thee a favoring wind.

Thal. Thank thee, sister, thou art kind.

Clio. I'll supply thee with another.

Thal. I myself have all the other.

Where hast thou been with thy flute ?

Eut. Austin's voice has kept it mute ;

For I cannot work such tones
As Cinderella breathes with Jones.
Brichta, Gillingham, and Knight
Fill their hearers with delight ;
Feron, George, and tuneful Poole,
Pupils of a Sterling school, §
All have won such high repute,
I've a mind to break my flute !

* James K. Paulding.

† Fitz-Greene Halleck.

‡ William Cox, an Englishman by birth, who was employed upon the *Mirror*, and made a literary reputation by his contributions to that periodical and the publication of a volume in 1833 entitled "Crayon Sketches by an Amateur." It had a preface written by Theodore S. Fay. Of this work the late Gulian C. Verplanck wrote : " It is full of originality, pleasantry, and wit, alternately reminding the reader of the poetic eloquence of Hazlitt and the quaint humor and eccentricities of Charles Lamb." Cox was a printer by trade. He returned to England, and died there in 1851.

§ These were public singers at the theatres.

All that I can now pretend
Is these sweetest airs to blend,
Copied weekly from the stage
For the *Mirror's* music page.

Thal. Where hast thou been, Sister Clio ?

Clio. In the classic isle of Scio,
Gathering facts to form a story
Of Moslem hate and Grecian glory ;
Present times and former ages,
Fit to grace the *Mirror's* pages,
Buried archives, deep and loamy,
Look what I have !

Thal. Show me ! Show me !

Clio. Here I have Minerva's thumb
Dug from Herculaneum.

Eul. Be dumb ! be mum ! Our sisters, come !"

Then enter all the Muses, and sing in concert. The editors of the *Mirror* appear, reading contributions by moonlight, and making comments on them. They are astonished at the sight of the Muses, each with her finger on her lip.

" They look not like the belles of gay Broadway,"

say the editors, and add :

" As females you appear,
And yet your *silence* baffles this idea."

The Muses greet them cordially with :

" All hail, M—s, F—y * and M—s, hail !"

They praise the editors, and promise great things for the *Mirror*. After that the Muses all appear on the Battery in the moonlight, singing and dancing in a frolicsome manner. They chant in chorus :

" Many more volumes must this one ensue :
New pictures will abound,
And elegance surround,
As if in plates were found
Propagation too."

While the nine sisters are dancing and uttering words of joy because of the success of the *Mirror*, Apollo, the patron of all the fine arts, suddenly appears, frowning in anger. Thalia speaks :

* George P. Morris and Theodore S. Fay, the joint editors of the *Mirror*.

“ *Thal.* How now, Apollo ! what’s the matter now ?
 There seems to be a cloud upon thy brow.
Apollo. Have I not reason ? meddlers as ye are,
 Saucy and overbold ? How did you dare
 To trade and traffic after dark,
 With F—y and M—s in the Park ?
 And I, the leader of your choir,
 ‘ The bright-haired master of the lyre,’
 Was never called to bear my part
 Or show the glory of our art.”

Apollo orders the Muses to disperse, and meet again at the Park Theatre at dawn. With Terpsichore he ascends in a balloon to spend the night in the air over “ poets’ garrets.” At sunrise the Nine are seen in Clinton Hall, and in the midst of them is a “ magic urn,” into which they cast their contributions for the *Mirror*—treasures of literature and art, all inspired by their potent spells. Apollo enters and says :

“ O, well done ! I commend your pains,
 For nothing’s lost the *Mirror* gains ;
 And now about the urn we’ll sing,
 Like elves and fairies in a ring,
 Enchanting all that we put in.

SONG.

Grave essays and light,
 Sad stories and gay,
 Mingle, mingle, mingle,
 You that mingle may.”

Then Melpomene, the muse of tragedy ; Calliope, the muse of epic poetry ; Urania, the muse of astronomy, and all the others join in concocting the mixture :

“ *Pol.* Sedley, Sedley, and his medley.
Terp. Wit of Paulding, sharp and scalding.
Erat. Verse of Palmer,* that’s a charmer.
Melpomene. Tale from Leggett, † readers beg it.
 CHORUS. *Around, around, around, about, about,*
Put in the good and keep the others out.
Thal. Paulding’s Dutch and Yankee chat.
Apollo. Put in that—put in that.
Urania. Here’s Bulwer’s brain.
Apollo. Put in a grain.
Thal. Here is Cox’s latest letter,
 That will please the reader better,” etc.

* William Pitt Palmer, one of the poetical contributors to the *Mirror*. He produced a few charming verses.

† William Leggett, then associated with Bryant in editing the *Evening Post*.

The librarian of Clinton Hall enters with a packet containing a "bucket-ful of sentiment," when Apollo says :

" Pour it in, 'tis Woodworth's * measure,"

and Erato speaks :

" Thus in poesy divine
 Many a gem for us doth shine.
 Sprague † our fingers shall inspire
 With his grandeur and his fire ;
 Halleck's classic satires charm,
 Wetmore's ‡ martial numbers warm ;
 Pierrepont's § airs and Schroeder's || lays
 Cheer us on our rugged ways ;
 Here with Brooks's ¶ taste is blent
 Bryant's ** heartfelt sentiment ;
 Sands's †† humor, Whittier's †† strength,
 Bryan's charity and length ;
 Pickering, §§ nature's simple bard ;
 Smooth and polished Everard,
 Willis, ||| delicate and chaste.
 Percival, ¶¶ of classic taste :
 Cooper, *** Irving, ††† Hillhouse, †††† Clark, §§§§
 Nack |||| and all will " toe the mark."
 Here is Huntley's ¶¶¶ sweetness stealing,
 Here is Embury's **** depth and feeling ;
 Thyrsa, Isabel, and Cora,
 Hinda, Jane, Estelle, and Nora,
 Ida, Selim, Alpha, Reuben,
 Damon, Rusticus, and Lubin ;
 Woodbridge, Iolante, Delia,
 Mary, Emma, and Aurelia ; ††††
 Bogert gentle, Muzzy tender,
 ☞s and **s of every gender.
 Signs and Greek initials plenty,
 A. B. C. the four-and-twenty."

* Samuel Woodworth, a printer, and one of the founders of the *Mirror*. The "bucket-ful of sentiment" is in allusion to Woodworth's popular song. "The Old Oaken Bucket."

† Charles Sprague. ‡ General Prosper M. Wetmore. § John Pierrepont.

|| Rev. J. F. Schroeder, then assistant minister of Trinity Church.

¶ James G. and Mary E. Brooks.

*** James Fenimore Cooper.

** William Culler Bryant.

††† Washington Irving.

†† Robert C. Sands.

††† James A. Hillhouse.

†† John Greenleaf Whittier.

§§§ Willis Gaylord Clark.

§§ John Pickering, son of Timothy Pickering.

|||| James Nack, a deaf mute.

||| N. P. Willis.

¶¶¶ Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney.

¶¶ James G. Percival.

**** Mrs. Emma C. Embury.

†††† The assumed fictitious names of some of the writers for the *Mirror*.

Apollo speaks :

“ Nor doth talent less abound,
 Nor is lesser riches found
 In those columns which compose
 Story or romance of prose ;
 Mirthful sketch, or strictures grave,
 Tales of wonder on the wave,
 Told in ‘ Leisure Hours at Sea.’ *
 When the wind is fair and free.
Erato. ‘ Little Genius,’ † bright and gay,
 From the racy pen of F—y.
 Critical remarks by B.,
 On dramatic melody ;
 Inman’s † candid speculations
 On dramatic publications ;
 W.’s ‘ each month in York,’
 All combine to aid the work.”

Apollo says :

“ Enough of letters ; now commence
 A detail of embellishments.”

Clio begins :

“ Here then, as before, I place
 Weir’s § grandeur, Ingham’s || grace ;
 Newton’s ¶ truth and Bennett’s ** nature,
 Henry Inman’s †† skill in feature ;
 Hoyle’s †† pellucid lake and sky,
 Fisher’s §§ coursers as they fly ;
 Architectural grace that shines,
 Bright in Davis’s ||| designs ;
 Cummings’s • ¶ delicious bloom,
 Speaking eye and snowy plume ;
 Jarvis, *** Leslie, ††† Morse, and Cole, †††
 Full of feeling, fire, and soul ;

* This is the title of a collection of poems of William Leggett.

† Under the name of “ The Little Genius,” Theodore S. Fay wrote a series of short essays for the *Mirror*.

‡ John Inman.

** W. J. Bennett, a landscape painter.

§ Robert W. Weir.

†† Henry Inman, a portrait painter.

|| Charles C. Ingham.

†† Raphael Hoyle.

¶ G. S. Newton.

§§ Alvan Fisher, an animal painter.

||| A. J. Davis, an architect, who drew several sketches of buildings for the *Mirror*.

• ¶ Thomas S. Cummings, “ miniature” or small portrait painter.

*** John Wesley Jarvis.

††† C. R. Leslie.

††† Thomas Cole, the eminent landscape painter.

Mountain scenery, bold and grand,
 From the pencil of Durand ; *
 Trumbull's † patriotic groups
 And Revolutionary troops ;
 Agate, ‡ Reinagle, § and Morse, ||
 Who teach the canvas to discourse
 With a host of names as high,
 Which oblivion shall defy ;
 Forming each a radiant gem,
 Modern painting's diadem."

Calliope speaks :

" From the graver's hand I bring
 No less rich an offering ;
 Sculptured on their plates, there shine
 Form for form, and line for line ;
 Light for light, and shade for shade
 In these picture-gems displayed.
 All may thus their beauties own,
 Kept before by one alone ;
 Living on such lasting plate,
 Though the models yield to fate.
 Here are Smillie's ¶ force and brightness,
 Hoagland's ** depth and Hatch's †† lightness
 Sparkling touches by Durand,
 Scenes from Smith's †† ingenious hand ;
 Balch §§ and Eddy, Rawdon, Wright, |||
 Whose performances delight ;
 Mason, ¶¶ Adams, *** Anderson, †††
 With a host come crowding on,
 Far too numerous to name,
 All whose works are known to fame."

Here Apollo breaks in :

" Hold ! enough of graphic art ;
 City view and rural chart ;
 Leave them all to graceful Weir,
 He will see that they appear ;

* Asher B. Durand (still living), the eminent engraver on steel, and also a painter.

† Colonel John Trumbull, then president of the American Academy of Fine Arts.

‡ F. S. Agate.

§ Hugh Reinagle, architect and painter.

|| Professor S. F. B. Morse.

¶ James Smillie, yet (1883) engaged in engraving on steel.

** William Hoagland, an engraver on wood.

†† George W. Hatch.

†† John R. Smith, an Englishman, and teacher of drawing.

§§ William Balch.

||| Members of the firm of Rawdon, Wright & Hatch, bank-note engravers.

¶¶ A. J. Mason.

*** Joseph A. Adams.

††† Dr. Alexander Anderson, the earliest engraver on wood in America.

Though we highly prize such treasures,
 They must yield to Music's measures.
 For our spells are not complete
 Till we add our art so sweet."

Then Euterpe speaks :

" Let the graceful task be mine :
 Haydn's splendor here shall shine,
 Handel's solemn grandeur roll,
 Weber's horrors fright the soul,
 Sweet Rossini's strains, that move
 E'en the sternest hearts to love ;
 With the grave Mozart's combined,
 Here shall charm the ear and mind ;
 While a thousand more in turn
 Shall contribute to the Urn."

This little drama made quite a stir in the realm of letters and art at that time, and public curiosity was piqued because of the mystery that enveloped the authorship. It was considered a clever production of the kind. Because it contains the names of many of the chief literary men and artists of the day in the city of New York, and because it was one of the curiosities of the literature of the metropolis, it has been so largely quoted from here. Doubtless some of the older readers of this work will remember the "town talk" it occasioned at the time, and the numerous wild guesses that were made as to its authorship. Mason, the supposed author, returned to London a few years afterward.

Among the literary men of New York fifty years ago, the most conspicuous were Washington Irving, James K. Paulding, Gulian C. Verplanck, Fitz-Greene Halleck, William Cullen Bryant, William Leggett, Robert C. Sands, George P. Morris, Theodore S. Fay, and promising Nathaniel P. Willis.

Mr. Irving had lately returned from Europe with a wealth of materials to use in his future literary labors. He had added to his literary reputation in England by the publication of his "Sketch Book" by the prince of publishers, John Murray, to whom he sold the copyright for \$1000. In London he was attached to the American legation, as secretary under Minister McLane, in 1829. Before leaving England the University of Oxford conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. He arrived in New York in May, 1832, and was a participant in a public banquet spread in his honor at the famous City Hotel by leading men in the city of his birth.



+ John Hughes Bishop of New York

Mr. Paulding was a brother-in-law of Mr. Irving, the sister of the former having married the latter's brother William. Paulding began his literary career with Irving in the publication of a series of sketches which were entitled "Salmagundi; or the Whimwhams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff and Others." They were the joint productions of Paulding and Irving, and continued to be issued periodically by David Longworth during the entire year 1807. These papers hit off the humor of the times with great freshness and vigor, and were very popular.

Paulding was a poet as well as a novelist. His first poem was "The Backwoodsman," which appeared in 1818. In 1826 appeared his "Merry Tales of the Three Wise Men of Gotham" who "went to sea in a bowl." It was a satire upon the social system propounded by Robert Owen. It was followed in 1828 by "The Traveller's Guide," which was surnamed "The New Pilgrim's Progress." It was a burlesque on the grandiloquent guide-books to the city and the works of English travellers on America. It gave satirical sketches of fashionable life and manners in New York when to be the mistress of a three-story brick house, with mahogany folding-doors between the parlors, and marble mantels, was the highest ambition of a New York belle. This and a half-score of other books from his pen had made Paulding, at the time under consideration, very popular as a brilliant and entertaining writer.

Mr. Verplanck * ranked among literary veterans even at that period.

* Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, LL.D., was for more than fifty years one of the best known among the literary men of New York. He was born in that city in 1786; graduated at Columbia College in 1801; studied law with Edward Livingston; was admitted to the bar in 1807, and made his first appearance in public as a Fourth of July orator in the North Dutch Reformed Church in 1809. In 1811 he was a principal actor in the defence of a student of Columbia College during the commencement exercises at Trinity Church, and was fined by Mayor De Witt Clinton for an infraction of law. The matter assumed a political aspect, and some of Mr. Verplanck's earlier literary efforts were in the form of political writings, the most noted of which was "The State Triumvirate," a sharp satire aimed at De Witt Clinton and his friends. In 1811 Mr. Verplanck married Miss Eliza Fenno, by whom he had two children, one of whom survives. In 1813 he became a contributor to the *Analectic Magazine*, edited by Washington Irving. He went to Europe in 1816, and remained two years. On his return he delivered an anniversary discourse before the New York Hospital, which gave him a great literary reputation. He became an earnest politician, and was elected a member of the New York Assembly in 1819 by the "Bucktail" party, opposed to Clinton. He was appointed a professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1825 he was elected to Congress. On retiring from that position he devoted himself mainly to literary pursuits. In a discourse before the literary societies of Columbia College in 1830 he paid a generous

He was chiefly distinguished as an essayist, treating of literature, history, law, science, politics, and religion; and he was the author of numerous occasional addresses. In 1827 he and Sands and Bryant united in the production of an "annual" (a popular style of literary production at that time) called "The Talisman." It was illustrated with engravings from the burins of American artists. This work was issued three successive years, and these volumes contain some of the choicest productions of this trio of writers.

Halleck was then at the height of his fame as a writer—a poet, a wit, and a satirist. A series of poetical satires on town life and characters—on the Tammany politicians, editors, aldermen, and local celebrities in New York—had appeared in the *Evening Post* over the signature of "Croaker & Co.," written by him and Joseph Rodman Drake jointly. These were published in 1819, and in 1821 his "Fanny," in a similar strain, was published. These productions had made him very popular, and his society was coveted by the literati of the day. Cooper, often cynical, loved Halleck, and always greeted him with pleasure at the Bread and Cheese Club, and elsewhere in society.

The acquaintance of Halleck and Drake was begun under peculiar circumstances. One charming summer afternoon in 1819, Halleck, Dr. De Kay, and other young men were standing, just after a shower, admiring a resplendent rainbow.

"If I could have my wish," said one of them, "it would be to lie in the lap of that rainbow and read Tom Campbell."

Another of the group, a stranger to the speaker, immediately stepped forward and said to him,

tribute to the character of De Witt Clinton (who died in 1828), with whom he so long quarrelled through the press, in which he said: "Whatever of party animosity might have blinded me to his merits died away long before his death."

Mr. Verplanck was elected to the State Senate in 1838, and was a controlling power in the Court of Errors. Through his life he had been a diligent student of Shakespeare, and in 1847 he completed the editing of a new edition of his works, published by Harper & Brothers. In this task he exhibited much erudition. For more than fifty years he was a trustee of the Society Library, forty-four years a regent of the University of the State of New York, twenty-six years a vestryman of Trinity Church, twenty-four years president of the Board of Emigration, an active member of the New York Historical Society, many years one of the governors of the New York Hospital, a trustee of Columbia College, a member of the Sketch Club, and a working member of the Century Club. But while he was liberal in giving his personal attention to the management of various institutions, he was never a contributor of pecuniary aid to any of the benevolent and charitable institutions of the city. He was the inheritor of a liberal competence, but his estate was not very large at the time of his death, in March, 1870.

“ You and I must be acquainted : my name is Drake.”

“ My name,” said the other, “ is Fitz-Greene Halleck.”

From that day Drake and Halleck were fast friends. They were of the same age, almost to a day—twenty-four years. The productions of the “ Croakers ” soon afterward appeared, and created a great deal of amusement and not a little irritation. Drake died a little more than a year after his first acquaintance with Halleck, and was sincerely mourned by the latter, who wrote the touching tributary lines beginning with the familiar verse :

“ Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days ;
None knew thee but to love thee,
None named thee but to praise.”

At the time under consideration Halleck was engaged in mercantile pursuits. Poets cannot dwell always in the clouds nor banquet on air. He wrote :

“ No longer in love's myrtle shade
My thoughts recline ;
I'm busy in the cotton trade
And sugar line.”

He was also agent for the Dutchess County Insurance Company.

Mr. Bryant, then about twenty-seven years of age, had made his advent in the city of New York in 1825 as editor of the *New York Review*. In 1826 he connected himself editorially with the *Evening Post*, and remained with it as editor-in-chief and proprietor until his death. In 1832 a complete edition of Mr. Bryant's poems appeared in New York. Washington Irving, then in England, caused it to be reprinted there, with a laudatory preface which he prepared. His most notable poem, “ Thanatopsis,” had been written in 1812, when he was eighteen years of age. Mr. Bryant, like Halleck, was of medium size, lithe and active; but, unlike Halleck, he was cool and reserved in manner, and yet he always possessed a quiet vein of humor.

Mr. Leggett, the junior of Bryant by eight years, a native of New York City, had been a midshipman in the United States Navy, but had resigned in 1826. In 1828 he began the publication of the *Critic*, a weekly literary periodical, in which the reviews, criticisms of the drama and fine arts, essays, and tales were nearly all from his pen. It died at the end of six months for want of pecuniary sustenance. His ability and versatility had been so conspicuously illustrated that in 1829 Mr.

Leggett became associated with Mr. Bryant in editing the *Evening Post*. He had stipulated that he should not be called to write political articles, because they were distasteful to him, and he had no settled convictions on the subject, but before the end of the year he became a zealous Democrat, and took decided ground in favor of free trade and against the United States Bank. Mr. Leggett died May 29, 1839. He was of medium height, compactly built, and possessed great powers of endurance.

Mr. Sands, a native of Flatbush, L. I., was then about thirty-two years of age. He had begun his literary career at the age of fourteen years. From 1827 to the time of his death, December 17, 1832, he was assistant editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. Gulian C. Verplanck published a memoir of his, with selections from his works. While engaged in writing an article upon "Esquimaux Literature," for the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, on December 17, 1832, he was seized with apoplexy, and his pencil dropped from his hand. He arose to leave his room, but fell at the threshold, and lived only a few hours.

Mr. Sands had studied law, but soon after his admission to the bar he abandoned the profession and devoted himself to literature. One of his best productions—"The Dream of the Princess Rapantzin"—was published in the *Talisman*. After that, and while connected with the *Commercial Advertiser*, he wrote several works, chiefly essays, in prose and poetry. In connection with J. W. Eastburn he wrote a poem called "Yamoyden," founded on events in the life of King Philip. He began the *Atlantic Magazine* in 1824, and in 1828 he wrote an "Historical Notice of Hernan Cortez." In 1831 he wrote and published "The Life and Correspondence of Paul Jones." His last finished composition was a poem on "The Dead of 1832."

Morris, the chief proprietor of the *Mirror*, was a thick-set, compactly built man, jolly in expression and deportment, with flashing dark eyes and hair, florid complexion, and about thirty years of age. Fay and Willis were of the same age, within a month—twenty-four years. Fay began his literary life on the *Mirror*. Willis had written poetry while in college, and in 1828, when twenty-one years of age, he established the *American Monthly Magazine*. It was merged into the *Mirror* in 1830. He soon afterward went to Europe and wrote for the *Mirror* the remarkable series of letters under the head of "Pencilings by the Way." Fay was tall and thin. Willis was also rather tall, lithe, and handsome. When he was seventeen years of age Rembrandt Peale met him in the street in Boston, and struck with the exquisite com-

plexion of the young stranger, he invited him to his studio in order to paint his portrait, the color of his face was so perfect.*

The welcome and the banquet given to Washington Irving on his return from Europe, just mentioned, was one of the most notable events of the kind that citizens of New York had ever participated in. It seemed to be a revival of the glowing enthusiasm with which the corporation and citizens welcomed the naval heroes of the second war for independence.

Mr. Irving had returned from Europe late in May, and received an invitation from his fellow-townsmen to receive "a cordial welcome to his native city" at a public dinner. The invitation was signed by about forty citizens prominent in social life in the city, headed by Professor James Renwick of Columbia College.

The banquet was spread in the great saloon of the City Hotel. Chancellor Kent presided, assisted by Messrs. Philip Hone, John Duer, Professor Renwick, T. L. Ogden, Samuel Swartwout, and Charles Graham, as vice-presidents. Among the guests were representatives of foreign governments, officers of the army and navy, judges, Bishop Onderdonk, Lieutenant-Governor Livingston, Joseph Bonaparte, distinguished literary men, and others. When they were all seated Irving entered the room leaning on the arm of the venerable Chancellor Kent. After the cloth was removed the chancellor arose, made an admirable speech of welcome, and then offered the following toast :

"Our Illustrious Guest : thrice welcome to his native land."

To this Mr. Irving made a most happy and feeling response. Then followed speeches by Philip Hone and the other vice-presidents, each offering a toast. The regular and numerous volunteer toasts were then offered, and the company broke up about midnight.

A project was set on foot about that time for the ladies of the city, "who had participated but slightly in the pleasure of welcoming their favorite *bachelor* home," to give him a grand fancy ball in the autumn, in which all the characters in his works would be represented.

The most prominent painters mentioned in the drama were Trumbull, Jarvis, Weir, Leslie, Inman, Morse, Cole, Cummings, Agate, Durand,

* The writer of this work remembers going on some business, into the editor's room of the *Mirror* (a very small apartment in James Conner's type-foundry building, corner of Fulton and Nassau streets) in 1835. Morris was reading one of Willis's "Pencilings" in manuscript, just received, to four gentlemen who were seated there. The writer was invited to take a seat. At the conclusion of the reading he was introduced to the four gentlemen—Washington Irving, Dr. John W. Francis, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Theodore S. Fay. Mr. Irving was much sunburned, for he had just returned from a tour on the prairies.

and Hoyle. The most prominent engravers on metal were Durand, Smillie, and Hatch, and on wood, Mason, Adams, and Anderson.

Trumbull was a small man. He was the painter of four of the famous pictures which fill panels in the rotunda at Washington, ordered and paid for by the National Government. They represent scenes in the history of the old war for independence. Trumbull was then nearly eighty years of age. Fifty-seven of his pictures are now in the "Trumbull Gallery" of Yale College. He presented them to the college on condition of receiving an annuity of \$1000. He died in New York in 1843.

John Wesley Jarvis was a native of England, where he was born in 1780, and was a nephew of Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Jarvis came to Philadelphia when five years of age, but was a citizen of New York most of his life, where he was the leading portrait painter many years. He was a diligent student of all information, especially that which pertained to his calling. Jarvis had a lucrative business, but his extravagant habits and irregular life kept him always comparatively poor. He earned \$6000 in six months in New Orleans, where he had Henry Inman, his pupil, with him. He received six sitters a day. A sitting occupied an hour. The picture was handed to Inman to paint in the background and drapery under the master's eye.

Jarvis was a genuine humorist. Dunlap relates several stories illustrative of this trait in his character. Stopping at the house of a planter near Charleston, Jarvis perceived a dog-kennel near the gate at the highway, which was some distance from the mansion. The planter was absent some days, leaving the house in charge of Jarvis. He painted on the kennel, in large letters, the words "Take care of the dog." Everybody shunned the kennel, and took other routes to the house. When the owner came home, he too, seeing the words of warning, shunned the kennel.

"Why, Jarvis," he said, "what have you got in the dog-kennel?"

"A dog, to be sure. Come and see."

They went, and the painter took out of the dog-house a puppy whose eyes were not yet open.

"Poor little fellow," said Jarvis, as he stroked the puppy's back; "don't you think it necessary to *take care* of him?"

On one occasion, while painting a portrait of Bishop Moore, the prelate asked Jarvis some question about his religious belief. The painter, as if intent upon catching the likeness of the sitter, said, quietly, "Turn your face more that way, and shut your mouth." Jarvis died in New York City, January 12, 1840.

Weir was at that time a little under thirty years of age. He had struggled with misfortune in early life, discerned his own genius for art and heeded its promptings, had become a pupil in art before he was twenty, and was now a successful practitioner of the delightful profession of a painter. He had lately painted a fine portrait of the Seneca chief Red Jacket, and his designs were the delight of the engraver. Weir was not tall, but possessed an excellent physique, and was compactly built.*

C. R. Leslie was Weir's senior by nine years, and was at this time teacher of drawing at West Point. He resigned in 1834.†

Thomas Cole,‡ the fine landscape painter, was at that time in England, having gone there in 1829. He did not return until 1832.

* Robert Walter Weir was born in New Rochelle, Westchester County, N. Y., June 18, 1803. His father was a merchant, who failed in business when Robert was a lad. He was taken from school and placed in a cotton factory. Afterward he was engaged in a mercantile house, first in Albany and afterward in the South and in New York City. His fondness for sketching made him resolve to be a painter. He took lessons in drawing, and made excellent copies of paintings loaned him by Mr. Paff, a famous dealer in art productions, which brought young Weir fame and employment. So, at the age of less than twenty years, his art life began. His "Embarkation of the Pilgrims," painted to fill a panel in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, is regarded as the best painting under the roof of that building.

Mr. Weir was professor of perspective in the National Academy of the Arts of Design (1830-34), when he succeeded C. R. Leslie as instructor of drawing in the Military Academy at West Point, where he remained about forty years in that capacity. He has produced some exquisite paintings, remarkable for sentiment, accuracy of drawing, and admirable coloring. He now (1883) resides in the city of New York.

† Charles Robert Leslie was born in London, October 17, 1794, and died near that city on May 5, 1859. His parents were natives of Maryland, and returned to America when Charles was five years of age. At six he could make sketches from memory with much accuracy. He studied art in Europe, and spent some time in England studying and painting. He was appointed teacher of drawing at the Military Academy at West Point, on the Hudson. That position he resigned in 1834, when he returned to England, where he died.

‡ Thomas Cole was an eminent landscape painter, a native of Lancashire, England, where he was born in February, 1801. His parents were Americans, and returned to America when Thomas was eighteen years of age. He began portrait painting at Steubenville, Ohio, and in 1822 he left home as an itinerant portrait painter. Being unsuccessful, he turned his attention to landscape painting, and became a master in that line of art. Enamored by the scenery of the Hudson River, all his talent was drawn out by the inspiration. He entered upon a very successful career. In 1829 he visited England; he also went to Paris and Italy, and in 1832 returned to New York. He finally made Catskill, N. Y., his place of abode. There he painted his famous serial pictures, "The Course of Empire" (now in the gallery of the New York Historical Society) and "The Voyage of Life." He left an unfinished series, "The Cross and the World," at the time of his death, which occurred February 11, 1847.

Henry Inman had then superseded his master, Jarvis, as a portrait painter. He was thirty years of age, possessed conversational powers of a high order, and an inexhaustible fund of anecdote and wit.

C. C. Ingham * was a very small and a very active man, and an exquisite painter of portraits, finishing them up with all the delicacy of touch of the small ivory portraits. Durand was then engaged in alternate labors with the brush and burin. Cummings was producing his exquisite small portraits on ivory and paper; Hoyle, the gifted, was painting beautiful landscapes, but died a few years afterward, while Agate, who began the practice of the painter's art at an early age, was successfully painting portraits in Albany. † Morse was already a veteran in art, president of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, and at that time was about to return from England with the grand idea of an electro-magnetic telegraph about to blossom out of his brain and produce the wonderful fruit for which the civilized world is indebted for a great blessing.

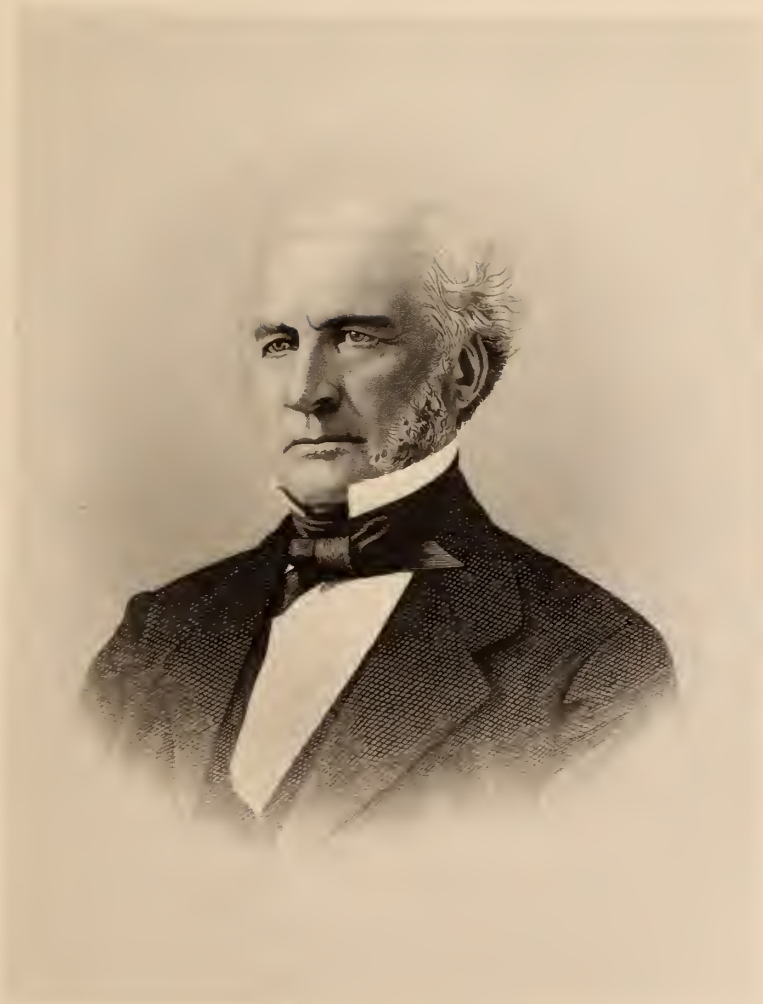
Durand was then the foremost engraver of pictures on metals in the United States, especially in delineations of human flesh, while James Smillie was the most effective engraver of landscapes. Both are yet among living artists. Mr. Smillie, the younger of the two, is actively engaged with the burin at his pleasant home in Poughkeepsie. ‡

* Charles C. Ingham was a native of Dublin, Ireland, where he was born in 1797. He came to New York at the age of twenty, and with his brother held a front rank as a portrait painter. His "Death of Cleopatra" gave him great notoriety and extensive business. He produced other beautiful compositions.

† Frederick S. Agate was a native of Westchester County, New York, born in 1807. Showing a propensity for "sketching everything" in early childhood, he was placed under the tuition of John R. Smith, a teacher of drawing, when he was fourteen years of age. He became a pupil of S. F. B. Morse in painting. He began portrait painting as a profession in 1827, and became an exceedingly skilful artist in that line, as well as in historical painting. Mr. Agate died in New York City in 1844. His best known works are "Dead Christ and Mother," "Columbus and the Egg," "The Ascension," and "Count Ugolino."

‡ James Smillie is a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he was born on November 23, 1807. His father was a manufacturing jeweller and an enthusiastic mineralogist. The son at a very early age felt a strong desire to become an engraver, but did not at first receive much encouragement from his mother, for he was only eleven years of age—"too young to think of it." But the boy determined to try his luck. He found a silver engraver willing to take him as a pupil, and he entered his service. This tutor soon afterward died, and James found a situation with an historical engraver, where, however, he did nothing more than make drawings.

Mr. Smillie's parents emigrated to Quebec when he was fifteen years of age. There, with very little experience, he began the practice of the art of engraving. He soon acquired skill in cutting letters, and he set up for himself, giving public notice that he



A. Adams

EXACT COPY

George Whitefield Hatch, then the partner in business with Mr. Smillie, was charming the public with his delicate designs and rare skill as an engraver. He had lately engraved on steel for the *Mirror* a fine portrait of Washington Irving, from a painting by Leslie.

Mr. Hatch was a native of Johnstown, Montgomery County, N. Y., where he was born April 27, 1804. A portion of his early life was passed at Auburn, Cayuga County, N. Y., where he began the study of law with his half-brother, Enos T. Throop, who became lieutenant-governor of New York. His love of art and his developing ability to pursue it successfully so predominated in his nature that with the sanction of his friends he abandoned the study of the law and ever afterward worked and dwelt in the realm of art.

While yet a lad young Hatch's exquisite designs attracted attention, and as he grew to manhood his skill with the pencil assured his future

was prepared to "engrave spoons, door-plates, and dog-collars." He afterward engraved maps for the Canadian government so skilfully that he was awarded a silver medal and was made a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences, in Canada. He finally went to England to acquire a more thorough knowledge of his art. He suffered many vicissitudes there, and after receiving five months' instruction from an engraver in Edinburgh, he returned to Quebec and resumed the practice of engraving there. He etched scenery about Quebec and evinced great skill and promise in that line of art.

In 1830 Mr. Smillie went to New York, determined to push his way in landscape engraving exclusively, and succeeded to his heart's content. His first essay was getting up cheap labels for cigar-boxes, with Mr. Gimber, an engraver. There he made the acquaintance of Mr. Weir, the painter, who engaged him to engrave a convent gate, near Rome, which Weir had painted, and generously invited him to be his guest and to use his studio while engaged upon it. He was successful. He made the acquaintance of A. B. Durand, who engaged him to do some work on a steel plate, the first he had ever undertaken on that metal. He succeeded, and Mr. Durand generously gave him \$10 more than he asked for his work. He returned to Canada. Soon afterward he received an invitation from a New York publisher to return and engrave views about New York for him, assuring him he would earn \$10 a week. He accepted the invitation, arrived in New York in May, 1831, and was not disappointed. In the fall he sent for his mother and her family. He successfully engraved for a publisher "The Garden of Eden," from a painting by Cole, and began to engrave plates for the New York *Mirror* and the "Annuals." He formed a partnership in engraving with George W. Hatch, which did not endure long, for that gentleman entered the firm of Rawdon & Wright, bank-note engravers. From that time Mr. Smillie was eminently successful in business, producing the finest landscape engraving in the country.

In 1831 Mr. Smillie was elected a member of the first Sketch Club, was made an associate of the National Academy of the Arts of Design in 1832, and an academician in 1851. He became a member of the National Bank Note Company in 1864. He left it in 1868 and joined the American Bank Note Company, of which he is now (1883) a member. He removed to the city of Poughkeepsie, where he is delightfully engaged in the pursuit of his favorite art, and has the happiness of seeing his sons successful artists.

position. Dunlap says he took lessons in engraving from Durand—was his pupil. At the age of twenty-five he married Miss Mary Daniels, of Albany. He had then become a successful engraver as well as a designer and draughtsman.

About 1828 Mr. Hatch took up his abode in the city of New York, where he soon stood in the front rank in the practice of the graphic art. In 1831, perceiving the skill in landscape engraving of James Smillie, he formed a partnership with him. Not long afterward Mr. Hatch formed a business connection with Messrs. Rawdon and Wright, bank-note engravers. The firm of Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Co. became very famous, and for many years they did most of the bank-note engraving of the country. Many of the most beautiful designs that embellished the bank-notes were from his hand. In 1858 this firm and other engravers of later distinction joined in forming the American Bank Note Company. Of this association Mr. Hatch was made the president, which office he held at the time of his death, which occurred on February 13, 1866, at his beautiful suburban seat at Dobb's Ferry, on the Hudson, in the sixty-second year of his age. His widow survived him more than nine years.

Mr. Dunlap, in his "History of the Arts of Design," wrote of Mr. Hatch in 1834: "He designs with taste, skill, and accuracy. That I am not able to give a detailed and accurate notice of this very estimable gentleman is owing to a reserve, on his part, that is to me inexplicable. . . . He began a picture some years ago, which has been favorably spoken of, but he says he shall not finish it until he has made his fortune. He is a member of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, and I have admired his sketches at our Sketch Club."

Late in life Mr. Hatch went to Europe, where he visited the most famous art galleries in France, Italy, and Germany. It was a realization of a delicious dream of his youth, and he returned satisfied. In his business and social relations Mr. Hatch was always genial, and honorable in all his ways. He was ever ready to assist the deserving and the needy. His remains repose in a beautiful cemetery at Auburn, N. Y. Mr. Hatch founded the (present) "Hatch Lithographic Company."

"Mason, Adams, Anderson," mentioned in the "drama," were the three principal engravers on wood then in New York; indeed there were only two others. Joseph A. Adams gave to his work most exquisite mechanical execution. He was a native of New Jersey, but was so reticent about his own career that no one ever had sufficient materials for the most meagre biographical sketch. He became widely known as the engraver of the illustrations of Harper's beautiful folio

Bible. He spent many years in Europe after 1848, and died about the year 1878.

Dr. Alexander Anderson was a most remarkable man. He was born in the city of New York in April, 1775. His father was a Whig printer, and fled from the city when the British took possession of it in 1776. He evinced a taste and talent for art at a very early age, but studied medicine and graduated at the medical school of Columbia College. He preferred art, and especially engraving, as a life pursuit. Having engraved about half the illustrations for a book on type-metal, he discovered that similar pictures were made on wood, and he engraved the remainder on the latter material. This was the first engraving on wood done in America. He pursued the art consecutively for seventy-five years, or until the ninety-fifth year of his age. He died when within three months of ninety-five years of age, January 16, 1870.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE beginning of this decade was the dawn of a new era in journalism, not only in the city of New York but in both hemispheres.

In 1827 there were ten daily newspapers published in the city of New York, of which six were issued in the morning and four in the evening. The morning daily papers were the *New York Gazette*, the *Mercantile Advertiser*, the *National Advocate*, the *Daily Advertiser*, the *New York National Advocate*, and the *Times*.

The evening papers were the *Commercial Advertiser*, the *Evening Post*, the *Statesman*, and the *American*. Not one of the morning daily papers named is now in existence; of the evening papers, the *Commercial Advertiser* and *Evening Post* are flourishing in green old age.

There were seven semi-weekly papers and sixteen weekly newspapers in the city in 1827. The former were issues of the dailies for the country; some of the latter were such issues, and some were independent publications. Of the weekly papers of that day, only one survives—the *New York Observer*—which ranked as a “religious newspaper.” There are now published in New York twenty-one daily morning papers and eight daily evening papers. There are eleven semi-weekly papers and one hundred and fifty weekly papers. There are also five bi-weekly and fifteen semi-monthly papers. Of “periodical” publications so called, there are one hundred and sixteen monthlies, two bi-monthlies, and six quarterlies.

It was at about this time that a new power in the realm of journalism appeared in the city of New York in the person of a young lieutenant in the army, who had lately resigned. He was then nearly twenty-six years of age.

In May, 1827, a daily newspaper had been started in New York called the *Morning Courier*. It had struggled with adversity a little more than six months when, in December, it was about to abandon the contest for life because of a lack of money to sustain it, when the young army officer referred to became its proprietor. Signs of new

life and uncommon energy immediately appeared, and the resuscitated *Courier* started vigorously on a long and wonderful career.

Let us here pause a moment and take a brief survey of the antecedents of this young newspaper proprietor. It will help us, by an insight into his character at this period, to better comprehend what follows in an outline picture of events at the dawn of the new era in journalism.

The new proprietor of the *Courier* was the son of a gallant officer of the army of patriots in the war of the American Revolution. His brother-in-law and guardian wished him to study law. Though only a boy of twelve years, he said, decidedly :

“No, I want to enter the army or navy, or study medicine.”

“Out of the question,” said his kinsman.

Both were obstinate, and a compromise followed. The boy was to try the mercantile profession. The experiment continued three months, when the boy decided it was a failure. His guardian insisted it was too late to make a change ; the boy thought not, and acted in accordance with his convictions. He endured the restraints of guardianship until he was about seventeen years old, when he suddenly dismissed his overseers by a summary process, and started out in life free and independent.

The lad was then a resident of Cherry Valley, N. Y. Having provided himself legitimately with means from his own inheritance, he sent word to his guardian that he no longer required his services as such, and then started for New York City to see Governor Clinton, whom he knew personally. He told the governor he was on his way to Washington to get a commission in the army, and asked him for a letter of introduction to Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War. It was given him, and the youth went on his way rejoicing.

After reading the governor's letter, the secretary said :

“It is impossible to give you a place. The graduating class at West Point is very large—more than sufficient to fill all vacancies.”

Here was a dilemma. The youth had only \$3 left, and too proud ever to return home if he failed. After a moment's reflection he asked :

“If there had been no graduating class, would my claims have been respected ?”

“Certainly ; but why do you ask ?” Mr. Calhoun inquired, greatly interested by the business view of matters taken by the youth.

“Because,” said the lad, “in that case I wish permission to address you a letter, examining into the justice of the ground upon which you

have made a decision which cannot fail to have an influence upon my future life."

The astonished secretary readily granted the favor. It was in the middle of August, 1819. The young adventurer returned to his lodgings. The weather was extremely hot, but he sat down to his task, and did not leave it until it was finished. He wrote a long letter, in which he contrasted the position of the graduates of West Point with his own; they being young men selected mostly from political considerations, educated, supported, and clothed at the expense of the government for four years, and having no *claims* upon the country other than their fitness for military service. He, on the contrary, had been educated at his own expense; his father had been a meritorious officer during the whole period of the Revolution, and had spent his fortune and his best years in the service of his country. The young man claimed to be as well qualified as they, in all respects save in military tactics; and he proposed that a board of officers should be appointed to examine him in all studies pursued at the Military Academy, excepting engineering and other purely military studies; and if found competent, then he insisted that it was his right to receive a commission regardless of the graduating cadets and their claims. The letter closed with an intimation that he would call at the house of the secretary the next morning at nine o'clock to learn his decision.

The young man called at the appointed time, and was politely received.

"Young gentleman," said the secretary, rather coldly, "I suppose you have come to know your fate?"

Believing by Mr. Calhoun's manner that the decision was adverse to his wishes, the youth firmly answered, "I have, sir." The secretary's features relaxed into one of his blandest smiles as he took the young man by the hand and said:

"I have carefully read your letter, and you have demonstrated your claim to be appointed, while the manner in which you have accomplished your purpose is with me evidence of your fitness for the army."

A long conversation then ensued, in which Mr. Calhoun drew from him an admission that he was a runaway from home, only seventeen years of age. The secretary gave him a commission of lieutenant in the Fourth Battalion of artillery, with orders to report for duty at Governor's Island in the harbor of New York. For seven years this young soldier served his country faithfully and efficiently, chiefly in the North-West, when Chicago was only a military post and a trading station, and all the region now teeming with millions of inhabitants

was a solitary wilderness, trodden only by the foot of the barbarian. In September, 1827, he resigned his commission, and, as we have observed, became the proprietor of a daily newspaper in the city of New York.

That energetic and determined runaway, that adventurous soldier, that inchoate newspaper editor and publisher, who was to speedily revolutionize the methods of journalism, was James Watson Webb, still a tower of intellectual and moral strength, and wearing the snow-white crown of an octogenarian.

In 1826 Mordecai Manasseh Noah * (better known as Major Noah), who had edited the *Advocate*, of which Henry Eckford, the great ship-builder, was one of the proprietors, disagreeing with that gentleman, started a paper of his own, which he called the *National Advocate*. Enjoined at the instance of Eckford and his partners, the name was changed to *Noah's New York National Advocate*. Again enjoined, he named his journal the *New York Enquirer*. This paper was purchased by James Watson Webb in the spring of 1829, when it was merged into the *Morning Courier* and the famous *Courier and Enquirer* was established. It reigned right royally in the realm of journalism for more than a generation.

Major Noah went into the editorial rooms of the *Courier and Enquirer*, and was associated in editorial duties with James Lawson, James Gordon Bennett, Prosper M. Wetmore, and James Gordon Brooks—a notable editorial staff—under the control of the masterly executive hand of Mr. Webb.

A new feature in journalism was soon introduced. At the opening of Congress in December, 1827, Mr. Bennett was sent to Washington to be a regular daily correspondent of the *Courier and Enquirer* during

* Mordecai Manasseh Noah was born in Philadelphia in July, 1785. His parents were Hebrews, and he adhered to their faith through a long life. He died in New York in March, 1851. He studied law, went to Charleston, S. C., and in that city edited the *City Gazette* in 1810. In 1811 he was American consul at Riga, and afterward at Tunis, and went on a mission to Algiers. On his way thither he was captured by the English. On his return to America in 1816 he published incidents of his sojourn abroad, and became editor of the *National Advocate*, a Democratic journal, until 1825, and the next year he established the *New York Enquirer*. In 1834 he established the *New Era*. Afterward he withdrew from the daily press, and for several years published the *Sunday Times*. About 1820 Mr. Noah conceived a scheme for founding a Jewish colony on Grand Island, in the Niagara River. There he set up a monument inscribed, "Ararat, a city of refuge for the Jews, founded by Mordecai M. Noah, in the month of Tishri, 5586 (September, 1825), and in the 50th year of American Independence." Mr. Noah held the offices of sheriff, judge of the Court of Sessions, and surveyor of the port of New York. He was the author of several dramas and other works.

the session. Hitherto, with a slight exception, the Washington correspondent, now such an important adjunct to every reputable newspaper, had been a member of Congress writing an occasional letter to a newspaper in his own district.

Bennett was equal to the task assigned him, and he soon changed the tone, temper, and style of Washington correspondence. Receiving a hint from Horace Walpole's racy letters written in the reign of George II., Mr. Bennett penned entertaining epistles descriptive of life at the capital in all its phases—the legislation of the day, politics, society in general, fashionable life, and personal sketches of all the gay, witty, and beautiful characters which appeared in Washington during that winter. These pen-pictures were sketched at random without being offensive to any one—indeed they were mostly complimentary and pleasing to the parties mentioned.

At this time the newspaper press of New York showed very little enterprise in the way of giving news. It was running in a rut worn nearly half a century. The then leading morning papers did not contain, in the aggregate, more editorial matter combined than now appears in a leading editorial of the *Tribune* or *Times*. A rowboat collected the ship news and the newspapers from the packet-ships as they arrived, and all were content with transferring to their columns such news as they mutually possessed. Conspicuous for activity in everything he undertook, Mr. Webb was not satisfied with this system, and he very soon set up a news-collecting establishment of his own. He employed a Baltimore clipper (the *Eclipse*) and a fleet of small boats in collecting news on the water. This compelled the other newspapers to combine in a similar enterprise, and both parties kept a news-schooner cruising off Sandy Hook, and small boats communicating with her from time to time.

Webb determined not to be equalled, even in enterprise. He had a clipper-schooner of one hundred tons built in New York, with the stipulation that she should equal in speed any New York pilot-boat or he could not be compelled to take her. It was accomplished. She was named the *Courier and Enquirer*. With this schooner cruising seventy to one hundred miles at sea, the *Eclipse* at Sandy Hook, and a fleet of small boats inside, all opposition was soon put down, and the other newspapers were compelled to purchase their news from Mr. Webb.

Having achieved this triumph in the ocean-news department, he next turned his attention to procuring early and exclusive intelligence from Washington during the sessions of Congress. Telegraphs and railroads then existed only in the dreams of philosophers. The mails then left

Washington, say on Monday morning, and reached New York on Wednesday night in time for the news they brought to appear in the newspapers on Thursday morning. Webb determined they should appear in the *Courier and Enquirer* on Wednesday morning. He made a contract with certain parties to run a daily horse express between Washington and New York during the entire session of Congress (1835-36), for which he agreed to pay \$7500 a month. It was done most satisfactorily. Horses were stationed at points only six miles apart. This "pony express" brought news twenty-four hours in advance of the mails, and enabled the *Courier and Enquirer* to give news that length of time in advance of all competitors.

"Under this system of collecting the news," wrote George H. Andrews a few years ago, "enlarging the paper, employing additional editors and reporters, opening correspondence in different quarters, and devoting whole columns to subjects never before touched upon by the press, the expenses of the daily press were more than quadrupled, and four of the old morning papers died out. But a new impetus was thus given to the newspaper press of the city, which has continued to increase to this day; and for that impetus to an influence upon the public mind and the character of the press, the community are unquestionably indebted to General Webb."

For some time the *Courier and Enquirer* remained the unrivalled distributor of the earliest news from Washington and from Europe; but it was not long before powerful competitors appeared, and the enterprising newspaper which had achieved so much was compelled to succumb. In 1838 the first ocean steamship, the *Sirius*, arrived at New York from England, and from that day her successors brought all the news from abroad to the city in advance of the news-boats. Soon afterward the telegraph and railroad put an end to the pony express, and now the Associated Press performs for all alike the duty of collecting and distributing the current news of the day. There is now no field for the exercise of individual enterprise in this direction.

In the matter of collecting news the *Journal of Commerce*, a morning paper of the same age of the *Courier and Enquirer*, was a sharp and powerful competitor. It too had its news-schooner and small boats, and when the *Courier and Enquirer* started the pony express the *Journal of Commerce* speedily became its rival. They were both competing sharply for the patronage of the commercial community. For that purpose, and to accommodate mercantile advertisers with advertisements, these papers were enlarged from time to time until they acquired dimensions which caused them to be called "blanket sheets."

These enormous and expensive newspapers caused a yearning in the public mind for something smaller and less expensive. It came to be felt as a public want. That want was soon supplied by the advent of what is called the "penny press." The *Journal of Commerce* is yet a flourishing morning paper; the *Courier and Enquirer* became united with the *New York World* on the first of July, 1861, when its form was changed from "folio" to the more popular one of "quarto." Then that great newspaper disappeared from the field of journalism. The *Journal of Commerce* remained the last of the "blanket sheets."

A taste for cheap literature had been fostered, if not created, by the publication of the *Illustrated Penny Magazine* in London, in 1830. Large quantities of this publication were sold in America, and induced the starting of the *Family Magazine* on a similar plan in New York in 1834. The publication of small cheap newspapers was undertaken here and there at about the same time. The *Bostonian* was one of these. The *Cent* was issued in Philadelphia in 1830, and in 1832 James Gordon Bennett, who had left the service of the *Courier and Enquirer*, attempted to establish a small newspaper.

Mr. Bennett withdrew from the *Courier and Enquirer* in August, 1832, and on the 29th of October following he issued an evening paper, twelve by seventeen inches in size, half the size of the other newspapers, called the *New York Globe*. He announced that it would be published daily at eight dollars a year, that its politics would be Democratic, that it would adhere to Jefferson's doctrine of State Rights (State supremacy), would be opposed to nullification, and in favor of various reforms in the government. Bennett had then been acting in the capacity of an editor for about twelve years, and he might be considered a sort of veteran. But the enterprise was a failure.

On New Year's day, 1833, Dr. H. D. Shepard, with Horace Greeley and Francis V. Story as partners, started a two-cent daily paper called the *Morning Post*. They had a capital of \$200, and no credit. It lived twenty-one days, and expired. It was the seed of the cheap press, and took root, though it yielded no fruit to the planter.

On Tuesday, the 3d of September following, a small morning paper called the *Sun* was issued by Benjamin H. Day, a printer, at No. 222 William Street. The enterprise was suggested by George W. Wisner, a compositor then working for J. S. Redfield, stereotyper, in William Street. Wisner talked almost incessantly about the feasibility of publishing a one-cent newspaper. The other compositors laughed at him, and for a while he found no one willing to risk anything in such a wild




A. S. Law

enterprise. At length Day had the sagacity and the courage to try the experiment with him. Wisner soon left Mr. Day and went West, and the latter bore the burden alone.

The first number of the *Sun* bore a picture of a spread-eagle bearing the motto *E Pluribus Unum*, and contained the following brief and business-like prospectus :

“ The object of this paper is to lay before the public, at a price within the means of every one, ALL THE NEWS OF THE DAY, and at the same time afford an advantageous means of advertising. The sheet will be enlarged as soon as the increase of advertisements requires it, the price remaining the same.

“ Yearly advertisers (without the paper), thirty dollars per annum. Casual advertising at the usual prices charged by the city papers.

“  Subscriptions will be received, if paid in advance, at \$3 per annum.”

In a speech at a dinner given to Colonel Richard M. Hoe, the inventor of printing-presses, in 1851, Mr. Day gave the following history of the origin of the *Sun* newspaper :

“ It is true I originated the *Sun*, the first penny newspaper in America, and, as far as I know, the first in the world. But I have always considered the circumstance as more the result of an accident than any superior sagacity of mine. It was in 1832 when I projected the enterprise, during the first cholera, when my business as a job printer scarcely afforded a living. I must say I had very little faith in its success at that time, and from various causes it was put off. In August, 1833, I finally made up my mind to venture the experiment, and I issued the first number of the *Sun* September 3d.

“ It is not necessary to speak of the wonderful success of the paper. At the end of three years the difficulty of striking off the large edition on a double-cylinder press in the time usually allowed to daily newspapers was very great.

“ In 1835 I introduced steam power, now so necessary an appendage to almost every newspaper office. It was the first application of that power to move a printing machine in a newspaper office. At that time all the Napier presses in the city were turned by crankmen, and as the *Sun* was the only daily newspaper of large circulation, so it seemed to be the only establishment where steam was really indispensable. But even this great aid to the speed of the Napier machines did not keep up with the increasing circulation of the *Sun*.”

One cent continued to be the price per copy of the *Sun* for about thirty years. After the Civil War broke out the price of everything

was so increased that the *Sun* was doubled in price, and so it remains. In 1838 Mr. Day sold the *Sun* to Moses Y. Beach, his brother-in-law. It had been much enlarged, but owing to dull times Mr. Beach cut down the paper to a smaller size, but enlarged it soon afterward when business was better.

The *Sun* was made up of twelve columns, each ten inches long. It was a simple *newspaper*. It gave no opinions, no commercial reviews, no financial reports, and no account of stock sales. It made no special promises of future career. It had four columns of advertisements: one column embraced a "New York Bank Note Table;" two columns were devoted to anecdotes and a short story, a quarter of a column to the arrivals and clearances of vessels on the previous day, one column to poetry, and the remainder to police and miscellaneous items. The circulation of the *Sun* ran up to 8000 copies daily by the end of two years from its birth.

So soon as the success of the *Sun* was assured a plentiful crop of rivals speedily appeared. Within a few months the *Man*, the *Transcript*, and the *Day-Book*, and subsequently a Democratic paper called the *Jeffersonian*, appeared. Later the *New Era*, the *True Sun*, and the *Herald*—all cheap newspapers. The *Transcript* was a success for several years. The *Herald*, published by Anderson & Smith and edited by James Gordon Bennett, went down in the great fire in Ann Street early in 1835.

In a recent letter to the author of this work Mr. Day wrote respecting the beginning of the career of the *Sun*, the first one-cent newspaper ever published:

"You will appreciate some of the difficulties under which I labored when I tell you there was not up to that time a newsboy or newsman in existence on this side of the Atlantic. I was compelled to hire boys to sell the paper and pay them weekly wages. As for newsmen, the newspaper carriers scouted the idea. They delivered the daily papers to subscribers only, and were paid weekly wages. My plan altered that in a few years." *

* Benjamin H. Day was born in West Springfield, Mass., April 10, 1810. The Days, most of them well-to-do farmers, were then numerous in that vicinity. His father, a manufacturing hatter, died when Benjamin was an infant, and was the only son of a widowed mother. He received an academic education at three different places, the last one in a high school in Utica, where he remembers Horatio Seymour and Judge Ward Hunt were among the pupils. Young Day was apprenticed to Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican* (the father of the late editor of the same name), where he learned the printer's trade in all its branches. In 1830 he established himself as a job printer at

The first newsboy who sold copies of the *Sun* in the streets of New York was Silas Davenport, who was living in Sharon, Massachusetts, in 1882.

We have observed that the *Herald*, published by Anderson & Smith, went down in the great fire in Ann Street in 1835. It was revived shortly afterward by Mr. Bennett, who started it with a nominal cash capital of \$500, but with a hundredfold more capital in the brains of the founder.

The first number of this famous newspaper was issued on Wednesday morning, May 6, 1835, from a basement room at No. 20 Wall Street, under the title of the *Morning Herald*. The second number was issued on Monday, the 11th, and from that time until now its regular issues have not been interrupted for a day. In this second issue the editor promised to "give a correct picture of the world—in Wall Street, in the Exchange, in the Police office, at the Theatre, in the Opera—in short, wherever human nature and real life best display their freaks and vagaries."

This promise the *Herald* fulfilled from the beginning. It exhibited the true elements of journalism—intelligence, industry, tact, and independence. All the brain work was done by the editor. "The leading articles," says Mr. Hudson, "the police reports, the literary intelligence, the pungent paragraphs, the news from abroad and home, the account-books, the bills, the clerk's duties in the office, were all written, prepared, arranged, made out, and performed by Mr. Bennett. The columns of the little sheet were filled with the peculiar points and hits and predictions which have ever since characterized the *Herald*. In one of the first numbers, for instance, he said :

"The New York and Erie Railroad is to break ground in a few days. We hope they will break nothing else."

In the second number of the *Herald* Mr. Bennett introduced an entirely new feature in journalism—the Money Article. For many years these articles were written by Mr. Bennett himself, and attracted universal attention. From the 15th of June, 1835, these articles—then

No. 222 William Street, New York. From his office he issued the *Sun* newspaper, the first one-cent newspaper ever published, and has the honor of being the pioneer in the business of publishing, not only cheap newspapers, but cheap literature. Two years after he sold the *Sun*, Mr. Day became half-owner of the *Brother Jonathan*, a literary weekly edited by N. P. Willis and H. Hastings Weld. It was a successful undertaking. Soon afterward he was engaged in the publication of cheap books. About the year 1862 or 1863 Mr. Day left business with an ample fortune, and has since lived a retired life in the city of New York.

reports of transactions in stocks, etc., in Wall Street—formed a feature in every issue of the paper.*

The New York *Express* was established as a “blanket sheet” in 1836. The first number was issued on the first of June. Its founder was James Brooks,† who soon associated his brother Erastus with him-

* The following is a copy of the first Wall Street report, May 11, 1835 :

“ MONEY MARKET.

“ Stocks are somewhat shaken since the late arrivals. The winding up of three or four United States branch banks makes dealers pause as to the future operations of the money market. On Saturday railroads started two or three per cent.

“ New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston are all on the *qui vive* about stocks. Speculation in this article was never so flourishing. The rise is greater in fancy stocks or new banks, such as the Morris Canal, Baltimore Canton Company, Kentucky Northern Bank, and especially certain railroads.

“ What is the cause of these movements? How long will they last? Who will be losers? Who will be winners?

“ The uncommon rise in the stock market is not produced by accident. A secret confederacy of our large capitalists in the commercial cities, availing themselves of the political and commercial events of the times, could easily produce the speculation that has astonished the world during the last three months. It is a universal law of trade that if an article is made scarce it will rise; if plenty, it will fall. A dozen large capitalists, controlling twenty or thirty principal banks in the chief cities, can make money plenty or scarce just as they choose. When money is scarce stocks of all kinds fall. The confederates buy in at low prices; loan money to the merchants at two and three per cent per month. This is one operation. The next movement is to set on foot the machinery to raise stocks, which can be effected by permitting the banks to loan money liberally to the merchants at large. Stocks then will begin to rise slowly at first, but faster and faster as speculators lead the way. When the confederates have got rid of all their fancy stocks at high prices to merchants and small dealers, or anybody not in the secret, then they begin secretly to prepare for a fall. This is done by a general and simultaneous curtailment of discounts by the banks, which soon knocks down stocks, ruins thousands, and raises the value of money two and three per cent per month, thus furnishing always, either falling or rising, the knowing ones an opportunity to make at least thirty per cent on their capital the year round.

“ This is truth, and we seriously advise young merchants and dealers to be careful. Who can tell but at this very moment two dozen large moneyed men in our commercial cities have not already appointed the very week, day, even the hour, when a new movement will commence which will knock down stocks twenty to forty per cent a month? When the April weather is particularly sweet and soft, look out for a storm the next day.”

† James Brooks was born in Portland, Maine, in November, 1810, and graduated at Waterville College. He was for a time at the head of the Latin School in Portland. Finally he became a regular correspondent at Washington for several newspapers during the sessions of Congress. In 1835 he was a member of the Maine Legislature, and introduced into that body the first proposition for a railway between Portland, Montreal, and Quebec. The same year he made a pedestrian tour on the continent of Europe and the British Islands, and published a series of descriptive letters in the *Portland Advertiser*. He established the *New York Express* in 1836. In 1847 he was a member of the New York Assembly, and 1849 to 1853, and from 1865 until his death, in April, 1873, he was a

self in the publication of the paper. In the autumn of that year the *Express* united with the old *Daily Advertiser*, and was issued both as a morning and evening paper. It paid special attention to shipping news, and finally a marked feature of the paper was a list of the daily arrivals at the principal hotels. Because of this feature the *Herald* called it the *Drummer's Gazette*.

In its first issue the *Express* announced that in its politics it would be "decidedly Whig." While the American or Know-Nothing party was conspicuous it was an adherent and champion of that party. Finally its numerous editions issued during the day destroyed its character as a strictly morning newspaper, and it was issued in 1864 as the *Evening Express*. By junction with the *Evening Mail*, in 1882, it assumed the title of *Mail-Express*. Soon after the breaking out of the Civil War the *Express* became a Democratic paper, and so it remains. The Brookses withdrew from it several years ago. Before they retired from it, it had assumed the popular form of the "cheap press." Of all the daily "blanket sheets" published when the *Express* was started, only it (merged with the *Evening Mail*, under the title of *The Evening Mail-Express*) and the *Journal of Commerce* now (1883) survive.

We have observed that the New York *Morning Herald* was started upon a nominal cash capital of \$500, and that for a while nearly all editorial service was performed by one man—the founder.* The

member of Congress. In 1871 Mr. Brooks made a rapid tour around the world, and an account of it was published in a volume entitled "A Seven Months' Run Up and Down and Around the World."

James Brooks's brother Erastus, four years his junior, is also a native of Portland, and a graduate of Brown University. He was a school-teacher and editor for a while, and became associated with his brother in the *Express* as joint editor and proprietor. He travelled extensively in Europe in 1843. Ten years later he was a member of the New York State Senate, and became involved in a controversy with Archbishop Hughes in consequence of his advocacy of a bill divesting Roman Catholic bishops of the title to church property in real estate.

* James Gordon Bennett was born in Banffshire, Scotland, in September, 1795, and died in New York City in June, 1872. His parents were Roman Catholics, and intended the son for the priesthood. In 1819 he came to America, taught school in Halifax, N. S., a while, and reached Boston in the autumn of that year, where he engaged in proof-reading. There he wrote and published some poems. In 1822 he was engaged on the *Charleston Courier* as Spanish translator, but soon came to New York, where he unsuccessfully tried the experiment of opening a commercial school. He became a casual reporter and writer for the newspapers, and finally, as mentioned in the text, established the New York *Herald*. It was the first daily paper that issued a Sunday edition. Mr. Bennett left two children—a son and daughter. To the latter he bequeathed the *Herald*, and it is still (1883) conducted by James Gordon Bennett, Jr.

marvellous increase of labor and expenditure in the field of journalism in New York City, and proportionably of its products, since that time—the lapse of less than fifty years—is conspicuously illustrated by the following statement, made by the able editor and successful publisher of the New York *Sun* newspaper, Charles A. Dana. The *Sun*, be it remembered, is the pioneer of the cheap press, and at the time the *Herald* was started had a daily circulation of 6000 copies. This statement was made in April, 1883, in response to the inquiry, “What does it cost to run a first-class New York newspaper?”

“A first-rate newspaper in New York will require about ten editorial writers, whose daily duty it is to furnish leading articles and editorial paragraphs. Many of these writers have their special duties, but there must always be five or six men who are able to turn their hands to subjects of any description as they happen to come up. A competent writer of leaders will be paid from \$100 to \$150 per week, and no man fit to supervise them and perform the functions of editor-in-chief can be had for less than from \$150 to \$200 per week. The reporters are of two classes—first, those of the regular staff, who are paid by the week at rates varying from \$20 to \$60. These perform not only the routine duties of reporting, but are always prepared to be sent off upon special service, in which case their railroad fares, carriage hire, hotel bills, and other expenses are paid by the office.

“Then there are a number of reporters attached to each paper who are paid according to the work they perform, without having any prescribed functions, and who must hold themselves in readiness to do whatever may be necessary. Some of these gentlemen are men of talent and learning, and in time will make their way into the front rank as writers and editors. I know men who, without having regular salaries, average from \$50 to \$75 a week. Of these two classes of reporters, taken together, a first-rate paper must employ about fifty. Next there are the correspondents, both at home and abroad, and these are likewise divided into two classes, those who are employed on regular salaries and those who are paid as their contributions are printed. In Washington, for instance, each newspaper has need both of regular correspondents or reporters and of occasional contributors, and the different papers differ as to the respective numbers of these two classes. In Albany each New York paper must have its regular staff devoted to its service, while in the other capitals of such States as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Massachusetts, the papers are served by occasional correspondents, since the news of these more distant places is, for the most part, not important enough in New York to be constantly

reported there. In Europe also, every leading paper has its regular list of correspondents in the chief cities. There must especially be a correspondent in London and one in Paris who report constantly either by post or by cable.

“ In the Sunday edition of most of the prominent papers of New York City there is always a cable despatch summing up the news of the week and reporting interesting political, social, artistic, or literary events on which the reporters of the Associated Press, whose telegrams are forwarded every day, do not ordinarily dwell. Thus the expenses of the sort of papers we are considering vary for the most part mainly according as they print large or small editions, their chief difference being in their consumption of white paper. Of this the *Herald* uses more than any other journal. On Sunday especially its advertising sheets are many, and on that day it will sometimes print 130 columns of advertisements alone, so that the amount of white paper it uses is enormous.

“ But apart from this item, the expenses of one of these papers for the editorial department, including writers, reporters, and correspondents, will be from \$4000 to \$5000 per week, and its ordinary telegraph bills, including the cost of special cables from Europe, will average perhaps from \$700 to \$1000 a week ; its composition bills will vary from \$1000 to \$2000 ; its publication department will cost from \$1000 to \$2000 ; its stereotyping will be perhaps \$500, and its miscellaneous expenses from \$1000 to \$2000, making a total of from \$9000 to \$12,000 a week. Of course these figures will be a little less in dull times, when there is little telegraphing and no occasion for special expenditures, than when there is a great public excitement, such as a presidential canvass or a great public catastrophe, when it is necessary to send many men out and spend a great deal of money in obtaining news ; but the general average will be about what I have stated.”

Of the fifteen daily newspapers printed in New York on the first of May, 1835, or less than fifty years ago, one only (the *Sun*) had a daily circulation of 6000. All the others were far below 5000, and one was not more than 500. “ It was estimated,” says Hudson, “ that the average daily circulation of the ‘ sixpenny sheets ’ was 1700 only.” * New York at that time contained a population of 270,000.

The New York *Weekly Mirror* was the only true representative of the literature and art of the city of New York at the beginning of this decade. It was founded in 1822 by Samuel Woodworth, a printer and

* “ Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872,” by Frederic Hudson, p. 431.

poet, and George P. Morris, a young poet twenty-two years of age. It very soon took a high position as a generous patron of literature and art, and attracted to its columns the choicest contributions from authors, artists, and musicians, as has been observed in a former chapter. It held this lofty position for twenty years. It was a literary institution of the country. In 1842 it was suspended, but was revived the next year. At an early period in its history Woodworth withdrew, and N. P. Willis took his place.

The *Family Magazine* was begun in the city of New York in 1834, and flourished for eight years. It was always a paying enterprise, but not largely so. It was the first illustrated magazine published in this country. Its engravings were all done on wood, and it was an imitator of the London *Penny Magazine*.

This periodical was established by the Rev. Origen Bachelier, who was better known as a book canvasser than as a preacher. He edited and published the work, canvassing for subscribers to it, and receiving one dollar and fifty cents for one year, payable in advance, for each subscriber. It being a novelty, he soon obtained a respectable list of subscribers.

Finally, its circulation did not increase, and having no capital, Bachelier turned the publication over to Justus S. Redfield, the stereotyper of the work, who was his principal creditor. Mr. Redfield assumed its publication and Bachelier edited it until his death, which occurred soon after this change.

Dr. A. S. Doane succeeded Bachelier as editor, and conducted the magazine for several years, until appointed health officer at Quarantine, when he was succeeded, temporarily, by Thomas Allen, afterward the editor of the *Madisonian* at Washington, and who more recently ranked among the railway magnates of the country. In 1840 Benson J. Lossing became the editor of the magazine, and executed the engravings for it. It was discontinued at the close of the eighth volume.

It was early in this decade that the two most extensive publishing houses in the city of New York in 1833 began to take an important position in the realm of literature. These are the houses of Harper & Brothers and Daniel Appleton & Company. The former takes precedence in point of time, that of Harper & Brothers beginning business in the city of New York in 1817, and Daniel Appleton & Company in 1825. The former was established by James and John Harper, sons of a Long Island farmer. Both had been apprentices to different persons in New York to learn the art of printing.



Engraving by G. S. Stewart, N. York.

Henry Bergh

When the brothers had reached manhood they joined interests and began business for themselves by setting up a small book and job printing office in Dover Street, in New York, not far from the great establishment of Harper & Brothers at the present time. It was an auspicious time for them, as with the return of prosperity after the war of 1812-15 there was a great demand for books. Evert A. Duyckinck was then a prosperous bookseller in New York, and he employed "J. & J. Harper" to print the first book that was issued from their press. In August, 1817, they delivered to him two thousand copies of a translation of Seneca's "Morals," which they had "composed" and printed with their own hands. In the winter of 1818 they resolved to print a book on their own account. They first ascertained from leading booksellers how many copies each one would purchase from them in sheets. In April they issued five hundred copies of a reprint of Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding," with the imprint of J. & J. Harper.

Joseph Wesley and Fletcher, two younger brothers, who had learned the printer's trade with James and John, became partners with the elder ones, the former in 1823 and the latter in 1826. Then was organized the firm of "Harper & Brothers," which continued forty-three years without interruption, when the senior partner of the house was suddenly separated from it by death. The brothers had established themselves in Cliff Street, and when the youngest entered the firm they were employing fifty persons and ten hand-presses. This was then the largest printing establishment in New York.

At the end of nine years after J. & J. Harper began business they purchased the building on Cliff Street in which they were established. They began to stereotype their works in 1830, and led the way to the production of cheap books and the creation of a new army of readers. They continually enlarged their business, purchasing building after building on Cliff Street, and had erected a fine structure on Franklin Square, connecting with those on Cliff Street (altogether nine in number), when, at midday on December 9, 1853, the whole establishment was laid in ashes, the fire occurring from an unfortunate mistake of a plumber at work in the building. Their total loss was very heavy, but very soon the present magnificent structures arose out of the ruins. These consist of an immense building of iron on Franklin Square, five stories in height, with cellar and subcellar, and another on Cliff Street, in the rear of the Franklin Square edifice, built of brick and six stories in height, with a basement used for press-work. These buildings are connected by iron bridges at each story, which terminate at an iron

spiral staircase in a round tower in the centre of the court between the two main structures.

Harper & Brothers' establishment is thoroughly equipped with improved machinery and materials of every kind for carrying on the publishing business, from setting up the type from manuscript copy and stereotyping to the finishing of the complete book for the reader. About one thousand persons—men and women, girls and boys—are employed in the establishment. Besides their immense issue of bound books and large pamphlets, under the title of the "Franklin Square Library," they publish four illustrated periodicals. In 1850 they began the publication of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, which has ever since held the position of a leader among the periodical literature of the day. It has now attained a circulation in this country and in England of nearly 200,000 copies a month. *Harper's Weekly*, an illustrated paper, was begun in January, 1857; *Harper's Bazar*, a beautifully illustrated repository of knowledge, of current fashions, and general literature, was begun late in 1867, and *Harper's Young People*, an illustrated weekly paper of smaller dimensions for the class mentioned in its title, was begun in November, 1880.

To supply these periodicals with illustrations they have an art department, composed of draughtsmen and many engravers, and much art work is done outside.

The four brothers—James, John, Joseph Wesley, and Fletcher—have passed from among the living, and the great establishment, constantly increasing in the bulk and prosperity of business, is conducted by five sons and one grandson of the founders of the house, with great ability and success. To give an idea of the magnitude of the business of the great publishing house it may be stated that the white paper used in their business costs over \$2000 a day for every working day in the year. The four brothers were born at Newtown, L. I. James was born on the 13th of April, 1795, and died on the 27th of March, 1869. He was at one time mayor of the city of New York. John was born on the 22d of January, 1797, and died on the 22d of April, 1875. Joseph Wesley was born on the 25th of December, 1801, and died February 14, 1870. Fletcher was born on the 31st of January, 1806, and died on the 29th of May, 1877.

The publishing house of Daniel Appleton & Company was founded in 1825. The founder, Daniel Appleton, whose name is still retained in the firm, was a native of Haverhill, Massachusetts, and was born December 10, 1785. There he began his business life as a retail merchant. Afterward he was a dealer in dry goods in Boston, and in 1825

he went to New York for the purpose of engaging in the book trade. He opened a store in Exchange Place, then a fashionable section of the business of the city, and in the vicinity of elegant private residences. He dealt chiefly in foreign books, and catered to the best literary taste of the day.

The brother-in-law of Mr. Appleton, Jonathan Leavitt, a skilful bookbinder, joined him in business under terms of a partnership limited to five years. The store and bindery were subsequently removed to Broadway, corner of John Street, where the bookselling department was placed in the hands of Mr. Appleton's son, William H. Appleton, the present head of the house. On the expiration of the partnership of Appleton & Leavitt, in 1830, Mr. Appleton withdrew and established himself as a bookseller in Clinton Hall, on Beekman Street, between Nassau Street and Theatre Alley.

Mr. Appleton had been very successful in his undertakings, and now he determined to venture upon the career of a publisher. The first book bearing his imprint was a small volume of Bible texts, entitled, "Crumbs from the Master's Table ; or Select Sentences, Doctrinal, Practical, and Experimental," by W. Mason. It was only three inches square and half an inch thick, and contained only 192 pages. It gave the firm great anxiety, but about one thousand copies were sold. The "Crumbs" was followed by two other small religious books, the last one in 1832, the year when the city of New York and other places were dreadfully ravaged by the cholera. The book was entitled, "A Refuge in Time of Plague and Pestilence." It was published at an auspicious moment, for the public mistook it for a treatise on cholera, and it had an enormous sale.

Mr. Appleton did not venture largely into the publishing business for a long time. English and German books sold readily, and he made the importation and sale of them a specialty. In 1835 W. H. Appleton, then twenty-one years of age, was sent to England and Germany to look after importing interests there, and soon afterward a London branch of the house was established, and has been continued ever since.

In 1838 William H. Appleton became the business partner of his father. The store was then removed to No. 200 Broadway. Ten years later the founder of the house retired from business, and died in New York a few months afterward. That event occurred on March 27, 1849. He had expressed a desire that his name might be connected with the house as long as possible, for he had a clear perception of its future growth, and he was proud of the prosperous establishment which he had founded. His son promised him that no note or check of the

firm should ever be signed, while he lived, without the full name, Daniel Appleton & Company. That promise has been sacredly kept.

Mr. Appleton was a conspicuously honorable and honest man, and despised mean things. He was sometimes reticent and often a little brusque in his intercourse with men, but he possessed a kind and genial nature, true courtesy, and many fine personal qualities, which endeared him to his family and friends.

After Mr. Appleton's death the house was reorganized with William H. Appleton at the head, and his brothers John A. and Daniel Sidney associated with him as partners. The business of the establishment increased rapidly. They imported books, they published books, and they sold books with ever-increasing expansion of their business. Their list of publications soon included all the standard works of American and foreign authors.

With the northward extension of the city the house of Daniel Appleton & Company has gradually moved up town until, after five removals after leaving No. 200 Broadway, it now seems permanently located in a spacious building, six stories in height, at Nos. 1, 3, and 5 Bond Street, near Broadway. Of this building the Appletons occupy two floors and two basements. The retail business of the house was abandoned when they took possession of the present premises in 1880.

In 1865 George S. Appleton, a brother of the other members of the firm, came into the partnership. His exquisite taste and deep interest in art caused the house to undertake beautifully illustrated books, which soon became a marked feature of their publications. He died in 1878. In July, 1881, another brother and member of the firm, John A. Appleton, departed this life. Of him it might be truthfully said, in the beautiful words of Halleck :

"None knew him but to love him,
None named him but to praise."

The members of the firm now (1883) are W. H. Appleton, Daniel S. Appleton, William W. Appleton (son of W. H. Appleton), and Daniel, son of the late John A. Appleton.

The publications of the Appletons now embrace the whole range of human knowledge, from the small text-book and railway guide to the most elaborate and abstruse philosophical treatise. Some of their publications are superb specimens of art. The most costly publications are undertaken without hesitation, caution and enterprise going hand in hand in their mode of conducting business. Their ventures, as a rule, have been successful.

In order to give an idea of the extent of the business of this establishment it may be stated that the cost of the white paper alone required for their use averages fully \$1000 for each working day in the year.

Let us now turn to a consideration of some of the most important current events in the city of New York during the first decade.

CHAPTER XV.

THE long-suppressed discontent of the people of France under the rule of their Bourbon king, Charles X., finally led to a short, sharp, and decisive revolution that overturned a dynasty forever. The people had observed with uneasiness the gradual abridgment of their liberties, and the silent but sure growth of absolutism fostered by the monarch. He was not only disposed to be tyrannical, but was faithless. His promises were made with an evident intention to violate them. In March, 1830, the king made a threatening speech to the representatives of the people. In July he signed an ordinance to put an end to the freedom of the press, and dissolved a recently elected Chamber of Deputies. These acts unloosed the pent-up tempest of popular indignation. The people of Paris flew to arms and drove the monarch from his throne, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was seated in his place.

This revolution, so speedily and so effectually accomplished, enlisted the sympathies of all lovers of freedom. It especially stirred the feelings of the American people, for it was the fruit of their own acts in the past and in the present. Nor could that sympathy be confined to mere emotions and words; it finally culminated in a grand public demonstration in the city of New York in the autumn of 1830.

A meeting was held at the Westchester House, on October 5th, 1830, at which the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That this meeting cannot but express their admiration and esteem for the brave and magnanimous daring of their brother mechanics and workingmen of Paris, who, rising in their strength, regardless of consequences to themselves, nobly burst asunder the chains which an ignorant and bigoted aristocracy had forged to subvert the rights and liberties of France."

These workingmen had come together for the avowed purpose of taking into consideration the "propriety of celebrating the late glorious revolution in France." After adopting the above resolution, they appointed a committee composed of one from each ward to "prepare an address and a call for a public meeting, for the purpose of congratu-

lating the 'glorious Parisian populace' on the happy result of their noble devotion and sacrifices to the cause of the liberties of mankind."

At a meeting held on November 8 it was resolved to divest the affair of all party feeling, and the committee was increased by the addition of the names of about two hundred and sixty of the most prominent citizens. This new list of committeemen was headed by the mayor, Walter Bowne, and followed by such well-known men as General Lamb, Gulian C. Verplanck, M. M. Noah, George D. Strong, John Haggerty, General Morton, Gideon J. Tucker, Campbell P. White, Francis B. Cutting, C. C. Cambreling, ex-President James Monroe, John I. Mumford, George P. Morris, Isaac Webb, Clarkson Crolius, Henry Hone, Albert Gallatin,* S. L. Gouverneur, Thomas H. Leggett, Charles O'Connor, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Alfred S. Pell, James Watson Webb, Samuel Swartwout, Philip Hone, Henry Eckford, Richard Riker, Jacob Lorillard, Commodore Chauncey, Gideon Lee, Colonel Trumbull, Rembrandt Peale, Judge T. J. Oakley, Clarkson Crolius, Jr., Stephen Van Rensselaer, Morgan Lewis, Comfort Sands, Governor Yates, Colonel Varick, Charles King, and others. These men all accepted the position and joined heartily in the celebration and in preparations for it.

It was resolved to hold the celebration on November 25, the anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British. A meeting was called at Tammany Hall on the 12th, at which ex-President

* Albert Gallatin, LL.D., was a native of Switzerland, born in Geneva in January, 1761, and left an orphan at an early age. He graduated at the University of Geneva in 1779. Like Lafayette, he sympathized with the Americans, sailed for Boston in 1780, offered his services to the Americans, and was placed in command of the fort at Passamaquoddy. At the conclusion of peace he became a tutor of French in Harvard College. Receiving his patrimony in 1784, he invested it in lands in Virginia and Pennsylvania, settled on the banks of the Monongahela, and engaged in agriculture. In 1789 he was a member of the constitutional convention of Pennsylvania, and of the State Legislature in 1790-92. He took part in the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794, and assisted in the settlement of the difficulty. From 1795 to 1801 he was a member of Congress. In the latter year President Jefferson called him to his cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, which office he filled with great ability until 1813, when he was sent on a mission to St. Petersburg. He was one of the American commissioners who negotiated a treaty of peace at Ghent in 1814. Gallatin was United States minister at the French court from 1815 till 1823, and went on special missions elsewhere. Returning to America, he made New York City his future residence, and died there in August, 1849. There he devoted himself to literature and philosophical and historical studies. He became much interested in the study of the philology and ethnology of the North American Indians, and was the founder and first president of the American Ethnological Society. In 1843 Mr. Gallatin was chosen president of the New York Historical Society, and held that position until his death. Mr. Gallatin was one of the ablest financiers of his time.

Monroe presided, assisted by Thomas Hertell, Mayor Bowne, and Albert Gallatin as vice-presidents, and Daniel Jackson and M. M. Noah secretaries. The great hall was packed with men. The venerable President was in feeble health (he died a few months afterward), but presided with dignity, and made a patriotic speech on the occasion, dwelling largely upon the character of Lafayette, who had been so conspicuous in the Revolution in America, and had borne such an important part in the revolution they were about to celebrate.

At this meeting the general arrangements were made. It was resolved to invite the participation in the celebration of the mayor and common council, the judges, charitable and literary societies, mechanical and scientific associations, the president, faculty, and students of Columbia College, the scholars of the public schools, the uniformed militia companies of the city, and the natives of France. For each of these objects a committee of seven was appointed. A committee was also appointed to prepare an address to the French people, also a committee to select an orator and a grand marshal. There was a committee of fifty persons appointed as a general executive committee of arrangements, of which Philip Hone was chairman.

The chairman of the committee to select an orator was William M. Price; to receive deputations from mechanics' societies, Robert Walker; to receive deputations from colleges and public schools, Samuel Stevens; to select a grand marshal, Andrew Jackson; to prepare an address to the French people, Thomas Hertell; of the music committee, George P. Morris; to confer with the military, James Watson Webb.

Invitations to participate were extended to the Cincinnati Society, to United States officers of the Revolution and of the late war, to the superintendent, faculty, and cadets of the West Point Military Academy, to the corporation of the "village of Brooklyn," and various other bodies who were specially indicated. Among the veterans of the Revolution was Enoch Crosby, the original of Cooper's "Spy."

Samuel L. Gouverneur (son-in-law of ex-President Monroe) was chosen to be the orator of the day, and Samuel Swartwout, the grand marshal, with twenty-one aids. The dress of the chief marshal and his aids was prescribed as follows: Blue coat, with white facings and gilt buttons; buff vest, with plain gilt buttons; white pantaloons; chapeau-de-bras, tricolored cockade, and plume; tricolored scarfs; tricolored badge, with the stripes of the United States flag to be worn on each lapel; dress sword and gilt spurs.

A number of French residents offered their services as an escort for



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the grand marshal, and were accepted, and many of the natives of France prepared to participate in the grand fête.

As the appointed day approached, the military, firemen, exempt firemen, fire-wardens, college students, pupils of schools, various societies, the professions and trades, were active in preparations for the grand event. Flags and banners, badges and cockades, scarfs and rosettes, the tricolor rose everywhere and on everything, were made ready.

The autumn was very mild. The Indian summer had made its advent early, and with its delicious haze, its balmy temperature, and its fading glories among the trees, the vines, and the flowers, had given its full measure of enjoyment to the town and country before the momentous day arrived. When it arrived the weather was very inclement, and the celebration was postponed until the next day by the display of a red flag upon the City Hall, at Niblo's, at Castle Garden, at the Washington Parade-Ground, and at the Liberty Pole in Grand Street, at eight o'clock in the morning.

The storm was over before the dawn of the 26th. The sky was covered with gray clouds, and the atmosphere was bleak and chilly. Before sunrise the notes of preparation for the celebration that day were heard on every side, and at nine o'clock the procession began to form at the Battery. When everything was in readiness it moved up Broadway to the Washington Parade-Ground (now Washington Square), where certain ceremonies were to be held.

The procession was led by a squadron of cavalry elegantly uniformed. These were followed by the grand marshal and his aids, and eight French gentlemen wearing the beautiful uniform of the National Guards of France, as the marshal's escort. These were all on horseback. Following them was a barouche containing the orator of the day and the reader of the address to the French people. Ex-President Monroe was expected to occupy a seat in this vehicle, but the feeble state of his health forbade it, and he joined the procession when it approached the parade-ground. Other vehicles followed bearing committeemen, officers of the city government, members of Congress and the State Legislature, judges of the National and State courts, foreign ministers and consuls, and the New York Chamber of Commerce.

In a barouche was Anthony Glenn, a naval officer of the Revolution, with David Williams, one of the captors of André; Enoch Crosby, the patriotic spy of the Revolution,* and Alexander Whaley, one of the

* Enoch Crosby was a witness in a court of justice in New York in 1827, and was recognized by an old gentleman, who introduced him to the audience as the original of Cooper's

famous Boston tea-party. Captain Glenn bore aloft unfurled the identical standard which was hoisted by him on the flagstaff at the Battery or Fort George on the evacuation of the city by the British on the 25th of November, 1783. By his side rode John Van Arsdale, who, when young, pulled down the British flag from the same staff on that momentous occasion. He received the halyards from Captain Glenn when he raised the old flag aloft.

The bulk of the grand procession was made up of the faculty and students of Columbia College bearing a medallion likeness of Lafayette, with the legend in Greek, "The glory of this man shall be forever;" the members of various professions—law, medicine, science, and literature; officers of the army and navy, and a vast array of members of the various trades pursued in the city. These, with appropriate and elegant banners, made a most attractive display. Among these the printers and type-founders and persons connected with the New York press in every capacity took the lead, preceded by a beautiful banner displaying a picture of a Clymer printing-press. Their marshal was the venerable John Lang, who had been connected with the press more than forty years.

The fire department, which turned out in full force, was under the direction of James Gulick. The New York pilots made a fine display, having a car bearing a representation of a French ship-of-war. The cartmen of the city numbered about three hundred. They were in white frocks, wearing on their left breast a tricolored cockade and a badge printed on white satin.

There was a grand display of the military organizations of the city in the procession, under the command of the venerable General Jacob Morton. On his staff was Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Warner, who is now (1883) and has been for many years the recording secretary of the New York Historical Society. All the other members of General Morton's staff on that occasion are dead.

A stage had been erected near the centre of Washington Parade-Ground. Ex-President Monroe, who had consented to preside on the occasion, with the orator of the day and others, awaited the arrival of the procession at the house of Colonel J. B. Murray, near by. Monroe was then taken in a barouche to the stage, where the Chairmakers' Association presented him with an elegant arm-chair, made during the

Harvey Birch in his novel of "The Spy." The fact was noised abroad. *The Spy*, dramatized, was in course of performance at one of the theatres. Crosby was invited to attend. His acceptance was announced, and that evening a crowded audience greeted the old soldier.

progress of the procession. This the venerable statesman occupied on the occasion.

After a prayer by the Rev. Richard Varick Dey, the address to the French people was read by William M. Price, when Samuel L. Gouverneur was introduced as the orator of the day, who pronounced a most interesting address to the vast throng before him. The oration was followed by the singing of an appropriate ode written by Sannel Woodworth for the occasion, by the entire band of choristers attached to the Park Theatre, led by Mr. E. Richings.

When the music ceased a tricolored flag which had been borne in the procession was presented, on behalf of the natives of France resident in the city of New York, to the First Division of New York State Artillery, commanded by General Morton. Then the Marseillaise Hymn was sung by the choir, and the vast audience joined in the stirring choros. The brilliant affair at the Washington Parade-Ground was closed at three o'clock by a *feu de joie* by the military.

“The day will long live in story,” said the *New York Courier and Enquirer* the next morning, “and fill up many a pleasant hour when the children of 1830, in the winter of *their* day, shall speak of the events in olden times, among the least interesting of which shall not be numbered the celebration of the Revolution of France in the city of New York.” It is for the purpose of awakening in the memory of the “children of 1830” a vivid recollection of the event which stirred the heart of the great city fifty years ago, and to tell to *their* children, in a few simple words, how the bosoms of their fathers glowed with patriotic emotion because of the triumph of liberty beyond the sea, that this record has been made here.

In commemoration of Evacuation Day and the Revolution in France banquets were partaken of in the evening in several wards, the workmen and the Literary Association of the Friends of Ireland at Tammany Hall, at all of which there was great hilarity, speech-making, and singing of songs or odes for the occasion, while there were specially appropriate performances at the theatres.

This decade is a remarkable period in the history of the city of New York for the successful introduction of a new system of treatment of diseases—a system founded upon the positive knowledge of the science of physiology (the basis of all rational medicine), which has been developed within the last three fourths of a century; a system which has contributed largely in effecting a radical reform in the practice of the healing art of every school.

Previous to this period “the practice of the art, here and there,”

says Dr. Gray, "consisted, with no really scientific exceptions, in a heroic combat with two mythical demons of medicine, the strong and the weak—inflammation and debility—by means of emetics, cathartics, venesections, vesicatories, sedatives, tonics, and stimulants. The 'principles' upon which this terrific practice was founded were all deduced from the poor basis of the physiology of the last century; and that, without having interrogated this physiology as to the real powers of the vast drug apparatus they used, either specific and direct, or reaction and revolutionary. Nothing was scientifically known of the action of any drug, by any physiological test: none other than the little derived from its empirical use in disease, and from the scarcity and unarranged memoranda of toxicology. . . . But the profession, even at the period of which we are treating, were, as their literature now and then discloses, by no means satisfied with the uncertain principles and distinctive processes of their therapeutics; there were not wanting in all countries men who looked for as great and radical a reformation in the healing art as had already occurred in the sciences of astronomy and chemistry, or as great a change as had taken place in the art of navigation. Nearly all, indeed, outside the walls of mercantile cliques and colleges were discontented with the principles evulgated in medical schools and books; but not looking in the direction of pharmacology for the new truths waited for, each earnest man repeated the old method of excogitating a new theory, or of compounding an eclectic art from the multitude of extant hypotheses." *

In the fulness of time a radical and learned reformer appeared in the person of Samuel Hahnemann, an eminent German physician and philosopher, who so early as 1810 sounded the keynote for an entirely new method in medical logic by the publication of a treatise styled "Organon of Rational Therapeutics." He announced the idea of forming a materia medica upon the rational process of patient physiological tests of the powers of drugs. So soon as his work appeared many persons in the profession and votaries of science joined him in making his "drug tests." He collected from the literature of the profession in all ages the scattered fragments denoting the purely physiological power of drugs, and combined them with the new provings. These tests extended over a space of more than a dozen years, and in 1821 he completed his great work which embodied the result of all researches up to that time, entitled "Pure Materia Medica."

The system then introduced was termed Homœopathy, from two

* "The Early Annals of Homœopathy in New York," by John F. Gray, M.D.

Greek words signifying "similar suffering." It is founded on the belief that medicines have the power of curing morbid conditions similar to those which they have the power to excite, expressed by the words "like cures like;" in other words, a disease produced in a healthy person by a substance may be cured by administering the same substance to a patient suffering from the same disease.

This was not a new idea, for Hippocrates gave this remarkable prescription for mania: "Give the patient a draught made from the root of mandrake, *in a smaller dose than sufficient to induce mania.*" And Milton, in his preface to "Samson Agonistes," says: "In phisic, things of melancholic hue and quality are used against melancholy, sour against sour, salt to remove salt humors," etc. But to Hahnemann belongs the glory of propounding and enforcing the startling dogma.

One of the early disciples of Hahnemann was John Gram, a native of Boston. His father, a Dane, emigrated to America at the close of our old war for independence. He married an American wife, and died quite young, leaving two or three children. John was the oldest, and when he was about fourteen years of age he went to Copenhagen, Denmark, where he was furnished with a good education by his relations, some of whom were distinguished in public life. He studied medicine, obtained a lucrative practice in Copenhagen, acquired a competent fortune, and having tested Hahnemann's method and become an enthusiastic convert, he came to his native land, after an absence of about twenty years. He gave up a lucrative practice in Copenhagen, and landed in New York an avowed apostle of the new faith.

Dr. Gram translated one of Hahnemann's most powerful essays, "The Spirit of Homœopathy," printed it, and scattered it widely and gratuitously among the medical profession in this country, especially in the city of New York. His imperfect use of the English language and the difficulty of conveying scientific knowledge from German into English caused his pamphlet to be unappreciated, even by men like Drs. Hosack and Francis.

Dr. John F. Gray, then a young physician of New York with an extensive practice, was Dr. Gram's first convert. He was introduced to Gram in 1826 by one of his patients suffering with dyspepsia, who had heard of the new system. The apostle of the new faith had "laid his hands" on Gray's patient with wonderful effect. Dr. Gray was astonished, and at once put Hahnemann's method to a severe test, not by his own prescriptions, but by those of Dr. Gram. The first subject was a scrofulous girl, the second a maniac whose malady was caused by

puerperal fever, and the third was a confirmed drunkard. Dr. Gram prescribed for all. The first and third cases were cured by a single dose of the remedy prescribed, Dr. Gray arranging the diet and moral conditions.

The second case—mania—was under diet rule fourteen days, and then a single dose of *nux vomica* was administered. "She fully recovered her reason within half an hour after taking the dose of *nux vomica*," says Dr. Gray, "and never lost it afterward." * Within a year Dr. Gray became a full convert to homœopathy, the first in America.

The second convert to homœopathy in New York was Dr. A. D. Wilson, in 1829. He was a ripe scholar and in full practice. The next convert was Dr. A. G. Hull, a thoughtful student of medicine and a graduate of Union College in 1828. He had entered Rutgers Medical College, where he found such able physicians and surgeons as Drs. Hosack, Maceneven, Mott, and Francis as professors. Gram taught him botany in summer, and reviewed prescriptive anatomy with him in winter. Hull was admitted to practice by the New York Medical Society in 1832. He was a convert to homœopathy, and wrote in support of the new school so early as 1834.

In 1832 Dr. William Channing became a convert. He was a man of large culture in letters, thoroughly educated in medicine, and had a large practice. On the outbreak of the cholera in 1832 he perceived the ill-success of the medical treatment of cholera patients in the hospitals. He tried Hahnemann's prescriptions with wonderful success. They were so efficient that Dr. Channing published in the *Commercial Advertiser*, over his own signature, an account of the treatment. Soon after that he was an avowed convert to the new faith. These early converts and one or two others, with Dr. Gram, kept up regular social reunions with great pleasure and profit until the death of the master in 1840.

The translation of Hahnemann's "Pure Materia Medica" into French, in 1832-33, by Dr. Jourdan of Paris, gave a fresh impetus to the spread of homœopathy in Europe and America. Before that time no physician could test the practice without a thorough knowledge of the German language. This difficulty explains the slowness of the expansion of the system during the first eight years after Gram's advent in New York.

The social relations of the converts with their professional brethren of another school, or with the Medical Society, were not disturbed by

* "The Early Annals of Homœopathy in New York," by J. F. Gray, M.D., p. 14.

their heresy. They wisely avoided disputation or discussion. The topic was treated of sparingly. Homœopathy and quackery were associated in the minds of a great proportion of the medical profession and of the laity. But its devotees kept steadily on, winning the confidence of the people more and more, and fully persuaded of the value of the great reform they were the almost silent instruments in effecting.

When in 1837-38 Hahnemann's great work was translated and published in the chief spoken languages of Europe, they were reticent no longer. They then began a manly and vigorous defence of the system. Dr. Gray revived the publication of the *American Journal of Homœopathy*, which had been suspended, and a distinct Homœopathic Society was formed. From that hour the conflict waxed warm. The principles of the new school were promulgated and discussed. New converts appeared. Drs. Tieknor, Freeman, Curtis, Taylor, Coxe, Rosman, Vanderburgh, Joslin, and Snow left the old school and joined the new.

About the period of Gram's death homœopathy began to be supported in various cities in the State of New York, as well as in other States. "Regular" physicians earnestly examined its principles, and profited by an acceptance of them in practice, while adhering technically to the old school. Confidence in the system rapidly spread among the laity. Prejudice gave way in the circle of the medical profession. Institutes sprung up in support of the system of homœopathy. Legislators favored it with encouraging laws, and in the city of New York to-day there are flourishing public homœopathic institutions, such as a college, a dispensary, an asylum, an infirmary, and a hospital.

The State Medical Society and county medical societies vehemently opposed the new faith, and made the act of consulting with a homœopathic physician on the part of any of the members a misdemeanor to be visited with discipline, and possibly punished by excommunication—dismissal from the society. Gradually, as the progress of medical science diffused new light, and thoughtful members of the medical societies of the old school perceived that the summit of human knowledge had not yet been attained by the profession, there appeared a possibility that these despised competitors might become pleasant coadjutors in the toilsome ascent. Toleration interposed its genial influence, and common-sense asserted its rights.

In 1832 the "regular" Medical Society of the State of New York voted that its members might fully consult with homœopathic physicians. This liberal measure was vehemently opposed by a large proportion of the "regular" profession, and at the annual meeting of the society, in January, 1833, an attempt was made to rescind that resolu-

tion, and withdraw the invitation to homœopathic physicians to consultation with "regulars." But the society refused to reverse that decision, by a vote of 105 to 99. An analysis of that vote and a reference to the proceedings show that the more eminent and learned members of the society, such as Drs. Willard Parker, Fordyce Barker (president of the Academy of Medicine), Cornelius R. Agnew, and others, advocated (and voted for) the liberal side of the question.

In the Code of Ethics formulated by the American Institute of Homœopathy for the government of its members and of societies in affiliation with it, adopted nearly twenty years ago (1864), is the following paragraph concerning the duty of physicians in regard to consultation :

"No difference in views on subjects of medical principles or practice should be allowed to influence a physician against consenting to a consultation with a fellow practitioner. The very object of a consultation is to bring together those who may perhaps differ in their views of the disease and its appropriate treatment, in the hope that from a comparison of different views may be derived a just estimate of the disease and a successful course of treatment. No tests of orthodoxy in medical practice should be applied to limit the freedom of consultations."

Dr. Gram, the founder of homœopathy in America, was the grandson of a wealthy merchant of Copenhagen. His son, the father of the doctor, came to America when quite young, fell in love with an innkeeper's daughter in Boston, and married her, and was disinherited by his offended father. The doctor was born in 1786. He is represented as a most exemplary man. Dr. Gray says : "He was an earnest Christian of the Swedenborgian faith, a man of the most scrupulously pure and charitable life I have ever known. The squalid hovel of the sick poor was to Gram ever the most holy temple of religion. . . . No darkness or wintry storm or failure of strength or allurements of the world detained Gram when the suffering poor needed his healing presence. He believed in God ; he worked and walked his earthly pilgrimage with his Redeemer. And yet, this good man and earnest believer was often called an infidel, sometimes even by thoughtless Christian ministers, because he abstained from the topic on all occasions and with all people, except when he was called to the performance of his kind of religious worship."

Dr. Gram's first American convert, and the able pioneer in the practice of the homœopathic system of medicine, was Dr. Gray.*

* John Franklin Gray, M.D., LL.D., was a remarkable man. He was born at Sherburne, Chenango County, N. Y., on September 3, 1804, and lived a life of great usefulness

He had then a large and rapidly increasing circle of patients, and families and fame and fortune beckoned him to their embrace. But his new departure—his wandering in an untraversed wilderness of a strange medical theory, as it was considered by the profession here—lost him the larger portion of his patients. The few who clung to him were of the grateful but unremunerative sort. He was compelled to give up his carriage, which had been needful in his daily duties. His professional brethren regarded him as an outcast, and hardly recognized him as one of their fraternity. They pitied him because of his lunacy.

But Dr. Gray had the courage of his convictions. Satisfied of the truth of the doctrine he had embraced and practised, and with a firm belief that those truths would ultimately triumph, he struggled manfully against the strong current of prejudice and ignorance, and labored untiringly for the fulfilment, in his own time, of the sure prophecy that gladdened his mental vision. He beheld the promised land from the Pisgah of his own consciousness. Dr. Gram sustained him with his

for nearly fourscore years. His grandfather was one of the first settlers of the township of Sherburne.

Young Gray was left at an early age and with a meagre education to depend upon his own exertions to obtain a livelihood. He earned with his own hands money sufficient to "seek his fortune abroad." He travelled as far as Hamilton, Oneida County, and obtained employment in the office of Dr. Haven as clerk and assistant, with the privilege of studying medicine when he had leisure to do so. He had a receptive and retentive mind, and had conceived a very strong desire to become a practitioner of the healing art.

Dr. Haven, perceiving his studious habits and longing for knowledge, especially of the healing art, gave him every opportunity for study in his power. During the two years Gray was with him the youth acquired a fair knowledge of Latin, under the instructions of the principal of the village academy, since expanded into Madison University. His wardrobe needing replenishment, he taught a district school a few months, obtained a new suit of clothes, and started on foot to visit his parents, more than two hundred miles deeper in the western wilderness, in Chautauqua County, where they had removed. He opened a private school near Dunkirk, was very successful, and having studied continually with the object of entering the medical profession, he was enabled, with money enough saved from his earnings, to start for New York to take instruction in the medical college there. He bore influential letters of introduction; among others one from Governor De Witt Clinton to Dr. Hosack and others. He received the diploma of a Doctor of Medicine from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in March, 1826, when he was twenty-two years of age.

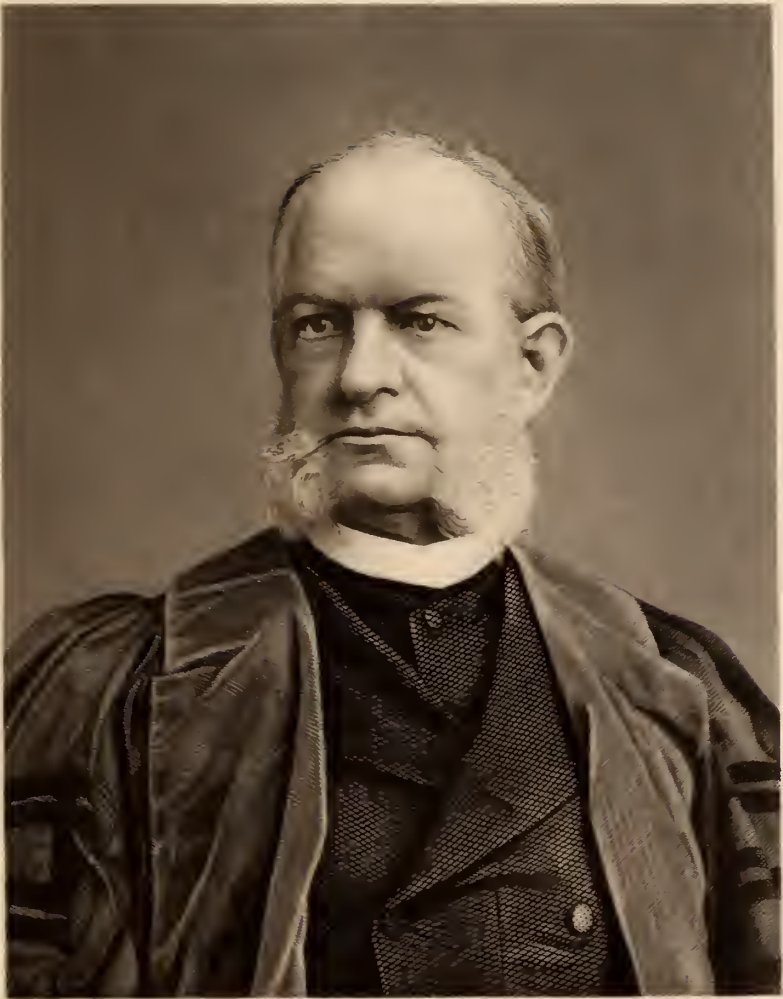
By the advice of Dr. Hosack, Dr. Gray began the practice of his profession in the city of New York, and continued active in it fifty-five years. He opened an office in Charlton Street, then far "up town." His success was remarkable from the beginning. He married a daughter of Dr. Amos G. Hull, and his personal and professional relations in the city were most happy. As we have seen, he became the first convert of the apostle of homœopathy, Dr. Gram, and was ever afterward his most efficient champion by word and deed.

professional skill and counsel. Success in his practice brought friends, old and new, to his support. A convert from the old school now and then appeared, as we have seen, and it was not a very long time before Dr. Gray needed a carriage again in the performance of his daily duties.

The violent professional assaults made upon Dr. Gray practically proved the truth of the saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." The comparative results of the various sorts of medical treatment were so decidedly in favor of the mild and simple and successful course pursued from the first by Dr. Gray and his handful of compeers that they set thoughtful persons to candid thinking, and gave a powerful impulse to the spread of homœopathy; and Dr. Gray lived to see Hahnemann's system of cure, from the first planting in this country, established in every part of it, with its educated and trained practitioners numbered by thousands, its societies and institutions sanctioned by law in every State of the Republic, with its colleges, hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries existing in numbers to meet the rapidly increasing demand.

In 1834 Dr. Gray, in conjunction with his brother-in-law (his pupil and convert), Dr. A. G. Hull, established the first *American Journal of Homœopathy*. Its issue soon ceased for want of support, but was afterward revived for a while under another name. At Dr. Gray's suggestion, an association of all the disciples of Hahnemann in the United States was formed, with the title of "American Institute of Homœopathy." It is the oldest *national* medical institution in the country. Dr. Gray was for years the leading spirit of the society.

The literature of homœopathy in America received very important but not very numerous contributions from the pen of Dr. Gray; his personal exertions in promoting the spread and success of the new system of therapeutics were enormous. As president of the State Homœopathic Medical Society, he successfully exerted his influence with the Legislature of New York in favor of the enactment of a law for the promotion of a higher standard of education by providing for the appointment of a board of State examiners, entirely unconnected with the medical colleges, for the examination of candidates for a higher honorary degree, to be conferred only by the regents of the University of the State. After much opposition such a law was enacted May 16, 1872. Under this "advanced medical act" the Board of Regents enjoined a rigid code of rules and regulations for the conduct of these examiners. Dr. Gray was appointed president of the first board of examiners, and held that position until his death, which occurred on June 5, 1882, when he was in the seventy-eighth year of his age.



Thomas Crosby

Dr. Gray was a thorough classical scholar, and conspicuous for his wide and varied knowledge. He was generous, kind-hearted, and ever ready to give a hand to help the needy. His professional benefactions among the poor were far beyond the public ken. The sick poor always found in him an attentive physician and a sympathizing friend. A single anecdote will fitly illustrate this phase of his character. A poor sewing-girl went to Dr. Gray for advice. He gave her a vial of medicine, and told her to go home and go to bed.

"I can't do that, doctor," said the girl, "for I am dependent on what I earn every day for my living."

"If that is so," said the doctor, "I'll change the medicine a little. Give me back the vial."

He took it, and wrapping around it a ten-dollar bill, returned it to the poor girl, and repeated his order :

"Go home and go to bed. Take the medicine, wrapper and all."

New York City has now a large body of homœopathic physicians of the highest professional character and attainments. Among the most successful of these are Drs. Egbert Guernsey,* E. E. Marcy,† and William Tod Helmuth. The latter is regarded as one of the most skilful surgeons in the city, and has contributed largely and usefully to the literature of homœopathy.‡

* Dr. Egbert Guernsey is a native of Litchfield, Connecticut, and a graduate of the medical department of the University of the City of New York. He took his degree in 1844. After his graduation he took charge of a drug-store for a while. In 1849 he was appointed city physician of Williamsburgh, now Brooklyn, Eastern District. At that time the cholera prevailed in New York and Brooklyn. After exhausting every means the allopathic *materia medica* furnished for the restoration of his patients, he consulted Dr. Cox, a recent convert to homœopathy, who, in his prescription of a few doses of arsenicum, prepared homœopathically, relieved a patient he was attending. This service induced him to examine the system of Hahnemann, and he became a convert. He was eminently successful in all cholera and dysentery cases. Dr. Guernsey settled in the city of New York in 1851, and the next year he published his work on "Domestic Practice," a most valuable family guide. His practice in New York soon became extensive, and also profitable to his patients and himself.

† Dr. E. E. Marcy is a native of Massachusetts, and was born in 1819. After practicing medicine allopathically for about ten years, he discarded it and began the homœopathic practice in New York about 1850, where he originated the *North American Homœopathic Journal*, of which he was the principal editor for about fifteen years. Dr. Marcy is a very skilful physician and has a large practice. His contributions to homœopathic literature are many and important.

‡ William Tod Helmuth, M.D., was born in Philadelphia, Pa., October 30, 1833. He was educated at St. Timothy's College, Baltimore, and in 1850 began the study of medicine under his uncle, Dr. William S. Helmuth, then professor of the history and practice of medicine in the Homœopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania. Graduating in 1853

with honor, he received his doctorate and began the practice of his profession, having for a while acted as dispensary physician of the college.

In 1855, when he was only twenty-two years of age, Dr. Helmuth was elected professor of anatomy in his *alma mater*, and in the same year he completed and published a work of 650 pages, entitled "Surgery, and its Adaptation to Homœopathic Practice." In 1858 Dr. Helmuth removed to St. Louis and became one of the founders of the Homœopathic Medical College of Missouri, in which he occupied the chair of anatomy. He also became one of the surgeons of the Good Samaritan Hospital, which position he occupied until 1870, when he made his place of residence and field of professional labor in the city of New York.

In 1866 Dr. Helmuth delivered the annual address before the American Institute of Homœopathy, and in 1867, at its session in the city of New York, he was chosen its president. The following year he went to Europe for the purpose of increasing his knowledge of surgical science, and made quite an extensive tour on the continent. On his return, in 1869, he organized the St. Louis College of Homœopathic Physicians and Surgeons, and became its dean and professor of surgery. In 1870 he received an urgent call to the chair of surgery in the Homœopathic Medical College of New York, which he accepted. On his departure from St. Louis for his new field of action his professional and other friends in that city gave him a banquet, and presented him with a complete service of silver, as "a token of their high esteem for him as a citizen and a man of science." With such a gratifying farewell demonstration he left the West and took up his residence in the commercial metropolis of the Republic, where he is now, in the enjoyment of an extensive professional practice, which he soon won by his skill and industry.

Dr. Helmuth married Miss Pritchard, of St. Louis, in 1859. Since that time his literary labors in the cause of medical science have been extensive and useful. We have seen that at the age of twenty-two he published an important volume. In 1864 he became one of the founders and the principal editor of the *Western Homœopathic Observer*, which he conducted with great ability until he left St. Louis, a period of about seven years. During his residence in New York, besides making frequent contributions to periodical medical literature, he has revised and annotated the four editions of his "System of Surgery." He has published a volume of "Surgical Clinics," a monograph on "Nerve Stretching," an account of "A Dozen Cases in Clinical Surgery" (which are all rare and interesting), an essay on "The Excision of the Rectum," and a quarto volume on "Supra-Pubic Lithotomy," illustrated with colored lithographic plates. Dr. Helmuth has indulged in lighter literature, having issued several humorous poems, among them "The Doctor Woman," "My First Patient," "How I Became a Surgeon," and a collection of fugitive pieces entitled "Scratches of a Surgeon," and a little volume entitled "A Steamer Book"—a sort of book of travel to be read upon a steamboat.

Dr. Helmuth, besides occupying the chair of surgery in the New York Homœopathic Medical College, is one of the surgeons to the Ward's Island Hospital, to the Hahnemann Hospital, and to the New York College and Hospital for Women. He is a "Veteran" member of the American Institute of Homœopathy; a Fellow of the New York Medic-Chirurgical Society; a member and late president of the Homœopathic County Medical Society; a permanent member of the Homœopathic Medical Society of the State of New York; and during a recent visit to Europe was elected an honorary member of the Société Homœopathique de France. He is also an honorary member of the State societies of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

CHAPTER XVI.

IN 1832 a radical change in the system of public instruction in the city of New York was begun. Before considering that topic further, let us take a brief retrospective glance at the condition of public instruction on Manhattan Island from the beginning of settlements thereon.

The Hollanders who settled on the site of the city of New York had enjoyed the blessings of free public schools in their native land, and provision was made in the charter of the Dutch West India Company for "good and fit preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick" in the wilderness of New Netherland. It was ordained that the religious and secular teachers should walk hand in hand in the high employment of educating the head and the heart. For a time the minister and schoolmaster were found in the same person, but in 1633 Dominie Bogardus, the minister, who had also been the school-teacher, was relieved of pedagogical duties, and Adam Roelandsen was installed as schoolmaster. He was the first of a long line of secular instructors of the young, who may be justly regarded as among the grandest builders of our free institutions. Roelandsen should be canonized as the tutelar saint of the thousands of school-teachers in the city of New York who to-day are fostering education, which, as Burke said, is "the cheap defence of nations."

When Dutch rule ended on Manhattan Island there were three public schools and more than a dozen private schools in New Amsterdam, now New York. The first of these is yet in existence, and known as the "School of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church," founded by Governor Stuyvesant, and probably the oldest educational institution in our country.

In 1659 an excellent Latin School was established, and fostered by the Dutch Government. It was continued eight years after the English took possession of New Amsterdam. William III. decreed that the minister of the Dutch Church should have the right to nominate school-teachers. In 1702 a Free Grammar School was founded, and an edifice for it was built on the King's Farm. Two years later William

Rutgers. It was completed early in the autumn of 1811, and on the 13th of November it was opened as Public School No. 2.

The second war for independence (1812-15) interrupted the beneficent labors of the society, but they resumed their work with vigor at its close. They received from the Legislature that year (1815) their quota of the State school fund, amounting to \$3708. From that time the number of public-school houses gradually increased. In 1818 No. 3 was opened for pupils on the corner of Amos and Hudson streets, and the next year No. 4 was erected in Rivington Street, when a new departure in the arrangement of public-school buildings was made. That was the first in which were separate departments for boys and girls. Afterward a small library was introduced into each school.

The free public schools became more and more popular, and the favor of the citizens received a powerful impetus from a circumstance which occurred in 1824. In October of that year Lafayette visited the city of New York. In company with State and city officials he visited Public School No. 3, which contained five hundred boys and two hundred girls. In the presence of these seven hundred children, all tidy in appearance and orderly in behavior, this "guest of the nation" listened to a poetical address recited by a class of girls in concert. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day Lafayette reviewed all the children of the public schools in the city before a large concourse of people in the City Hall Park. The children numbered more than three thousand. They carried banners with appropriate inscriptions, on one of which were the significant words, "EDUCATION IS THE BASIS OF FREE GOVERNMENT." A sweet little girl recited a touching poetic address, expressing, in the name of the children of America, their gratitude to this friend and associate of Washington. When she closed the address, she gently laid a beautiful wreath of laurel and flowers on the head of the venerable man, who rewarded the little spokeswoman with an affectionate kiss.

The public schools had now become so popular that "middle-class citizens," desirous of having their children taught in them, offered to pay for tuition. This afforded to the trustees a temptation to adopt an injurious measure. There had been much opposition to the free schools on the ground that those who accepted the boon acknowledged themselves a sort of paupers. To allay this feeling the society considered the propriety of converting the schools into pay schools. They ascertained that there were in the city about four hundred pay schools, most of them small and miserably conducted, and it was concluded if the studies in the public school should be revised and greatly extended, and

at the same time a small amount of pay for instruction demanded, they would secure the personal interest and patronage of the large and important class of citizens who supported these private schools. It was proposed to consolidate the schools of the Free School Society, of the Manumission Society, and those of the Female Association under one organization known as the Public School Society.

It was argued that the proposed scheme would be a more democratic principle in the schools, where the rich and poor would meet together ; that it would harmonize religious sects ; that it would attract more attention and support to the public schools, and secure a uniform system in all elementary schools ; also to foster the cultivation of a proper feeling of independence among the poor and laboring classes.

These specious arguments prevailed, and in January, 1826, the society procured a new charter, which authorized them, under the title of the Public School Society, to receive low rates of payment for teaching, from 25 cents to \$2 per quarter. Fifty members were added to the trustees, and an executive committee was appointed, consisting of five trustees elected by ballot, together with the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and the chairman of each of the several local sections, "with power to appoint teachers and take general charge during the recess of the board of trustees."

This committee became the working power of the society. New school-houses were erected to meet the expected great influx of pupils, and the course of studies in the schools was greatly extended. Steps were also taken for establishing a normal school for the "instruction of tutors and monitors," for the Lancastrian system was in full force.

The pay system speedily proved to be a disastrous failure. Many of those who had never paid before withdrew their children ; there was great difficulty in collecting the dues from parents ; many insisted that as the schools received money from the State school fund, there existed no right to demand pay from individuals, and the popularity of the public-school system rapidly declined. The number of children who came in from the private schools was far less than anticipated. Many parents paid only one or two quarters, so as to have their children appear on the pay-list, and never paid afterward. The register of pupils on August 1, 1825, showed the number to be 5919 ; on the first of May, 1826, the day when the new law went into operation, it had shrunk, in nine months, to 4654.

The trustees struggled against fate so long as hope remained, but when they perceived the solid ground slipping from beneath their feet—the grand postulate that *Education is a right* appearing like a new

light in the social firmament—the undoubted signs of utter and disastrous failure appearing on every side, they paused to consider. They perceived, among the most alarming symptoms of disintegration of the system, the growth of an injurious *caste* spirit. The children whose parents paid looked down upon those whose parents did not or could not pay. They also discovered that the doors of the denominational free schools were thrown wide open, and that they had established cheap pay schools which were drawing many children from the public schools. The intelligence of the period had outstripped the monitorial system, which had become a hindrance, and the clamor for assistant teachers was loud and powerful. They finally gave up the contest and abolished the pay system altogether. On February 3, 1832, public notice was given that the public schools were open to all as a common right, and that every effort would be made to render them attractive and desirable to all classes. This act was done just in time to save the public-school system from ruin.

From the beginning the Lancastrian system of popular education and school government had been in operation in the public schools of New York. It was so called from Joseph Lancaster, an Englishman, who at the beginning of this century introduced into England a method adopted by Dr. Bell at the English hospital in Madras in 1795. It consisted of the employment of monitors, or really assistants of the teacher, composed of some of the brightest boys and girls in school, who each had charge of the discipline and tuition of a section of the schools. They enforced discipline by watchfulness and prompt reporting to the teacher, and taught by rote under his instruction.

This system was intended to secure the public teaching of children in the most economical way, and so well effected its purpose for years that its power and usefulness were much praised. Ordinarily a teacher could not well manage over seventy or eighty pupils in well-organized classes; by the monitorial system one teacher could manage a school of three or four hundred children.

While the Free School Society in New York was preparing to begin operations, one of its members being in England visited a school near London, which Lancaster had opened in 1801. He was deeply impressed with the great value of the new system, and on his return he succeeded in persuading the society to adopt the system. Lancaster was a Friend or Quaker, and when he came to New York in 1820 the members of the Society who were Friends, and many others, received him most cordially. But he had nothing new to offer. The system bearing his name had been tested for years. It had many adherents



Rich. M. Hoe.

Robert Hoe

Peter J. Hoe

and as many opponents. It had not borne the anticipated fruit. He acknowledged that he had only trodden in the footsteps of Dr. Bell, and was not the originator of the system. Personally he was not very agreeable, and his residence in this country did not advance the spread of his system. It gradually declined in favor, and was finally abandoned.

Meanwhile an innovation in education had begun to develop itself in New York. It was a practical testing of the system of Pestalozzi, who sought to educate infants by a combination of industrial, entertaining, intellectual, and moral instruction, without the use of books, and by oral and object teaching entirely—the fundamental ideas of the kindergarten system of Froebel.

This system was put in practice in New York by an association of ladies called the Infant School Society, of which Mrs. Joanna Bethune was the chief manager. The ages of the children instructed ranged from two to six years. At that time the public schools were not graded, and the youngest children were taught with the oldest in one department, promiscuously. The trustees, pleased with the Pestalozzian system, ventured upon the experiment of separating the younger children from the older pupils, and in May, 1828, an infant department was opened in a basement of one of the public schools, and the counsel and assistance of ladies of the Infant School Society (then having a school of one hundred and seventy pupils in Canal Street) solicited.

In the new organization of the public schools, begun in 1832 on a positively free basis, the schools were graded. They were classed—first, as “public schools,” having the more advanced boys and girls in separate departments; second, “primary departments,” which were modified infant schools; and third, “primary schools.” Both the lower orders of the school were to make regular promotions to the public schools. Radical changes were made in the upper departments. The course of study was greatly extended, assistant teachers were employed, and separate recitation-rooms provided. Paid monitors were retained. Late in 1832 the managers of the Manumission Society proposed to transfer the six or seven African schools, as they were called, with a register of nearly fourteen hundred pupils, to the Public School Society. This was effected in 1834.

In the summer of 1832 the medical fraternity and the various methods of therapeutics in New York were severely tested on the invasion of the city by a dreadful scourge called the Asiatic cholera. Its approach westward from the Orient had been slow, and had been watched with great interest by medical men in Western Europe and in

the United States. It seems to have started westward from nearly the same point in Central Asia whence the great Indo-European migrations proceeded. It was several years before it entered Europe. It reached England in 1831, and ravaged the United Kingdom. It was carried to Quebec in the spring of 1832 in Irish emigrant ships. It spread along the St. Lawrence River to the great lakes, and fearfully scourged the north-western region of the United States.

Believing the dreadful scourge would pass across the continent and disappear without touching the more southerly States, very few sanitary measures were adopted in the city of New York, where its twin pestilence, yellow fever, had often done fearful work. But when the footsteps of the destroyer were heard in the valley of the Upper Hudson, making its death-march from Montreal in the direction of the sea, the city authorities of New York took measures to prevent its advent there by cleaning the streets. But this was not done until the grim visitor was at the threshold. So late as the middle of July one of the city papers said :

“The corporation have not done their duty. The streets have at length been cleaned ; how long they will continue to be kept so we know not. This laudable event was accomplished, not as it should have been, when the dreaded scourge was evidently rolling westward—to Newcastle, London, Paris, Liverpool—not even when it blazed forth in Canada ; but when it startled us by rising up actually in the midst of us, then efficient numbers of men began to appear with brooms, and the streets looked less filthy. . . . We would like to see a man with such decision as Napoleon in this crisis. He would not sit in his arm-chair and recommend people to do this and to do that. He would never rest until he saw it *done*.”

Over three thousand five hundred persons were swept from the earth in the city of New York by the cholera in 1832. It came so suddenly and unexpectedly, after all, that it created a fearful panic, a flight of the inhabitants to the country, and a great paralysis of business. It reappeared in 1834, killing about one thousand persons, and again in 1849, when a very large number perished from this pestilence. In 1855 three hundred and seventy-four persons died of the disease in New York. Its last appearance there, with power, was in 1866, when more than twelve hundred persons died of the disease.

The prominent physicians in the city of New York at that time were Drs. Hosack, Francis, Mott, Macneven, Post, Griscom, Stearns, Willard Parker, Gray, and others. Some were veterans ; some physicians not here named were then aspirants for the fame they afterward enjoyed.

During the quarter of the century previous to the dreadful pestilence medical science had made wonderful strides toward perfection in the city. Medical institutions had vastly increased the means for diffusing professional enlightenment, and collateral branches of science had come to the aid of the medical profession with generous power, with improved apparatus, and with positive knowledge taught by philosophy. Medical and scientific literature had been far more extensively and persistently cultivated than before, and the practical displays of clinical science had begun to furnish instruction to the masters of the medical art abroad. Collegiate education among practitioners had become far more extensively diffused than formerly, and the profession had become fully awake to the wisdom of Dr. Abernethy's words : " The hospital is the college to build up the practitioners."

At the time of the outbreak of the cholera in New York City the skill, zeal, and benevolence of the medical faculty were conspicuous ; but these qualities were not properly complemented by vigilance and energy wisely directed on the part of the municipal authorities. To this allusion has already been made. Had the city then, as now, possessed an energetic and enlightened sanitary commission, or board of health, to co-operate with the physicians by diminishing the causes of disease, probably one half of the victims of cholera might have been saved from death. The city then, as now, possessed great topographical advantages for the conservation of health, but either from ignorance or indifference the public mind seemed stupefied, and could not, even by such dreadful shocks as those given by yellow fever and the cholera, comprehend the vital importance of employing every sanitary remedy in their power for foiling the destructive dragon of disease.

There was, indeed, a Health Department of the city government, which had been established by an act of the Legislature passed March 26, 1813, to " provide against infectious diseases." Its functions were divided into two classes of operation—one to guard against the recurrence of pestilential diseases from abroad, and the other to guard against their origination from any domestic cause. The first class was composed of the health officer, the health commission, and a resident physician, all appointed by the governor and having cognizance of the affairs at Quarantine and the Marine Hospital on Staten Island. The other class—the guardians of the health of the city against internal dangers originating there—was composed of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, appointed annually by the common council. It might consist of as many persons as should be thought proper, but as a rule only the functionaries mentioned composed the Health Department of the

city proper. Their duties consisted in enforcing the State and municipal laws which related to the public health, and the enacting of laws and ordinances respecting the removal of nuisances and the preservation of cleanliness.

In the spring of 1834 the mayor of New York City was elected by the people for the first time in its history. Party politics then ran high. Never since the marshalling of the hosts of the Federal and Republican parties for the mighty conflict for the prize of the Presidency of the United States at the close of the last century had party spirit appeared so virulent and uncompromising.

The energetic administration of President Jackson had won for him a host of warm adherents and arrayed against him a host of bitter opponents. The heroic methods of his warfare against the United States Bank had intensified the animosity of his political enemies to a degree almost incredible.

Nowhere was party spirit more implacable than in the city of New York, and nowhere were more dangerous elements of society seen menacing the sanctity of the ballot-box than in New York at this juncture. Easy naturalization laws, as we have observed, had created, out of often ignorant and sometimes depraved foreign immigrants, American citizens, endowed with all the tremendous power for good or ill which a secret ballot implies in a republic, and disposed to wield their power as demagogues might direct. Both political parties sought the control of the votes of the new-born citizens. It gravitated to the Democratic side in politics, the idea involved in the name *democrat* having a potent influence in their decision.

At the time under consideration the Democratic majority in the city was very large, but a feud was then distracting the organization, disturbing its harmony, weakening its power, and shaking its integrity to its foundations. Influenced by the teachings of Fanny Wright, a strong-minded Scotch woman who had lectured extensively in the United States in the inculcation of a sort of social communism, an "Equal Rights party," as it called itself, had grown to quite a powerful faction in the Democratic party. It had great influence in the councils of Tammany Hall, the rallying-place of the party, and the result was a split early in 1834. At a meeting at Tammany Hall, where the two factions were assembled, each assumed the leadership.

Bitter strife ensued. Both parties claimed the right to the chair and the management of the meeting. Violent words were speedily followed by violent action. One party made a rush to remove the chairman and his fellow-officers by force. A grand row ensued, and

considerable personal violence was used. During the fracas some one turned off the gas, leaving the room in darkness. One of the Equal Rights men, or Radicals, having some loco-foco matches in his pocket, relighted the lamps, and the business of the meeting proceeded. "I was one of the vice-presidents," wrote one of the actors, "and was compelled to buy a new suit of clothes the next day, and in a short time the whole Democratic party were known as Loco-Focos."

The opponents of the Democrats were then called Whigs. They had recently been so named by Colonel James Watson Webb, the chief editor and proprietor of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*. While attending a convention of the Anti-Masonic party at Philadelphia in 1832, which nominated William Wirt for the Presidency of the United States, he wrote a letter to his journal over his own proper signature, giving an account of the convention, in which he pointed out the folly of the opponents of General Jackson wasting their energies by being cut up into different factions, such as Anti-Masons, Anti-Slavery men, Republicans, National Republicans, etc. He set forth the importance of union under one head—one rallying name—to fight what he deemed the dangerous Democracy. He reminded his political friends, aside from the great issues of the tariff and the United States Bank, that they were fighting for the restriction of executive power against those who were laboring to increase it, as Jackson had practised in his war against the bank, the currency, and the tariff; that they were, in fact, battling for the Constitution against Executive usurpation.

"We are therefore Whigs," he said, "while our opponents are waging war to sustain the Executive in his usurpations of power, and in so doing they are Tories! Why not, then, take to ourselves the name of Whigs, which represents our principles, and give to our opponents the name of Tories?"

Colonel Webb proceeded to show that many of the evils under which the country was suffering emanated from the President being eligible to re-election, and he urgently recommended the great opposition meeting, that was to assemble at Masonic Hall in Broadway, to adopt for those opposed to General Jackson's re-election the name of Whig, and to give to their opponents that of Tory. He also urged the adoption of a resolution in favor of the one-term principle.

Colonel Webb's letter was published on the morning of the day that the great meeting at Tammany Hall took place. Philip Hone* pre-

* Philip Hone was one of the most distinguished men of New York City, where he was born in 1781, and where he died on May 4, 1851. He exerted a marked influence in

sided at the meeting, and on taking the chair he read the letter to the people and suggested the adoption of the name of Whig for the great opposition party. The response was unanimous, not only at the meeting assembled at Masonic Hall, but by the opposition press and people all over the country. So it was that the great historic political organization known as the Whig party received its name in 1832.

At the time of the municipal election in New York in the spring of 1834, the Whig party, thoroughly organized, was strong in numbers and influence, while the Democratic party was weakened by strife within its ranks. This state of things promised a hot contest for the mayoralty, and there were forebodings of personal conflicts at the polls. At that time the election continued three days.

Gideon Lee, the eminent leather merchant of The Swamp, was then mayor of the city, and a Democrat in politics.* Cornelius W. Law-

politics, commerce, and social life in New York for more than forty years. With his brother he was a successful business man, amassed a fortune, and retired from the marts, but not from active citizenship. He was ever ardently devoted to whatever measures tended to the promotion of the prosperity and honor of his native city. He was its chief magistrate in 1825-26, and was a model mayor. He was one of the chief founders of the Mercantile Library, and also of the New York Athenæum. The latter institution was largely indebted to him for its early prosperity. Mr. Hone was ever an active and abiding promoter of literature and art, and while he lived he was a conspicuous actor in all the more elevated social movements in the city. A genuine New Yorker of the Kniekerbocker race, he was enlightened and progressive. The Hone Club, an association of rare spirits, was so named in his honor. President Taylor appointed Mr. Hone naval officer for the port of New York in 1849, in the duties of which he was engaged at the time of his death.

* Gideon Lee was born in Amherst, Mass., on April 27, 1778. His father died when Gideon was very young, and the boy was apprenticed to a tanner and shoemaker (these pursuits then being carried on together) at fourteen years of age. He worked at tanning in the summer and shoemaking in the winter.

Lee began business on his own account when he was twenty-one years of age, at Worthington, Mass. His early education was very meagre, and the first money he could spare from his young manhood's earnings he spent in acquiring knowledge at Westfield Academy. He formed a partnership with Mr. Hubbard, and Lee & Hubbard tanned leather for the firm of Dwight & Edwards, quite extensive dealers in leather. In 1807 he went to New York to act as agent for the sale of their leather there, at a salary of \$1000 a year.

The next year Mr. Lee hired a store in The Swamp of Jacob Lorillard, and set up in business for himself at the corner of Jacob and Ferry streets, which he called "Fort Lee." The whole business of The Swamp was then small. One firm now does almost as much business in a year as the aggregate firms in that locality did then. The usual practice with the leather dealers then was to make annual settlements. Mr. Lee was the first to depart from the custom, and to sell on time, taking negotiable notes in payment.

In 1809 he became the agent of the Hampton Leather Manufacturing Company, and soon won for himself a high name for energy and fidelity.

In 1817 the New York Tannery was established by a stock company, of which Mr. Lee

rence, of the auction house of Hicks, Lawrence & Co., was the Democratic candidate for the mayoralty, and Gulian C. Verplanck was the opposing candidate. The election was begun on Tuesday, the 8th of April, and ended on Thursday evening, the 10th. All votes were then polled at one place in each ward. There were then fifteen polling-places in the city; now there are about two hundred of them, and the election consumes only one day between sunrise and sunset.

The morning of the 8th was dark and stormy. A chilling rain fell

was conspicuous. Its capital was \$60,000. The factory was entirely under cover, and could tan 10,000 hides a year. It was planned by Mr. Lee, and was the first so built. Its first product was sent to market in 1818, when the novel plan of selling leather by auction was first introduced. He had erected on land bought in 1815, in Ferry Street, what was then regarded as a very spacious warehouse, a two-story brick building, in which the leather was hoisted by horse power—a great novelty then.

Mr. Lee had a clerk of most excellent character. He was energetic in business, and honest and true in all his transactions. Knowing his worth, he took him into partnership in 1819. That clerk was the afterward well-known and highly-esteemed Shepherd Knapp. The firm of Lee & Knapp flourished without intermission twenty years. The auction sales became an institution in The Swamp. Other dealers soon followed suit. Manufacturers came from the adjacent States to attend them, to lay in supplies of leather. On the day of sales a table would be spread with plenty of "meat and drink." Lee & Knapp also engaged largely in the business of stocking tanneries with hides and selling the leather on commission.

Mr. Lee was uniformly prosperous in his business undertakings, and while he was not a politician in the common meaning of the term, he was a man of strong political convictions. In 1822 he represented his district in the Assembly of the State of New York. In 1828-29 and 1830 he was alderman of the Twelfth Ward, and in 1833-34 he was mayor of the city. It was during his mayoralty that the famous "election riots" of 1834 took place, in which trying time he displayed energy and wisdom. He declined a re-election.

In 1835 Mr. Lee was elected a member of Congress, and served two consecutive terms by re-election. In 1840 he was chosen presidential elector. He had retired from business in 1839, when the old firm was succeeded by his son-in-law, Charles M. Leupp, and John Burke. In 1830 Mr. Lee built his lofty store in Ferry Street, the first structure over two stories in height built in the neighborhood.

Mr. Lee was twice married—first in 1807 to Miss Buffington, who died in 1818, and in 1823 to Miss Isabella Williams, daughter of a Scotch clergyman. He lived some years in Frankfort Street, afterward near the present Astor Place, and finally built a fine house on Bond Street, which became the fashionable part of the city. During the last few years of his life his residence was at Geneva, N. Y., where he died, August 21, 1841, at the age of sixty-three years, leaving a large estate and an honored and stainless name. Alluding to a report of the failure of his house during the panic of 1837, Mr. Lee said: "I commenced business when I was poor, on credit; I thrived by credit; and I will sacrifice my property before that credit shall be dishonored. I have carried the lapstone, and can do it again, but I will never suffer a promise of mine to be broken."

"Mr. Lee was justly called the 'father of the leather trade,'" says a writer in the *Shoe and Leather Reporter*, published by Isaac H. Bailey, from which the principal facts in the foregoing sketch were obtained.

copiously until nearly ten o'clock, but it did not dampen the ardor of the opposing hosts of voters. The popular feeling was at fever heat, and men went through the storm in crowds to the polls, some to deposit an honest vote, and some to vote "early and often." It was the opening of the most exciting election ever held in the city of New York. Many left their places of business with subordinates, determined to "fight it out" with moral weapons to the bitter end; many others went from their abodes determined to fight it out with brute force if necessary. The Democrats were determined to elect their candidate; the Whigs were determined to elect theirs. "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war."

The Democrats were deeply incensed by the undemocratic name of Tories which the Whigs applied to them, and were especially offended with the editor of the *Courier and Enquirer* as the originator of the opprobrious title. Much wrath was directed toward him and his publishing establishment, as we shall observe presently.

There were evidences visible at an early hour in the election that there was a determination on the part of some demagogues to use the brute force of ignorant naturalized citizens, in wards where they largely abounded, in driving the Whigs from the polls. The latter had unfairly, in accordance with the vicious maxim, "All's fair in politics," wrested the words of President Jackson, "Perish credit, perish commerce," from their proper context, and had used them to inflame the business community against him and his supporters.

These words were posted all over the city in large letters, and produced great excitement and determination. The seamen in the port naturally coalesced with the Whigs. They rigged up a little frigate which they named the *Constitution*, mounted it on wheels, and with Whig banners floating over it paraded it past the polls in different wards. In Wall Street, the focal point of commercial transactions, it was greeted with great enthusiasm. At twelve o'clock the Merchants' Exchange was closed, the national flag was unfurled over its lofty dome, and its inmates and frequenters, with many others, unmindful of the mud and drizzling rain, fell into a procession behind the little vessel.

To counteract the effect of this demonstration, the Democrats hastily fitted up a boat, mounted it on wheels, and raised a flag over it bearing the word "Veto" in large letters. The two vessels went through the streets side by side for a while, the recipients, respectively, of approving huzzas and bitter execrations. It was evident that a collision would occur, but the authorities seemed powerless to suppress these demonstrations.

In most of the strong Democratic wards, where the voting was largely on one side, there was quiet, but in the Sixth Ward, where there was a large alien population, a storm soon gathered and burst in fury. It was evident mob law reigned in the vicinity of the polls there. Men were gathered in a mass, yelling and threatening in the vicinity of the Whig committee-room.

Some were seen brandishing clubs, and even knives. The tumult grew louder and louder. At length some roughs, led by an ex-alderman, made a rush for the committee-room, where their opponents were gathered in a considerable number. Before these could offer resistance, so sudden and fierce was the attack that in a few minutes nearly twenty had been felled bleeding to the floor, and one was carried out in a dying condition. Some of those who escaped to the street were hatless, and with torn garments. The mob tore down all the political banners, destroyed the ballots, and made a wreck of everything.

The outrages fearfully excited the opposition party, and it was determined to take vigorous measures for the defence of the ballot-boxes and the voters on the morrow. A call was issued for a meeting of the Whigs at Masonic Hall that evening. The room was crowded. Four thousand Whigs were there. General Bogardus was called to the chair, and the following preamble and resolutions were adopted by unanimous vote :

“ *Whereas*, The authority of the police of the city has been set at defiance by a band of hirelings, mercenaries, and bullies in the Sixth Ward, and the lives of our citizens put in jeopardy ; and *whereas*, it is evident we are in a state of anarchy, which requires the prompt and efficient interposition of every friend of good order who is disposed to sustain the Constitution and laws ; therefore be it

“ *Resolved*, That, in order to preserve the peace of the city, and especially of the Sixth Ward, the friends of the Constitution and the liberties of the citizen will meet at this place [Masonic Hall] to-morrow (Wednesday) at half-past seven o'clock a.m., and repair to the Sixth Ward poll for the purpose of keeping it open to *all* voters, until such time as the official authorities shall procure a sufficient number of special constables to keep the peace.

“ *Resolved*, That while at the Sixth Ward poll, those who are not residents thereof will not take part in the election, but simply act as conservators of the peace, until such time as the majesty of the laws shall be acknowledged and respected.”

This preamble and the resolutions were adopted by acclamation and the most significant demonstrations of approval. But the resolutions proposed no specific action the next day that promised to be efficient : only the passive attendance of the Whigs in numbers sufficient to overawe the turbulent element. A bolder and more effective course was proposed by the editor of the *Courier and Enquirer*. Colonel Webb

arose, after the adoption of the resolutions, and reminded the thousands present that *action* was more necessary than talking, and he invited less than three hundred resolute and patriotic citizens to meet him at the Whig headquarters the next morning at six o'clock.

At the appointed time Colonel Webb was met by more men than he needed. They were all armed for defence, if necessary. Accompanied by about two hundred, he marched to the City Hall, where they were all sworn in by the sheriff as special constables, and appropriate badges were distributed among them. They then marched to the Sixth Ward poll, where they found the Irish assembled. Colonel Webb made a speech to them, reminding them of their conduct on the previous day, and told them he and his associates were there as officers of the law, and were armed, not to interfere with the legal rights of any man, but to protect the rights of *all*, and should only use their arms to preserve the peace, and to secure to *all* the free exercise of their right to vote. The crowd swore and threatened, but the special constables showing a determined front, they confined their demonstrations to oaths and menaces.

There were two doors to the polling-room, the one for the entrance of voters, the other for their egress. To each of the doors Colonel Webb formed a double line of determined men, and every voter was compelled to pass through the lane thus formed to the door of entrance and the ballot-box, and when the voters had deposited their ballots a body of special constables conducted them to the door of exit, and compelled each voter, separate and alone, to pass into the street. Thus, in the midst of much loud talking and threatening, everybody was protected in the exercise of the precious right to vote without illegal hindrance. Colonel Webb marched back to headquarters at Masonic Hall the special constables not wanted at the Sixth Ward poll, and enjoined them to be in readiness for action in case they were needed anywhere.

That night came the crisis. Thousands of rioters paraded the streets, threatening violence and creating universal anxiety and alarm in the city. An enormous mob assembled in the City Hall Park, threatening vengeance upon everybody, especially the mayor and common council then in session. It was soon reported to that body that at the Sixth Ward poll, near the City Hall, the Irish had erected a very large cross, which bore a banner, and on it was inscribed, in large letters, "DOWN WITH THE COURIER AND ENQUIRER BUILDING;" and after the fashion in Ireland in such cases the people were marched by it, when each one touched the cross, and by so doing was sworn to do what the banner



Frank Davis

proclaimed. In adroit speeches to the mob in the Park, demagogues urged the rioters to proceed to Wall Street and destroy the obnoxious building and its contents.

The danger was imminent. The common council became alarmed, and appointed James G. King (of the firm of Prime, Ward & King, bankers) and his brother, Charles King* (afterward president of Columbia College), a deputation to go to the office of the *Courier and Enquirer* and warn Colonel Webb of his peril. They performed the mission, and as the city government could afford Webb no protection, these gentlemen requested that he would close the office and leave it to its fate, as resistance and bloodshed would only increase the general danger.

The office of the *Courier and Enquirer* was on the first floor of No. 58 Wall Street. These gentlemen found it all lighted up as usual, the doors wide open, for the evening was warm, and piles of printing paper in bundles were arranged in each of the two large windows, six feet in height. Colonel Webb told the deputation to say to the mayor and the common council that he had not asked for nor did he want their protection; that his usual hour for closing his office was ten o'clock, but that on this occasion it would be kept open, with all the lights burning, all night; that he had in the building seventy muskets and plenty of ammunition, a hundred pistols (no revolvers then), and at that moment not less than thirty of the best-known young merchants, who had volunteered to stand by him, were in the office. He told them also that he had on the roof of his five-story building five loads of paving-stones, any one of which dropped on the head of a rioter in the street was as certain to disable him as a musket-ball.

* Charles King, LL.D., a journalist and scholar, was born in the city of New York March 16, 1789. He was a son of the eminent Rufus King. While his father was United States minister in London, he was sent to Harrow School and to a preparatory school in Paris. On the return of his father to America he was placed in a banking-house in Amsterdam. He returned to New York in 1806, and in 1810 he married a daughter of the eminent merchant Archibald Gracie, and became associated with his father-in-law in business. In 1813 he was a member of the New York Legislature, and the next year he was a volunteer in the army. Mr. King became connected with Gullian C. Verplanck in the publication of the *New York American* in 1823. Mr. Verplanck retired in 1827, and Mr. King remained sole editor for twenty years. In 1849 he was chosen president of Columbia College, which post he resigned in 1864. Mr. King died near Rome, Italy, September 27, 1867. He was sent to England after the war of 1812 to investigate the treatment of American captives in Dartmoor prison. He did not hesitate to exonerate the British authorities from all censure in the matter, and thereby he drew upon himself a storm of indignation from his countrymen, which was not allayed for long years afterward.

The Messrs. King assured Colonel Webb that they felt certain what his answer would be, or they would not have consented to bear to him the message of the common council.

After much speaking and threatening in the City Hall Park, the mob moved down William Street toward Wall Street. Colonel Webb had his agents out, who reported to him from time to time. For a while their reports were simply that the rioters were advancing, but when they reached Maiden Lane the front files, cowards, as all rioters are, rapidly fell off and passed to the rear. When they had reached Pine Street the rear had become the front, and when the crowd reached Wall Street, instead of wheeling for the *Courier* office the mob crossed the street, moved into Pearl Street, and when they had again reached Wall Street appeared entirely demoralized. A large crowd passed up the street to the *Courier* office, when Colonel Webb simply closed the door and awaited events.

The dense crowd filled the street in front, which was quite brightly lighted by a lamp, and began groaning, threatening, and knocking their clubs, banner staves, and missiles of all kinds against the building, exciting themselves to a dangerous degree, when Colonel Webb seized a musket, broke it through a pane of glass, and gave notice that when he found it covered a rioter he should fire. He then passed the muzzle of the gun slowly up the street, when away scampered the cowards. He then slowly turned it down Wall Street, with the same notice, and it was amusing to see how rapidly the street was cleared of the redoubtable Irishmen. A portion of the mob passed up-town to Colonel Webb's residence, in Bleeker Street, but contented themselves with groans, yells, and ringing his door-bell.

In the forenoon of the next day (April 10th) there was a fierce collision between the sailors with the little frigate *Constitution* which was used to convey voters to the polls, and their opponents, near Masonic Hall, in Broadway. Hearing the affray, many Whigs went out of the hall to assist the seamen, and a severe battle with fists and missiles occurred. Word being sent to the Sixth Ward poll, a large number of fighting men there rushed up Duane Street and drove the Whigs back into their headquarters. The mob then attacked the building, smashing its windows and attempting to force an entrance. Mayor Lee was sent for. He came, with one or two aldermen, and mounting the steps of the building, raised his staff of office. The crowd, maddened with liquor and aroused passions, gave no heed to the symbol of authority, but hurled missiles at the magistrate. One of these knocked him down, and he was quite severely beaten.

A rumor was now circulated at Masonic Hall that rioters were attempting to break open the arsenal, situated on the corner of White and Elm streets, to procure arms. There was a cry, "To the arsenal! To the arsenal!" and the Whigs rushed from the hall toward the menaced building, pell-mell. It was not far to go. The excited crowd scaled the fences, and the more active among them mounting the shoulders of others climbed into the second-story windows. But this movement of the rioters had been anticipated, and a guard of Colonel Webb's special constables, under the direction of the late Simeon Draper, was already there when the Whigs from the hall and the rioters came. The latter were astonished to find on parade a large body of men with muskets, prepared to keep the peace.

The mayor had applied to the Brooklyn Navy-Yard for a company of marines the day before, to assist his police in suppressing the riotous spirit in the city, but they were refused by the commodore, on the ground that he had no authority to send them. A similar request sent to the military commander at Governor's Island met with a refusal for the same reasons. Then he directed General Sandford to order out some of the city militia, and soon infantry and cavalry appeared.

On hearing that the arsenal was in the possession of one of the political parties, the mayor ordered the Twenty-seventh Regiment of the National Guard, Colonel Linus W. Stevens, to proceed thither. Mr. Draper and his men had only been placed there to defend it from a mob until relief should come. The Whigs readily gave it up to the military and retired. Three hundred members were on duty at the arsenal and patrolled the streets until the next morning.

Commissary-General Arcularius, who had charge of the arsenal at the time, made a most ridiculous report of the matter. Not knowing the name of Mr. Draper, who was active in keeping back the mob in front of the arsenal after the arrival of his political friends, alluded to him repeatedly in his report as the "man with a claret-colored coat on." This description of the then popular young politician so amused his friends and the wits of the town that it became long a phrase in political circles in the city.

After the exciting election was over, the ballot-box of the Sixth Ward (which at that time received the title of "the bloody Sixth") was taken to the City Hall under a strong guard, followed by a turbulent multitude, and locked up for the night. But the excitement did not end with the election. It was intense until the result was known, almost thirty-six hours afterward. All the next day business was nearly as much neglected as during the election. It was estimated

that at one time there were over ten thousand citizens in a crowd in Wall Street awaiting the conclusion of the canvass. When it was finally announced, and it was ascertained that the Democrats had barely missed a most signal defeat, the opposition party felt jubilant. The Democrats had elected their candidate for mayor by a small majority ; the Whigs had carried the common council. This event the latter celebrated at a mass-meeting held in Castle Garden, where Daniel Webster, who had been sent for to make a speech, appeared, and was supported by several of the finest speakers of the city of New York.

The election riot of 1834 was the first of four riots which occurred in New York during this decade—1830-40.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE Twenty-seventh Regiment National Guard, called out at the time of the election riots in 1834, is now the famous Seventh Regiment New York State National Guard of the City of New York. Its services on that occasion, as an active guardian of the peace of the city, were the second they had rendered in that capacity, the first having been given to preserve the peace at the execution of James Reynolds, November 19, 1825. The mayor thanked them for their promptness and efficiency, and from that time until now that regiment has acted and been relied upon as a sure defender of public order in the metropolis.

The Twenty-seventh Regiment was not an original organization, but the offspring of the Eleventh Regiment of Artillery, created in 1812. The pedigree of the Eleventh Regiment may be traced back to the period of the old war for independence.

In 1824 the Eleventh Regiment consisted of two battalions, one artillery proper, and the other infantry, four companies each. On the 16th of August of that year General the Marquis de Lafayette arrived at New York, the guest of the nation, and the citizen soldiery then turned out in full force, under General Jacob Morton, to give him a hearty welcome. They were reviewed at the Battery by the illustrious soldier. While awaiting the arrival of the distinguished visitor, the officers of the infantry battalion of the Eleventh Regiment then on duty fell into conversation on a subject which had frequently occupied their thoughts, namely, the independent organization of their battalion.

The choice of a name had been a difficult problem. Some one of the officers having made allusion to Lafayette's connection with the National Guard of Paris, Major John D. Wilson immediately asked :

“ Why will not National Guard be a good name for the proposed corps ? ”

The idea was received with enthusiasm by every officer present, and every member of the battalion heartily approved it.

A few evenings afterward (August 25, 1824) these officers met at the Shakespeare Tavern, on the south-west corner of Fulton and Nassau

streets,* and adopted a resolution to form an independent battalion, composed of the four companies of infantry of the Eleventh Regiment, to be thereafter "known and distinguished by the name of the National Guard." The captains of the four companies were Irad Hawley, John Telfair, William B. Curtis, and Howard B. Simmons.

Having obtained permission of the proper authorities to create the proposed organization, the important question arose, What shall be our uniform? Philetus Holt, a private in the Fourth Company who was present, was dressed in a neatly-fitting single-breasted gray office-coat, that attracted the attention of Acting Brigade Major Prosper M. Wetmore. He suggested Holt's coat as a suitable model, and at a meeting at the Shakespeare, not long afterward, Major J. D. Wilson exhibited a pattern suit, which was adopted by unanimous consent.

To the four companies were presently added two others, raised and commanded respectively by Captains Linus W. Stevens and Oliver M. Lownds. In June of the following year Governor De Witt Clinton issued an order instituting the battalion of the National Guard. It was, unfortunately, consolidated with the artillery battalion. Difficulties arose, and in October, 1825, a separation was effected, and the battalion of six companies was made an independent corps. Another company, under Captain Van Buren, was added at about this time.

* The Shakespeare Tavern, where the new battalion of National Guards was organized, was the headquarters of the Eleventh and of the Twenty-seventh regiments for many years, and remained so until the building was demolished, when Fulton Street was widened, in 1836. It was not a tavern—a place for the entertainment of travellers—in the American sense of that term, but was a place of resort of some of the better class of city residents. It was a sort of club-house, where choice wines and quiet, excellent suppers might be obtained. It was originally built after the model of an English alehouse. It was a low, old-fashioned, and rather massive edifice, two stories in height, with dormer windows. It was erected by John Leake before the Revolution. On the second story there was a room for military drills and public meetings, and there were appointments for social or political gatherings. It was a great resort for literary men sixty years ago. It is said that in a room in that tavern the young poet, Robert C. Sands, recited to Gulian C. Verplanck and two or three literary friends his last and most remarkable poem, entitled "The Dead of 1832." In that poem his theme was the triumphs of Death and Time over the eminent men who had died that year, and closing with these words:

"All earth is now their sepulchre,
The Mind their monument sublime—
Young in eternal fame they are—
Sure are *your* triumphs, Death and Time."

This poem was published in the *Commercial Advertiser* only a few days before Sands's own sudden death, in December, 1832.

The Shakespeare was known for several years as "Stoneall's," James C. Stoneall being its proprietor.

Prosper M. Wetmore was elected lieutenant-colonel, and Linus W. Stevens major.

Another company would raise the battalion to the dignity of a regiment. Measures were taken to form one. This work was accomplished on the 4th of May, 1826, when the eighth company, commanded by Captain Andrew Warner (now the recording secretary of the New York Historical Society) was admitted into the corps. Two days afterward Governor Clinton issued an order constituting the battalion the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Artillery.

At a meeting of the officers of the Twenty-seventh at the Shakespeare Tavern on May 23, 1826, Prosper M. Wetmore was chosen colonel, Linus W. Stevens lieutenant-colonel, and John Telfair major. The National Guard paraded as a regiment for the first time on May 31st, when they received an elegant stand of colors from Mayor Philip Hone. Sergeant Asher Taylor, a beloved veteran of the National Guard, gives the following account, in his curious illustrated volume entitled "Notes on the Colors of the National Guard, with some Incidental Passages of the History of the Regiment," printed on an "amateur press for private circulation" in 1863 :

"When the corps was detached as a separate command, the subject of providing suitable colors for it engaged the early attention of the board of officers, and Captain John Telfair, Captain James T. Flinn, Lieutenant Charles B. Spicer, Adjutant Andrew Warner, and Surgeon Edward P. Marcellin were appointed a committee to procure a standard which should be the banner of the National Guard. The committee spent some time bowing around and flirting and coquetting among their fair friends, in the hope of eliciting an offer from some of them to embroider and present a standard ; and Young Moustache will be amused to learn that all their efforts were in vain, as they reported (March 29, 1826) that '*the expectations hitherto entertained on that subject had not been realized*'—a humiliating admission that would well-nigh 'burst the kids' of half the gallant and irresistible fellows of the regiment of the present day. Subscription papers for the requisite funds were circulated through the ranks of the corps, and promptly filled up."

The colors consisted of the regimental standard of red silk, bearing the coat-of-arms of the regiment, described below, and a State standard of blue silk. The design of the arms on the regimental standard was traced out on the silk by Sergeant Taylor, and was very beautifully embroidered in natural colors, under his supervision, by Mrs. Windsor.

A coat-of-arms and a motto having primarily been designed by

Sergeant Taylor, Major Wetmore employed Dr. Alexander Anderson, the pioneer wood-engraver, to reproduce it on wood, and presented it to the corps. The arms consisted of an escutcheon quartered. The first grand quarter was the shield of the United States, the second the shield of the State of New York, the third the shield of the city of New York, and the fourth the initials of the New York State Artillery. On an in-escutcheon of gold were the initials of the National Guard in cipher. The crest was a spread-eagle, and the motto was *Pro Patria et Gloria* and the words "National Guard."

Late in November, 1830, the regiment bore a conspicuous part among the military of the city of New York in a grand parade of citizens and soldiers as an expression of sympathy with those who had effected a revolution in France, driven one king from the throne and set another, more acceptable, upon it. On February 7, 1832, at a meeting of the board of officers of the regiment, Major Catlin suggested the propriety of presenting a gold medal to the Marquis de Lafayette.

On the 22d of that month the centennial anniversary of the birth of Washington was celebrated by the regiment. The late G. W. P. Custis, the adopted son of Washington, who possessed the patriot's war-tent, lent it to the regiment for that occasion, and under it the officers were assembled, while thousands of spectators viewed the interesting relic. In that tent Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan L. Smith offered the following resolution :

"Resolved, That on this auspicious day, while assembled beneath the ample folds of the tent that sheltered Washington and Lafayette during the Revolution, the officers of this regiment desire to express their humble thanks to Almighty God for the blessings which have grown out of the Revolution, and that we deem this a most appropriate occasion to honor one of His instruments by causing a medal of gold to be struck and presented to the surviving hero, General Lafayette, commemorative of our abiding friendship for him, and also that existing between France and America."

This resolution was adopted, and a committee of field officers, consisting of Colonel Stevens, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, and Major Catlin, was appointed to accomplish the object. In July following the medal was completed and exhibited to the members of the regiment at Camp Putnam, near New Haven. It was sent to James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist, to present to Lafayette. Mr. Cooper was absent from Paris then and for several months afterward. On his return, in November, he gave a dinner to Lafayette, at which were General Wool, several other Americans of distinction, and representatives of European nations, as guests. On that occasion the medal was pre-



C. L. Tiffany

sented, received with gratitude, and acknowledged in pleasing terms by the recipient.

This superb medal was made of solid gold from the mines of North Carolina ; those of California were then unsuspected. It weighed one hundred and fifty-seven pennyweights. In the centre of a rich framework were medallions bearing the portraits of Washington and Lafayette inclosed in a wreath of olive and laurel leaves. Above the medallions was a Roman lictor's axe inclosed in fasces, and below these an escutcheon containing the coat-of-arms of the National Guard. The whole was surmounted by a spread-eagle standing upon a globe, on which were the words " America and France." On each side were the flags of America and France combined. On a scroll at the base of the medal were the words "*Pro Patria et Gloria.*" This medal was furnished by Marquand & Brother, then the leading jewellers of New York, who employed Bowler & Ward, of Poughkeepsie, to execute the work. The die was cut by Ward. The writer watched the progress of the work with great interest. An engraving of the medal, the natural size, appeared in the New York *Mirror* in 1832, and in the *American Historical Record* in 1874.

Under the title of Twenty-seventh Regiment National Guard the corps performed its duty faithfully in military drills and as defenders of public order in the city of New York on several occasions, until 1847, when the governor of the State ordered that the regiment, then under the command of Colonel Bremmer, " be thereafter called and known as the Seventh Regiment National Guard." Such is the genesis and early history of this yet famous regiment. We shall meet it on important fields of duty hereafter.

In the summer of 1834 the peace of the city of New York was fearfully disturbed by riotous proceedings directed against the advocates of the freedom of the slaves in our country. From the foundation of our national government the public mind had been much agitated from time to time by discussions concerning the slavery of negroes in our land. Indeed before the Revolution their emancipation was strongly urged by benevolent and enlightened men, not only from humane considerations, but as a wise measure of political economy.

In the midst of the political excitement in Massachusetts in 1766, growing out of the Stamp Act quarrel, this topic was the cause of a warm controversy, in which Nathaniel Appleton and James Swan, merchants of Boston, distinguished themselves as writers on the side of human freedom. This controversy was renewed from time to time until 1773, when it became so warm that it was the subject of disputa-

tions at Harvard College. The Colonial Assembly made efforts to restrict the further importation of negroes into the province, and a test suit was carried into the Supreme Court, on the question whether any person could be held as a slave in Massachusetts. It took the form of a suit by a negro to recover wages from his alleged master. The court decided in favor of the slave.

During the old war for independence the consciences of many prominent slaveholders made them question the righteousness of holding their fellow-men in bondage. Henry Laurens expressed his conviction that men fighting for their own freedom could hardly expect the favor of God in their undertaking while they held other human beings in slavery. Societies were formed to create public opinion in favor of the emancipation of the blacks. One established in Philadelphia had Dr. Franklin for its president and Dr. Rush for its secretary.

After the war these humane efforts were continued. In 1785 the Manumission Society of New York was established, of which John Jay was president. The society of Friends or Quakers always formed a permanent anti-slavery society, and were ever active. They presented the first petition to the National Congress for the abolition of slavery. In 1815 an abolition society was formed in Ohio. During the debate in Congress and out of it, on the admission of Missouri into the Union as a State (1820-21), the country was fearfully agitated by the discussion of the slavery question. The subject was vehemently revived in 1831 by the utterances of the *Liberator*, an anti-slavery newspaper published in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison, which denounced slavery as "a sin against God and a crime against humanity." On the basis of such sentiments an anti-slavery society was formed in Boston in 1832, and the next year the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized in Philadelphia, which existed until the institution of slavery was destroyed by the fires of the great Civil War in 1861-65.

Among the opponents of slavery in this decade the Friends or Quakers were the most earnest, the most prudent, and the most practical. They warred against the *institution*, not against its *supporters*. They condemned the system of slavery as unjust and unrighteous, but did not denounce slaveholders. They did not stand behind their safe position in a Northern State and abuse the Southern people, but they went among the Southern people themselves and tried to *persuade* them to renounce their unrighteous labor system.

One of the boldest and truest of these preachers of righteousness was Elias Hicks, of Long Island. In Virginia and the Carolinas he preached more vigorously against slavery than in New York and

Pennsylvania. As a rule he was listened to with interest and kindly treated. Sometimes, however, he aroused indignation, but always met it boldly. On one occasion a hearer left the meeting in flaming anger, and swore he would "shoot that fellow" if he came near his plantation. Hicks heard of the threat, and after meeting put on his hat and went straight to the planter's house. The man was at dinner. In a little while he appeared, when Hicks, in a calm and dignified manner, said :

"I understand thou hast threatened to blow out the brains of Elias Hicks if he comes upon thy plantation. I am Elias Hicks."

The Virginian said he thought he would be justified in doing such a deed when a man came to preach rebellion to his slaves.

"I came to preach the Gospel," said the Quaker, "which inculcates forgiveness of injuries upon slaves as well as upon other men. But tell me, if thou canst, how this Gospel can be *truly* preached, without showing the slaves that they *are* injured, and thus making a man of thy sentiments feel as if they were encouraged in rebellion."

A long and friendly argument ensued. At parting the slaveholder shook hands with the preacher, and invited him to come again. Hicks repeated the visit, and six months afterward this Virginian emancipated his slaves.*

So early as the autumn of 1833 there were abundant symptoms of a riotous spirit among the ignorant and dangerous classes in the city of New York, directed against the "abolitionists," as the anti-slavery people were now called. The vigorous and aggressive onslaughts upon the institution of slavery which the Anti-Slavery Society was then making had created a feeling of intense opposition among all classes, especially business men in the city of New York connected with the Southern trade, and the champions of a holy cause soon found they were breasting an almost irresistible current. The lofty motives which animated the philanthropists were not comprehended or given sufficient weight by the general public, and the anti-slavery people were regarded as pragmatieal fanatics. Nor were the methods of the abolitionists always judicious or wise.

The avowed object of the anti-slavery societies had created alarm and indignation and chronic irritation among the people of the slave-labor States, and very soon the muttering thunder of threats of disunion were heard. This ominous sound disturbed the nerves of commeree at the North. New York City especially was intimately

* "Life of Isaac T. Hopper," by Lydia Maria Child.

connected in interest with all the business centres in the South, and when her merchants and other business men observed their Southern customers becoming suspicious and less cordial, and disposed more and more to halt at Baltimore, they naturally regarded the abolitionists as the enemies of the Union—at least enemies of a unity of feeling between the people of the two sections of the Republic.

The opposition to the abolitionists everywhere was intensified by the course pursued by William Lloyd Garrison, who was in England in 1833. He joined the anti-slavery men of that country in fierce denunciations of his own land before the world, as inconsistent in its policy, false in its high pretensions as the guardian of free institutions, and criminal in a high degree. The patriotism of our people was shocked, and the old prejudices against the "Britishers" was aroused. As Garrison was regarded as the embodiment of the principles and designs of the Anti-Slavery Society, there was a general feeling that the abolitionists must be put down. When, therefore, in the fall of 1833 Garrison returned, and a notice appeared of a meeting of the anti-slavery champions in the city of New York to be held in Clinton Hall, some of the most respectable men in the city resolved to attend the meeting, and by the weight of numbers and character crush what they deemed the head of the dangerous serpent of disunion. A more excitable, less scrupulous, and more disreputable class of citizens determined to accomplish that object in another way. Accordingly on the 2d of October they posted a placard, in large letters, all over the city, containing these words :

" NOTICE.

" TO ALL PERSONS FROM THE SOUTH !

" All persons interested in the subject of the meeting called by

J. LEAVITT,

W. GOODELL,

W. GREEN,

J. RANKIN,

LEWIS TAPPAN,

at Clinton Hall this evening at 7 o'clock, are requested to attend at the same hour and place.

" MANY SOUTHERNERS.

" *New York*, October 2d, 1833.

" N.B. All citizens who may feel disposed to manifest the true feeling of the State on this subject are requested to attend."

This deceptive notice—this false assignment of the authorship of it—was calculated to enlist the sympathies of a large class of citizens, and the wicked hint given in the *nota bene* was evidently intended to marshal a host of the dangerous class in the city.

Soon after six o'clock a crowd began to gather in front of Clinton Hall. It was soon ascertained that there was a notice on the door that no meeting would be held. Many citizens immediately went home, but still the crowd swelled until it numbered thousands and filled the air with tumultuous shouts and execrations. Hundreds rushed into the hall until the audience-room was densely packed. A meeting was organized, and at a quarter past seven o'clock it adjourned to Tammany Hall, where it was reorganized. A man was about to address the assembled people when a person suddenly entered the room, and going to the chairman informed him that the abolition meeting announced to be held at Clinton Hall was at that moment in progress at the Chatham Street Chapel.

"To the chapel! To the chapel! Let us go and disperse them!" shouted several voices, and the crowd surged with excitement. The chairman, who was an order-loving citizen, told them they had met to pass certain resolutions, and when that business was ended they might act as they pleased. The resolutions condemnatory of the abolitionists and containing assurances of support to the Constitution and laws were passed, when a large proportion of the meeting rushed for the Chatham Street Chapel. The few persons gathered there, apprised of their danger, had left, and the crowd found the room empty, with the doors open and the lights all burning.

An expected tragedy was now changed into a farce. The passions of the crowd had subsided, and they were in good humor. They took possession of the deserted room and appointed a jolly colored man who had taken part with them chairman of the meeting. He was addressed by the name of one of the leading abolitionists. After passing some absurd resolutions and receiving the solemn thanks of the chairman for the honor they had conferred upon him, the crowd dispersed with laughter, songs, and hilarious shouts as they passed into the street and went home. The champions of freedom who had assembled at the chapel had stolen a march on the crowd at Clinton and Tammany halls. They had quietly formed the "New York City Anti-Slavery Society."

In the anti-slavery movements up to this period (and afterward to the period of his death) one of the most zealous, active, and judicious of the friends of the slave was the Hon. William Jay. The slaves in the State of New York were emancipated by law on the 4th of July, 1827. In September following, in his charge to the grand jury of Westchester County, Judge Jay said, in allusion to the great act:

"I cannot forbear to congratulate you on that event, so auspicious;

to the character and happiness of the community. . . . Within a few months more than ten thousand of our fellow-citizens have been restored to those rights which our fathers in the Declaration of Independence pronounced to be inalienable, and to have been granted to all men by their Creator. As yet we have no reason to suppose that crimes have multiplied or the public peace disturbed by the emancipation of our slaves ; nor can we fear that He who commanded us to do justice and love mercy will permit us to suffer by obeying His injunctions.”

The city of New York became the headquarters of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which was formed at Philadelphia December 30, 1833. At the suggestion of Judge Jay, they explicitly defined their political principles in the constitution of the society by declaring : 1. That each State in which slavery exists has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to abolition in that State ; 2. That they would endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade and to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of slavery to any State that might thereafter be admitted to the Union ; 3. That the society and its auxiliaries will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

These declarations formed an essential part of the work of Judge Jay * in the fashioning of the constitution of the society, for it was at

* William Jay, LL.D., second son of Chief-Justice Jay, was born at Bedford, Westchester County, N. Y., June 16, 1798. He graduated at Yale College in 1808, and entered upon the duties of the legal profession. At the age of twenty-three he married Miss Augusta McVickar, of New York City. During his mature life he was continually engaged in philanthropic efforts for the elevation, well-being, and happiness of mankind, earnestly advocating temperance, peace, and freedom from slavery of every kind. So early as 1815 he founded a temperance society.

Mr. Jay was one of the founders and able defenders of the American Bible Society. In 1818 Governor Tompkins appointed him judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County. He continued on the bench until 1842, when he was relieved of the office by Governor Bouck, at the demand of the Southern wing of the Democratic party, on account of his anti-slavery opinions.

In 1826 a free colored man named Horton, living in Westchester County, went to Washington, where he was arrested and imprisoned as a fugitive slave. The sheriff advertised in the *National Intelligencer* that unless his owner called for him he would be sold to “ pay jail fees and other expenses.” A copy of the paper containing this advertisement accidentally fell into the hands of a resident of Westchester, who laid the matter before Judge Jay. The latter at once asked Governor De Witt Clinton to demand from the authorities at Washington the instant release of the victim as a “ free citizen of the State of New York.” It was done, and Horton was released. This prompt action

once a declaration of its objects and an explanation of its designs. They were so judicious and sound in principle that auxiliary societies rapidly increased. So early as 1839, sixteen hundred and fifty auxiliary societies had adopted the political principles of this constitution, which in 1855 were made the basis of the Republican party.

The winter of 1833-34 passed without any occasion for public disturbance. In the spring of 1834 occurred the fearful election riot, already described, which aroused the passions of the lower orders of society. This riot was followed by seizures and carrying away to the South of several colored people in the city on the pretence that they were fugitive slaves.

These outrages excited the indignation and stimulated the zeal of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society. They became more vigilant, active, and determined than ever, and there were accessions of good and brave men to their ranks. But the tide of opposition to their cause rose rapidly as their zeal bore fruit. Some of the newspapers of

on the part of Judge Jay and its results initiated movements from time to time for the repeal of the laws authorizing such arrests and for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

When, in 1835, President Jackson in his annual message to Congress called the attention of that body to the doings of the anti-slavery societies as "repugnant to the principles of our national compact and to the dictates of humanity and religion," and suggested to Congress the passage of a law to prohibit "the circulation in the Southern States through the mails of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection"—denouncing the sending of these publications as "unconstitutional and wicked attempts" to do mischief—the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York, to whose members and auxiliaries the President's language was intended to apply, promptly met this attack by an elaborate, dignified, and powerful protest against the accusation. It was written by Judge Jay.

That protest suggested to the President the propriety of ascertaining the real designs of the abolitionists before his misapprehension should lead him to sanction any more trifling with the liberties of the press (which postmasters had already done by refusing to send anti-slavery publications through the mails). He was reminded that there were then (1835) 350 anti-slavery societies, with thousands of members, and the executive committee invited Congress to appoint a committee of investigation to visit their office at New York, pledging themselves to put in possession of such committee their publications and correspondence, and to answer, under oath, all interrogations.

"To repel your charges and to disabuse the public," said the protest, "was a duty we owed to ourselves, our children, and above all to the great and holy cause in which we are engaged. That cause is, we believe, approved by our Maker; and while we retain this belief it is our intention, trusting to his direction and protection, to persevere in our endeavors to impress upon the minds and hearts of our countrymen the sinfulness of claiming property in human beings, and the duty and wisdom of immediately relinquishing it. When convinced that our endeavors are wrong, we shall abandon them, but such convictions must be produced by other arguments than vituperation, popular violence, or penal enactments."

the city pandered to the evil passions of the lower and the dangerous classes. They even suggested a course of open hostility to the abolitionists, and acts of violence, with a view to crush the "pestilent faction." This reprehensible cultivation of a mob spirit soon produced bitter fruit.

On the evening of July 9th quite a large assembly of colored persons of both sexes occupied the Chatham Street Chapel for the purpose of listening to a sermon by a negro preacher. The New York Sacred Music Society had leased the building for use on certain evenings each week. They claimed that the evening of the 9th was one of them. At that time Police-Justice Lowndes was president of the society, and Dr. Rockwell was vice-president. They repaired to the chapel during the evening with some of the members of the society, and insisted that the colored people should immediately leave the building. The latter, having hired and paid for it, refused to leave. High words ensued, which were speedily exchanged for blows. In the fracas loaded canes were freely used, lumps and chairs were broken, and two or three per-

The previous year (1834) Judge Jay had completed and published the life and correspondence of his father, in two volumes, also "An Inquiry into the Character of the American Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies." The next year, when the Legislature of the State of New York had under consideration a law restricting the freedom of speech, he said to the grand jury of Westchester County: "Any law that may be passed to abridge in the slightest degree the freedom of speech or of the press, or to shield any one subject for discussion, will be utterly null and void, and it will be the duty of every good citizen to resist, with energy and decision, so palpable a violation of the Constitution."

In 1835 the American Anti-Slavery Society issued an official manifesto of their principles, to remove false impressions as to their views and methods, addressed "To the Public." It was written by Judge Jay, and signed by Arthur Tappan, as president, and John Rankin, William Jay, Elizur Wright, Abraham L. Cox, Lewis Tappan, S. S. Cornish, S. S. Jocelyn, and Theodore S. Dwight. It denounced the unconstitutional usurpation of the government to protect slavery, and to prevent free discussion and the freedom of the mails, and closed with these words of warning: "Surely we need not remind you that if you submit to such an encroachment on your liberties the days of our Republic are numbered, and that although abolitionists may be the first, they will not be the last victims offered at the shrine of arbitrary power." This manifesto attracted great attention at home and abroad, being widely translated and commented upon in Europe.

After 1835 Judge Jay published many papers on the subjects largely filling his mind and heart—the condition of the slaves, the relations of the National Government to slavery, the violation by Congress of the right of petition, an address to the non-slaveholders in the slave-labor States, etc.

Soon after leaving the bench Judge Jay visited Europe and extended his tour to Egypt, where, with Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, he investigated the subject of slavery in Egypt. He was for many years president of the American Peace Society. In 1848 he was visited by an earnest champion of peace, Joseph Sturge, an English Friend or Quaker, and showed his guest some pages of a work which was printed soon afterward, entitled "War

sons were quite seriously injured. A large crowd gathered around the door and a serious riot was threatened, but the police in strong numbers soon appeared and drove the whole crowd, white and black, from the building. But the fracas continued for some time in the street. Lewis Tappan, being recognized as one of the listeners to the colored preacher, was followed to his house in Rose Street by a portion of the crowd, who greeted him with yells and execrations, and pelted his house with stones after he entered it.

A crowd gathered in front of the chapel the next evening (July 10). They found it closed and its portals locked. They were burst open, the crowd rushed in, and an anti-abolition meeting was organized, with W. W. Wilder in the chair. In a speech he denounced the abolition movement as dangerous, and proposed to adjourn until the next meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society. It was agreed to, but the more excitant and evil-disposed portion of the crowd were not satisfied. A voice cried out :

“ To the Bowery Theatre ! ”

and Peace : the Evils of the First, with a Plan for Preserving the Last.” It advocated international treaties stipulating to refer future international differences to arbitration, as was done in 1871-72 in the *Alabama* cases. Mr. Sturge published it in England, and it was received with great favor. This plan, after being indorsed by peace conventions at Brussels, Paris, and London, led to the adoption of the famous protocol by the congress at Paris, after the Crimean war in 1854, by seven European states, including Prussia, which declared their wish to resort to arbitration before appealing to arms. “ It is an act important to civilization,” said Lord Malmesbury ; and “ worthy of immortal renown,” said Lord Derby.

Judge Jay's publications on all subjects were forty-three in number. Many of them were widely circulated and exercised much influence on public opinion. He left in manuscript an elaborate commentary on the Bible. By his will he left a bequest of \$1000 for “ promoting the safety and comfort of fugitive slaves.” He did not live to see the great desire of his heart realized in the emancipation of the slaves, which occurred within five years after his death. He died in the city of New York, with the interests of which he was long identified, on October 14, 1858.

On the death of Judge Jay appropriate proceedings were held by the New York Historical Society, the American Peace Society, the bar of Westchester County, and other bodies. On the invitation of the colored citizens of New York an eulogy on the deceased was delivered by Frederick Douglass, and Mr. Greeley said in the *Tribune* : “ As to Chief-Justice Jay, the father, may be attributed more than to any other one man the abolition of negro bondage in this State, so to Judge William Jay, the son, the future will give the credit of having been one of the earliest advocates of the anti-slavery movement which at this moment [October, 1858] influences so radically the politics and the philanthropy of this country, and having guided by his writings in a large measure the direction which a cause so important and so conservative of the best and most precious rights of the people should take.”

The portrait from which our engraving was made is from a painting by Wenzler for the court-house at White Plains.

The stage manager of that theatre was an Englishman who had made himself obnoxious by speaking disparagingly of Americans. That evening had been appointed for his benefit. During the day placards had been posted over the city, calling attention to the manager's hostility to the Americans. By a strange syllogism in the minds of the mob this manager's sin was interwoven into a web of offence with the dangerous teachings of the Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison, one of its founders, has coalesced with Englishmen in denouncing his countrymen as sinners, even criminals; therefore the slanderous manager was an ally of the abolitionists. So the mob seemed to reason, and acting upon the idea they rushed up Chatham Street to the Bowery, in a wild, excited mass, gathering with tumultuous shouts in front of the theatre.

Apprised of the approach of the mischievous multitude, the doors were closed against them. The huge mass burst them open, and rushed up the aisles toward the footlights, spreading consternation over the audience. The play was going on. It was *Metamora*, and Forrest was performing in the principal character. The actors were alarmed by the appalling scene not announced in the playbills. Hamblin and Forrest tried to address the rioters; their voices were drowned by yells and other noises from the throats of the intruders.

While the mob had full possession of the house, a large body of police suddenly appeared and drove the rioters from the building. Exasperated by this treatment, and more excited, a cry was raised:

“To Arthur Tappan's house!”

The cry was echoed by the multitude, and a racing crowd started down the street. They were diverted from Arthur's house to that of his brother Lewis, in Rose Street, a more obnoxious abolitionist than the other, who was an extensive dealer in silks. They demolished the front windows of the house, burst in the doors, and soon filled the rooms from which the family had fled in terror. They began to smash the furniture or cast it into the street. Chairs, sofas, tables, pictures, mirrors, bedding, ornaments were thrown out into a promiscuous mass, preparatory to the application of the torch.

It is related (with how much truth I know not) that during this wild scene of devastation a pleasing incident occurred. A portrait of Washington was about to be thrown out of a window, when suddenly some one shouted:

“It is Washington! For God's sake, don't burn Washington!”

The roar of the mob instantly ceased. The picture was tenderly handed out of the window, passed over the heads of the crowd from man to man, and left for safety in a neighboring dwelling.



Marshall O. Roberts

Just as the work of destruction was resumed, the police came swooping down the street, when the mob broke and fled ; but finding a pile of bricks they armed themselves with them, rallied, and returned. They assailed the watchmen or the police so fiercely that they in turn were compelled to fly. Then the mass of furniture and bedding on the sidewalk was set on fire, illuminating the whole street. The fire-bells were rung, the fire-engines were soon at the place of danger, the mob was dispersed, and at two o'clock in the morning the street was quiet, and Lewis Tappan's sacked dwelling was in the hands of the civil guardians of the peace.

For these fierce demonstrations of mob violence the abolitionists themselves were not altogether blameless. During the excitement on the day following the demonstration at Chatham Street Chapel, some injudicious member or members of the Anti-Slavery Society caused an incendiary placard to be posted over the city. It was headed with the words, in large letters :

“LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPING ! !”

Then followed a wood-cut representing a slave-driver mounted on a horse brandishing a triple-thonged whip, driving before him a colored man, whose wife and children were clinging to him to prevent the dreadful family separation. This, as a thoughtful man might have foreseen, inflamed the mob spirit which burned so fiercely in the attack on Mr. Tappan's house.

Among other good men in the city who had espoused the abolition cause and were active members of the city Anti-Slavery Society were Samuel Hanson Cox, D.D., his brother, Abraham Cox, M.D., the Rev. Mr. Ludlow, Isaac T. Hopper, a Quaker merchant, and most of his co-religionists, and other worthy and highly respected citizens. The Rev. Dr. Cox, though opposed by most of his congregation, who were Presbyterians, was already known as an outspoken advocate of freedom for the slave. He was an eloquent preacher and much beloved by his congregation, who composed the Laight Street Church. Mr. Ludlow was also a fervent Presbyterian preacher, father of the well-known writer, Fitzhugh Ludlow, and was pastor of a church in Spring Street. He was also a bold, outspoken opposer of the system of slavery in our country.

Society in the city was quiet on the surface on the day after the attack upon Lewis Tappan's house, but in its lower depths — the grogeries and other realms of vice—there was a slumbering volcano, liable to be uncapped at any moment by the least disturbing cause.

Throughout the city the riot was almost the only topic of conversation, and the citizens felt an indefinable dread of more trouble.

On the morning of the 11th Mayor Lawrence ordered some of the city troops to be in readiness to assist in preserving the peace, if called upon to do so. In the evening their services were needed. At twilight a crowd began to assemble in front of the battered dwelling of Lewis Tappan, and another attack seemed imminent when the police suddenly appeared and dispersed them. They rallied elsewhere in continually increasing volume, preparing for destructive work later in the evening.

The Twenty-seventh National Guard had been called upon by the mayor to assist in the preservation of the peace. He also issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to do what they could to maintain order. The National Guard assembled at the arsenal to the number of four hundred, and there awaited orders. At twilight the mayor directed them to march to the City Hall, to be held in readiness to act. Colonel Stevens asked for ammunition. It was refused, when he declared he would not move a step until furnished with ball cartridges. The mayor then complied, and six rounds each were given to his men.

The churches seemed to be special objects of dislike to the rioters. They attacked five of the temples of worship—namely, that of Dr. Cox's church in Laight Street, Mr. Ludlow's church in Spring Street, the African Chapel on the corner of Church and Leonard streets, St. Philip's Church (colored) in Centre Street, and a church on the corner of Dey and Washington streets.

The mob dispersed at Rose Street rallied, rushed across the town to Laight Street, and made a sudden and furious attack upon Dr. Cox's church edifice. They smashed the windows with stones and bricks, and rent the air with yells and with horrid imprecations on the abolitionists. They seemed determined to lay the building in ruins, but were suddenly interrupted in their destructive work by the appearance of the mayor, police justice, district attorney, and a body of police. Fearing arrest, the cowards ran in all directions, but were soon reunited, evidently by previous concert, in front of Dr. Cox's dwelling in Charlton Street.

Warnings, threats, and the fate of Mr. Tappan's house had induced Dr. Cox to remove his furniture and his family to a place of safety. The mob found his front door barricaded. They broke it open, and had begun to destroy the windows and the blinds of the lower story when detachments of cavalry dislodged them. They fell back, but ral-

lied, and seizing some carts made a barricade across the street. They finally retired without being attacked by the military.

Meanwhile a large crowd had gathered in front of Arthur Tappan's store on Hanover Square, and began to assail it with stones. Fifteen or twenty watchmen had been stationed there, but were overpowered by the rioters and compelled to fly for their lives. Alderman Lalagh bravely stood his ground in defence of law and order. He defied the fierce men who threatened to kill him.

"Break open the doors if you dare!" he shouted. "The store is filled with armed men, who will blow your brains out the moment the door gives way."

The frightened cowards only pelted the building with stones and cursed the abolitionists, and when Police-Justice Lowndes appeared with a strong force they fled.

The Twenty-seventh Regiment had marched and countermarched in front of the City Hall, before a turbulent crowd. About ten o'clock Colonel Stevens received orders to march immediately to the defence of Mr. Ludlow's church edifice in Spring Street, between Varick and Macdougall streets. It was a very obnoxious place to the anti-abolitionists, for several anti-slavery meetings had been held there, and the pastor was one of the most zealous abolitionists in the city.

Before moving, Colonel Stevens ordered his men to load with ball cartridges. His troops first met the rioters in large force in Thompson Street, above Prince Street, where they were preparing to sack Mr. Ludlow's house. Pressing forward with fixed bayonets, the mob were pushed back, but as the soldiers wheeled from Macdougall into Spring Street they were fiercely assailed with stones and other missiles thrown by the rioters and from the windows. Many of the National Guard were hit, and some were felled to the ground. It was with difficulty that the exasperated men were restrained from opening fire on their assailants.

Near the church the mob had constructed a barricade of carts, barrels, and ladders chained together, across the street. On the top of this was a politician haranguing the mob and encouraging them to commit deeds of violence. He was seized, and with a dozen others was sent to the rear. Already the rioters had pulled down the fence that surrounded the church, had broken some of the windows, entered the sanctuary, tore down the pulpit, and demolished everything inside, and the broken fragments were carried into the street and used in constructing barricades. One of the mob was in the steeple ringing the bell to attract rioters from elsewhere when the National Guard arrived.

He too was seized and placed in custody, and the church cleared of its savage invaders.

Aldermen who had been sent by the mayor to act as magistrates and direct the military became greatly alarmed. They actually entered into an agreement with the mob to let them leave unmolested if they would disperse. They tried to persuade Colonel Stevens to retreat to the City Hall, declaring the rioters were too many and too strong for his little force to hope to contend with successfully.

“There is no retreat in the case,” said Colonel Stevens indignantly. “I am here with my regiment for the purpose of dispersing this mob and quelling the riot. Until that is done I shall not return. I shall proceed to the City Hall only through that crowd.”

And he did so. In defiance of the aldermen he marched two companies up to the barricade in the face of a shower of stones, broke it up, went through the scattered fragments, wheeled into Varick Street, and drove the mob before him at the point of the bayonet. Then he met a police force, and with these allies he marched the two companies back again, charged through the remains of the barricade, and pushed the rioters rapidly back to Sullivan Street. He severed the mob into four pieces, and restored order in that part of the city. The conduct of these troops was admirable, and they rejoiced that they won a victory without firing a shot!

Meanwhile a portion of the mob had assailed the house of the Rev. Mr. Ludlow in Thompson Street, broken the windows, and had burst in the door when, fearing the military, which they knew were near, they suddenly ran away, leaving the pastor's family more frightened than hurt.

On the way back to the City Hall the National Guard marched through Centre Street, and in the region of the Five Points—then the most dreadful sink of vice in the city—they encountered a large mob which had broken into St. Philip's Church edifice, occupied by a congregation of colored people. They had wrecked the whole interior and destroyed five miserable houses near, that were filled with disreputable persons. The troops quickly put these rioters to flight.

The danger seemed imminent yet, for the mob had arranged for detachments to operate in various parts of the city, and so divide the duties of the military and police forces. The mayor remained at the City Hall all night, and the next morning issued another proclamation calling upon the citizens to report to him and be organized into companies to aid the police. The Twenty-seventh Regiment was put on duty again the next afternoon. A large number of other troops and

the fire companies were ready to act if necessary to preserve the peace. But the rioters, exhausted and disheartened, attempted no further mischief at that time. The National Guard were dismissed on Sunday, the 13th, with the thanks and commendations of the mayor for their efficient services. At that time one hundred and fifty of the rioters were in prison awaiting their trial.

The municipal authorities and the citizens were deeply impressed with the value of the services which had been rendered by the Twenty-seventh (now Seventh) Regiment on the occasion of the two fearful riots which had afflicted the city within the space of a few weeks. The common council unanimously voted the regiment a stand of colors. These were presented on the 4th of June the next year by Governor William L. Marey, in behalf of the corporation of the city of New York, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of a large number of ladies and gentlemen, officers of the city corps under General Morton, and many officers of the army and navy. On that occasion the regiment performed many skilful manœuvres. Morgan L. Smith was its colonel. A piece of music composed for the occasion, entitled "The Consecration of the Banner," was played, when the governor addressed them in a most complimentary manner.

On the evening of the 13th (July) a fearful anti-abolition riot occurred in Philadelphia. The wrath of the mob seemed to be specially directed against the innocent colored people. Forty houses occupied by them were assailed, and some of them destroyed. The blacks were beaten, one of them was killed outright, and another was drowned while trying to swim across the Schuylkill.

Among the bold and uncompromising adherents of the anti-slavery cause in New York was Isaac T. Hopper,* a Quaker bookseller in

* Isaac T. Hopper was a distinguished philanthropist and a member of the Unitarian branch of the Society of Friends or Quakers. He was born in Deptford, N. J., December 3, 1771, and was a birthright member of the society. He learned the trade of a tailor with an uncle in Philadelphia. In his childhood and youth his exuberance of spirit was manifested in all sorts of practical jokes, sometimes very provoking, but were always accompanied by the kindest spirit. His love of fun remained with him in his old age. Strong in his convictions of right and duty, he had courage to defend and maintain them. He early espoused the cause of the slave and the down-trodden, and his career in New York as an "abolitionist," as related by Mrs. Child, is full of stirring incidents. His sympathies were also with discharged convicts, and he was one of the founders of the first prison association in New York and the founder of the Women's Prison Association, organized at his home. For some years Mr. Hopper was a bookseller in New York, but his life was largely devoted to works of benevolence and charity. Mr. Hopper died in New York May 7, 1852. The Home of the Women's Prison Association in New York is called the "Isaac T. Hopper Home" in his honor.

Pearl Street. - In his windows he displayed for sale all the pamphlets and pictures in condemnation of slavery published by the Anti-Slavery Society and others. While the "abolition riot" was at its height he was informed by a friend that a mob was coming to attack his store, and advised him to remove the pamphlets and pictures from sight.

"Dost thou think I am such a coward," said Hopper, "as to forsake my principles or to conceal them at the bidding of a mob?"

Presently another friend came in haste to tell him the mob were near, and advised him to put up his shutters.

"I will do no such thing," he said, firmly.

When the rioters came, yelling and cursing in an excited throng, Mr. Hopper walked out and stood on his doorstep. The tumultuous throng halted in front of his store. He looked calmly on them, and they looked on him with irresolution, seeming to quail before his glance like a brute spell-bound before the gaze of the human eye. After pausing a moment, some of them cried out, "Go on to Rose Street!" and they rushed forward and joined in the attack on the house of Lewis Tappan.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE citizens of New York had scarcely settled into a feeling of comparative security when in August they were again disturbed and alarmed by the sudden outbreak of lawless violence among some of the mechanics of the city. For some time there had been growing a bitter feeling among mechanics because the authorities at the State Prison in Sing Sing had introduced mechanical labor among the convicts, and employed them in producing articles at cheaper rates than the market prices. This feeling had not yet been demonstrated to the public eye, when in August, 1834, it was suddenly aroused into violent action. At that time the edifice of the University of the City of New York, on the east side of the Washington Parade-Ground, was in course of erection. The contractors for the stone-work found they could have the Westchester marble which they were using dressed at a cheaper rate by the prisoners at Sing Sing than by the stonecutters in the city, and they chose to have their work done by the convicts.

No sooner was the fact known than the indignant city stonecutters resolved to resent this "taking the bread out of their mouths," as they said. Political demagogues, always ready to seize upon any excitement of feeling and use it for their own base purposes, stimulated the irritation among the stonecutters. They held meetings, were addressed by these incendiary demagogues, and at length paraded the streets in procession with banners and placards, on which were inscriptions which asserted their rights and denounced the contractors alluded to. Incited by base fellows, they even went so far as to assail the residences of several worthy citizens. Their wrath arose to fever heat, and apprehending a riot and an attack upon the workmen at the University building, Mayor Lawrence called upon the Twenty-seventh Regiment National Guard to turn out and preserve order. When these marched against the procession the latter quietly dispersed to their homes. Anticipating further trouble, the regiment was retained in camp on the Washington Parade-Ground, in sight of the University structure, for four days and four nights.

In the space of little more than three months the city of New York

had been afflicted with three riots, two of them very serious. The third and last was promptly suppressed before it inflicted much mischief. The remainder of the year 1834 was passed without any serious public disturbance in the city, but it was destined to suffer from another riot the following year, and still another in 1837, known as the Flour Riot.

New York was then rapidly becoming a cosmopolitan city. Immigrants were flocking to its borders from many lands, and the easy naturalization laws were transforming them into American citizens in rapidly increasing numbers. The native-born citizens, perceiving the extending influence exercised by these newly fledged voters in municipal affairs, were alarmed and uneasy, while unscrupulous demagogues used this material freely for base partisan purposes. The events of the election riots in the spring of 1834 had intensified the distrust of the native Americans of their foreign-born co-citizens, and there was an earnest and almost universal desire felt for the adoption of some measure to check the growth of foreign influence in our country.

Another important consideration in the minds of thoughtful Americans increased their anxiety. A larger proportion of the emigrants and naturalized citizens were adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, whose supreme head at that time was a temporal prince—the monarch of the Papal States in Italy. To this prince, as the spiritual head of his Church, every Roman Catholic owed and acknowledged his supreme allegiance. In this divided allegiance—that acknowledged in his oath at naturalization, and that imposed by his Church to the sovereign of the Papal States—he would naturally, if occasion required him to choose, adhere to the Pope of Rome rather than to the government of the United States. This position of the naturalized citizen suggested imminent danger to the municipality in time of peril.

All through the winter and spring of 1834–35 the breach of good feeling, especially in political circles, between native Americans and foreign-born citizens had continually widened. Demagogues had assisted in widening and deepening the gulf, and antagonisms caused the American or Know-Nothing political party to be formed. At length a crisis arrived, when pent-up fires burst into a flame.

In June, 1835, it was reported that a military regiment under the name of the O'Connell Guard was about to be organized in the city of New York. Inflammable Americans instantly took fire, and in certain circles indignation rose to fever heat. The movement was denounced as a process of "making an Irish regiment out of American citizens," and it was resolved to resent it at all hazards. Matters were brought



Levi Miles Bates

to a head when an advertisement appeared calling a meeting of the O'Connell Guard at the Bleecker Street House. The excitable Americans made free comments on this, and uttered threats. Between them and the Irish there were recriminations and angry disputes which sometimes ended in fist-fights.

Finally, on Sunday, June 21st, the peace of the city was disturbed by such a fight, begun in Grand Street, near Crosby, between an American and an Irishman. The duel soon grew into a sort of field fight between a score of men, in which women joined. It was increasing in violence and numbers, and was promising to assume the dignity of a riot, when the police interfered and restored order. On the same day a quarrel arose in Chatham Street between a negro and a white man. They came to blows; other negroes and white men joined in the affray, and there was a fierce battle, which was ended by the police with much difficulty.

There was a more serious affair early in the evening of that hot June Sunday, in Pearl Street, near Chatham Street. It was begun by a duel with fists between two Irishmen. This example was contagious, and very soon many of their nationality were engaged in a regular pitched battle. A number of respectable citizens endeavored to suppress the tumult, but the uproar continually increased in violence until the affair became a serious riot. At length Mayor Lawrence, accompanied by a large police force, made his appearance, arrested the ringleaders, and dispersed the mob for the time. During the fight, in which missiles of every available kind were used, Dr. William McCafferty, a well-known physician, passing by on his way to visit a patient, was hit in the face by a brick, which broke his jaw. He was then knocked down by one of the ruffians and terribly beaten. His ribs were broken, and he soon died.

On the following day the mob spirit broke out with fresh vigor. In the Bowery, near Broome Street, was a tavern called the Green Dragon, a favorite resort of the Irish. A mob of the baser sort of Americans attacked it, broke in the doors and windows, and sacked the house. The mayor, Police-Justice Lowndes, and a strong force of police hastened to the scene. Several prominent citizens also interfered in trying to quell the riot. Several of these were wounded (Justice Lowndes severely so) by missiles hurled by the mob. Such scenes occurred the next day, when public notice was given by the proprietors of the Bleecker Street House that a meeting of the O'Connell Guard would not be held there. Peace and order soon succeeded this announcement.

In the year 1834 a change was made in the aspect of a portion of the City Hall Park. On its eastern border stood a building of rough stone, comely in its style of architecture, three stories in height, with dormer windows and a cupola. It was the Debtors' Prison. The building had been erected for a prison before the Revolution, and was known as the New Jail. During the occupation of the city by the British (1776-83) it was used as a prison for notable American captives, and was called the Provost. It was in charge of the notorious William Cunningham, the British provost-marshal, who made it famous by his crimes.

After the Revolution the Provost was used as a debtors' prison, common felons being confined in the Bridewell, which stood in the Park between the City Hall and Broadway. In 1830 this old prison was converted into a building for the safe keeping of the county records. All above the second story was demolished; a roof with very little pitch and covered with copper was substituted for the old one; a Grecian portico was added to the northern and southern ends, giving it, with other modifications, an imitation of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and was stuccoed in imitation of blocks of marble.

While yet in an unfinished state, this Hall of Records, as it was named, was used as a hospital while the city was afflicted with the cholera scourge in 1832. When it was completed in 1834 the offices of the register, comptroller, street commissioner, and surrogate were established in it. Gradually the various kinds of public business so increased that in 1869 the whole building was given up to the use of the register. It has been repaired at heavy expense from time to time.

The year 1835 was made memorable by the most disastrous conflagration that ever afflicted the city. There had been some famous fires before, which had figured in the history of the town.

The first of these notable conflagrations was a series of fires that occurred almost simultaneously in different parts of the little city in the spring of 1741, the time of the so-called Negro Plot, already described on page 21.

The next most notable fire occurred on the 21st of September, 1776, just after the British army had invaded Manhattan Island and were about to enter the city from the north, mentioned on page 41. During the British occupation of the city a destructive fire occurred, laying sixty-four houses, besides stores, in ashes. See page 43.

The famous "Coffee-House Slip fire" broke out at Murray's Wharf, foot of Wall Street, between one and two o'clock on the morning of December 9, 1796, and before it was arrested laid in ashes about fifty

buildings well stocked with merchandise. The destruction was complete in the space of about four hours. The fire extended from Wall Street to Maiden Lane.

Coffee-House Slip was the scene of the beginning of another destructive conflagration, which was kindled in a grocery-store in Front Street on the night of December 18, 1804. The air was keenly cold, the wind high, and the flames spread so rapidly that before they were checked forty buildings had been consumed, with most of their contents, the whole valued at nearly \$2,000,000. Among the buildings destroyed was the famous old Coffee-House. At that time the population of the city was about seventy thousand. It possessed twenty-seven fire-engine companies and four hook-and-ladder companies.

On the morning of May 19, 1811, a very destructive fire began in a coachmaker's shop in Chatham Street, corner of Duane Street. The now venerable merchant, John Degranw, a boy at the time, was passing, when, discovering the fire, he ran down Chatham Street crying Fire! and soon had the bell of the Debtors' Jail a-ringing. It was Sunday morning, and the church-bells were ringing, calling the people to worship. Many, supposing the fire-alarm to be a part of the tintinnabulation, were tardy in appearing on the scene of the conflagration. The wind was high, and a drought was prevailing. Cinders were carried to the steeple of the Brick Church in Beekman Street, which was set on fire, but was soon extinguished. Before the flames were subdued, at three o'clock in the afternoon, more than one hundred buildings of various kinds were consumed. Flakes of fire had ignited forty-three different buildings at some distance from the conflagration, but the flames did not spread.*

From 1811 until the great fire in New York in 1835, there were several pretty severe conflagrations, but none very extensive. The most notable was the burning of the widely known City Hotel in April, 1833, which had so long been the leading inn of the city.

The justly called *great* fire of 1835 was kindled in the store of Comstock & Andrews, fancy dry-goods jobbers at No. 25 Merchant Street, corner of Pearl Street. The latter was a very narrow street, then recently opened, in the rear of the Exchange. The fire broke out about nine o'clock in the evening of December 16, 1835. The weather was intensely cold—so cold that water sent up from the fire engines fell in hail. The mercury marked several degrees below zero.

The conflagration seems to have been started by an overheated

* See Sheldon's "Story of the Volunteer Firemen of New York," pp. 174-194.

stove-pipe in the counting-room, where the flames were first discovered. The contents of the store were very combustible, and soon the interior of the building was a mass of flame.

The fire streamed out of the doors and windows, and the heat and burning cinders were carried by a strong wind against the stores on the opposite side of Pearl Street.

The fire department had labored nearly all the previous night in fighting a large conflagration at Burling Slip, where several stores were burned, and were less prompt in their arrival upon the scene of duty than usual, and it was more than half an hour before a stream of water was poured on the menaced buildings in Pearl Street. The hydrants, too, were mostly frozen, and the water in the slips was so low, owing to a long-continued north-west wind, that the firemen were unable, from the docks, to reach the water with their suction-pipes. The engines froze tight if not continually kept at work, and many of them were rendered useless from this cause. Under these circumstances the fire rapidly gained headway, and narrow Merchant Street soon presented an impassable wall of fire. The only way to reach the focus of the conflagration was through William and Water streets and Old Slip.

With the engines bound by the frost and an inadequate supply of water, the firemen had nothing better offered them to do than to endeavor to save property by removal. To this task they actively and effectively devoted their strength. They were joined by merchants and citizens. Goods in immense quantities were carried out of igniting stores and piled in the Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street, in the Dutch Reformed Church in Garden Street, in Old Slip, and in Hanover Square. But the fierce dragon of flame soon overtook them in these places of fancied security, and devoured the edifices with their precious contents. The splendid Exchange, with its beautiful interior arrangements and decorations, its grand colonnade, its lofty dome, and the fine marble statue of Alexander Hamilton by Ball Hughes, was soon reduced to a ghastly skeleton, blackened and broken. In the space of a few hours millions of dollars' worth of property which had been removed from stores, from place to place, for safety, had been destroyed in the places of refuge.

Many of the stores were new, supplied with strong iron shutters, their roofs covered with copper and supplied with copper gutters, and were considered absolutely fire-proof. But the fervid heat crept from building to building under the roofs, and shot down with fury to the lower floors, setting everything ablaze within. When the shutters,

warped with heat, were unfastened and flew open, the interior of these great stores appeared like huge glowing furnaces. The copper on their roofs was melted and fell like drops of burning sweat to the pavement.

The large East India warehouse of Peter Remsen & Co., standing on the northerly side of Hanover Square, was for a time an object of absorbing interest. It was filled with a full stock of valuable goods. Before the fire reached it, goods were cast out of the windows in the upper stories into the street, and with merchandise from the lower floors were piled in a huge mass in the square, which was thought to be a place of absolute safety. The roaring flames came swiftly on; Pearl Street on both sides was a sheet of fire, and a shower of living cinders rained upon the pyramid of India goods in Hanover Square, and they disappeared like the figures in a dissolving view.

"Suddenly a terrible explosion occurred near by, with the noise of a cannon," wrote an eye-witness of the appalling scene. "The earth shook. We ran for safety, not knowing what might follow, and took refuge on the corner of Gouverneur Lane. Waiting for a few minutes, a second explosion took place, then another and another. During the space perhaps of half an hour shock after shock followed in rapid succession, accompanied with the darkest, thickest clouds of smoke imaginable. The explosions came from a store in Front Street, near Old Slip, where large quantities of saltpetre in large bags had been stored. Suddenly the whole ignited, and out leaped the flaming streams of these neutral salts in their own peculiar colors, from every door and window." *

At midnight the spreading of the fire was checked in one direction by the impassable barrier of the East River, across which a firebrand was carried by the wind and set fire to a house in Brooklyn! It was soon extinguished. The fire meanwhile spread toward Broadway. It was soon evident that the marble Exchange building was in great jeopardy. The Post-Office occupied a portion of it. After a consultation between the mayor, the postmaster, and others, its contents were removed to a place of safety just in time to avoid destruction. Scores of men tried to save the fine statue of Hamilton, but did not succeed, and that portrait of the great statesman soon became a part of the common ruin of the edifice which the merchants of New York were so proud of.

* Gabriel P. Disosway, in the "History of the City of New York from the Discovery to the Present Day," by William L. Stone, p. 473.

The Garden Street Church and its adjoining burying-ground were piled with millions of dollars' worth of merchandise. The flames approached it, and the old fane with its precious contents and those on the surface of the graveyard melted before them like wax. There, too, was lost the venerable bell which called the people of New Amsterdam to worship within the fort during the Dutch rule on Manhattan Island. It is related by Mr. Disosway that when the church had taken fire some person began to play upon the organ which had given out solemn peals of music at the burial of many citizens. He played the funeral dirge of the old organ, and only ceased when the lofty ceiling began to blaze and danger admonished him to fly for safety.

The fire spread rapidly in the direction of Coenties Slip and Wall Street. The firemen were powerless to save any building. At about two o'clock in the morning the mayor (Lawrence) summoned a council of aldermen and others in the street. The late General Joseph G. Swift, an eminent engineer in the public service, had suggested the necessity of blowing up some buildings not yet ignited to arrest the flames. The mayor hesitated to take the responsibility, hence the council of aldermen. Among the latter was Morgan L. Smith, alderman of the Fourth Ward, who was also colonel of the Twenty-seventh (now Seventh) Regiment National Guard. It was determined to try the experiment. Rufus Lord's store in Garden Street (now Exchange Place) was the first building ordered to be blown up.

The mayor sent an order to General Arcularius, in charge of the arsenal, for gunpowder. The general responded :

" I send you one barrel of gunpowder, all there is in the arsenal."

In the mean time no one could be found who had experience or was willing to undertake the hazardous work of blowing up. It was finally assigned to Colonel Smith,* of the National Guard. The cartman

* Morgan L. Smith was born in Dutchess County, N. Y., in 1801. His father possessed an ample fortune for the time, and the son was not bred to any special calling. He finished his education at an academy in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in 1820. He had desired a cadetship at West Point, but his father preferred to have him engage in some business. After he left school he travelled extensively in the south-western portion of our country. In 1821 he was in New Orleans, then a small town. He returned home by sea.

Mr. Smith established a leather commercial house in New York in 1825 with his nephew, Jackson Schultz, now one of the most enterprising merchants and public-spirited citizens. For twelve years he pursued business earnestly and successfully. He was an officer in banks and other institutions, was a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and an active and efficient officer of the National Guard, as we have observed in the text. He was alderman of the Fourth Ward. After the business revulsion of

who brought the barrel of powder was so frightened by the shower of burning fragments that he refused to go nearer the conflagration than the corner of Pine and Nassau streets, when the colonel called on some one to aid him in carrying the powder to Garden Street. The late James A. Hamilton immediately stepped forward and said, "I will."

They covered the barrel with woollen blankets, and these two brave men carried it to the centre of the basement of Lord's warehouse. They made a fuse of calico, slightly twisted so as to burn briskly, about twenty feet in length, fastened one end in the powder, set it on fire at the other end, and retreated, closing the cellar door tightly after them. In a few minutes the explosion demolished the warehouse and made such a chasm that with little exertion the firemen stayed the progress of the flames in that direction. "When the powder was ignited," wrote the venerable John W. Degraw (an old fireman) to the author early in 1883, "when the powder was ignited, marvellous to relate, I saw the building lifted several feet above its foundations and fall in ruins."

When the mayor learned that there was no more powder at the arsenal, the late Charles King (afterward president of Columbia College) volunteered to go to the Brooklyn Navy-Yard for aid. He crossed the East River among the floating ice in an open boat, and returned with Captain Mix of the navy and some seamen, with powder, who immediately took charge of the work of blowing up other build-

1837 he went to Texas and opened a commercial house at Columbia, on the Brazos. President Van Buren appointed him United States consul, which position he held until annexation abolished the office in 1845.

When Governor Marey was Polk's Secretary of War he requested Colonel Smith, then in Washington, to visit the camp of General Taylor (who had been sent to Texas with a few troops) at Corpus Christi, and furnish him with detailed information about the aspect of affairs in that region, for he could get but little from the general. On his return Mr. Smith made many inquiries, and wrote to the secretary what he had said to him orally, "There will be no war." Very soon afterward the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande, and war was actually begun. At its close Colonel Smith was actively in favor of annexation, and was one of a committee of five to hold mass meetings of citizens and learn the mind of the people. A vast majority were in favor of annexation, and it was accomplished.

From that period until the Civil War Colonel Smith was engaged in business in Texas, but at its close he retired, and has since made his abode at the North. He occupies a fine residence in Newark, New Jersey. He is a devoted member of the Baptist Church, and has generously endowed twenty theological scholarships in Madison University, of which he is a trustee. He is also a trustee of Vassar College at Poughkeepsie, of which he was one of the incorporators chosen by the founder.

ings. The brave and generous act of Colonel Smith was universally applauded.*

Meanwhile the greatest exertions had been made to prevent the destroyer crossing Wall Street. At one time such disaster seemed inevitable. The famous Tontine Coffee-House, on the corner of Wall and Water streets, roofed with shingles, took fire. Only two fire-engines were near, and these were almost powerless from want of water. Seeing the danger impending over a large portion of the city if the great building should be consumed, Oliver Hull, a well-known citizen, standing by, offered to give \$100 to the firemen's fund if they would put out the flames on the roof and save the building. The firemen immediately made a pile of boxes which had been removed from adjacent stores, placed upon it a brandy-puncheon, on which one of the men mounted, and so directed the nozzle of the hose that the water played on the shingles and extinguished the flames. So, the upper part of the city was saved.

Farther up Wall Street much property was saved by the sagacity of Downing, the "oyster king," as he was called, at the corner of Broad and Wall streets. Water could not be had. He had a large quantity of vinegar in his cellar. This he brought out, and by throwing it on the flames carefully with pails, much property was saved.

It was estimated that an area of nearly fifty acres was strewn with the ruins of almost seven hundred buildings and their contents, prostrated and consumed by the dreadful conflagration. In all that area, wherein no one might penetrate until late the next day, on account of the fierce heat, only one building was left entire. It was the store of John A. Moore, an iron merchant, on Water Street, near Old Slip. Strange to relate, during the awful ravages of the flames not a single human life was lost, nor was there a serious accident of any kind. The extent of the fire was given as follows in the *Courier and Enquirer*:

"South Street is burned down from Wall Street to Coenties Slip. Front Street is burned down from Wall Street to Coenties Slip. Pearl Street is burned down from Wall Street to Coenties Alley, and the fire

* On the following day Mr. Hamilton (a son of General Alexander Hamilton), who assisted Colonel Smith in carrying the barrel of powder, sent him the following note:

"NEW YORK, December 17, 1835.

"SIR: As an eye-witness to your conduct during the fire of last night, I congratulate you upon the success of your exertions in arresting its destructive course. Your *decision and fearlessness of consequences* while in the discharge of your duty are deserving of the highest praise.

"With sincere respect, your obedient servant,

"JAMES A. HAMILTON.

"MORGAN L. SMITH, Esq., Alderman of the 4th Ward."

was there stopped by blowing up a building. Stone Street * is burned down from William Street to No. 32 on one side, and No. 39 on the other. Beaver Street is burned down half way to Broad Street. Exchange Place is burned down from Hanover Street to within three doors of Broad Street ; here the flames were stopped by blowing up a house. William Street is burned down from Wall Street to South Street, both sides of the way ; Market House down. Wall Street is burned down on the south side from William Street to South Street, with the exception of Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61, opposite this office. All the streets and alleys within the above limits are destroyed.

“ The following will be found a tolerably accurate statement of the number of houses and stores now levelled with the ground : 26 on Wall Street ; 37 on South Street ; 80 on Front Street ; 62 on Exchange Place ; 44 on William Street ; 16 on Coenties Slip ; 3 on Hanover Square ; 20 on Gouverneur’s Lane ; 20 on Cuyler’s Alley ; 79 on Pearl Street ; 76 on Water Street ; 16 on Hanover Street ; 31 on Exchange Street ; 33 on Old Slip ; 40 on Stone Street ; 23 on Beaver Street ; 10 on Janes’s Lane, and 38 on Mill Street. Total, 674. Six hundred and seventy-four tenements—by far the greater part in the occupancy of our largest shipping and wholesale dry-goods and grocery merchants, and filled with the richest products of every portion of the globe.”

The estimated value of the property destroyed by the terrible conflagration was \$18,000,000 to \$20,000,000. The portion of the city burned over was quite extensively populated. Hundreds of families were turned into the streets that bitter night, homeless and houseless, and many wealthy or prosperous merchants were reduced to comparative poverty in a few hours. A greater portion of the fire-insurance companies were ruined, and therefore much merchandise nominally insured was a total loss to its owners.

The atmosphere on that night was very clear. The light of the great fire was seen at Saratoga, nearly two hundred miles distant. The writer of these pages, then living at Poughkeepsie, seventy-five miles distant, saw its reflection like an aurora glowing dimly above the crests of the Hindson Highlands. The fire raged all that night and nearly the whole of the next day.

It was early perceived that an immense amount of property among and near the ruins not consumed was exposed to the depredations of thieves. There was not then, as now, an insurance patrol, so the

* Stone Street was the first street in the city that was paved (with cobble-stones), and hence its name.

National Guard was called out by the mayor for the protection of the exposed property. Faithfully, as usual, they stood guard all the remainder of that fearful night, suffering much in the intense cold. During their night vigils refreshments were furnished them from the Auction Hotel, near by, and on the 18th, after arduous duties for about thirty hours, these ever-ready and faithful guardians of the city were dismissed.*

As soon as possible after the news of the fire reached Philadelphia, fire companies came on from there to the help of their brethren in New York. Firemen also came from Newark and Brooklyn, and all remained until the danger of a renewed conflagration was overpast. Expressions of the deepest sympathy for the sufferers also came from Philadelphia and neighboring towns and cities. The conflagration was considered by many as a national calamity.

This dreadful blow seemed to paralyze the business community of New York with its benumbing shock. The check to its bounding enterprise was temporary. At noon on the 19th of December, while the ruins were yet smoking, a meeting was held at the City Hall. Judge Irving called the assembly to order, when Mayor Lawrence was chosen to preside. The following eminent citizens were appointed vice-presidents: Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, Louis McLane, George Newbold, Isaac Bronson, Enos T. Throop, Campbell P. White, John T. Irving, Sammel Hicks, George Griswold, James G. King,† Benja-

* It was during this year (1835) that the Order of Merit, which originated with Colonel Morgan L. Smith, was established in the National Guard, its object being to increase the efficiency of the regiment by cultivating a desire to excel in drill. The badge of the order was a silver cross worn on a red ribbon. This cross might be conferred on twelve members of the regiment in each year. The first drill for the order took place at the arsenal yard. The Seventh Company won the honor. The contest was renewed the following year; dissatisfaction arose, much bitterness of feeling was engendered, and finally the Order of Merit was abandoned.

† James Gore King was an eminent banker and merchant. While his father, Rufus King, was United States minister at the British Court, he had his two sons, Charles and James, educated at the best schools in England. James was born in New York City May 8, 1791. On his return from England in 1805 he entered Harvard University, and graduated in 1810. He studied at the famous Litchfield Law School. In 1812 he married a daughter of Archibald Graeie, a sister of the wife of his brother Charles, and was afterward established as a merchant in Liverpool, with his brother-in-law, Archibald Graeie, Jr. In 1824 he returned to New York and became one of the firm of Prime, Ward & King, bankers. When that firm dissolved Mr. King formed a similar banking house under the name of James G. King & Sons. Mr. King performed service as adjutant in the war of 1812-15. In 1849 he took a seat in Congress, serving one term. He was for many years an active member of the Chamber of Commerce, and was its president at the time of his death, which occurred at his residence at Highwood, N. J., October 3, 1853.



Norman Green

min L. Swan, Jacob Lorillard, and Stephen Allen. The following equally eminent citizens were appointed secretaries : Jonathan Goodhue, Prosper M. Wetmore, John S. Crary, John A. Stevens, Jacob Harvey, Renben Withers, Dudley Selden, Samuel B. Ruggles, George Wilson, Samuel Cowdrey, James Lee, and John L. Graham. The meeting, on motion of James G. King, the banker,

“Resolved, That while the citizens of New York lament over the ruin which has left desolate the most valuable part of the city, and deeply sympathize with the numerous sufferers, it becomes them not to repine, but to unite in a vigorous exertion to repair the loss ; that the extent of her commerce, the number, wealth, and enterprise of her citizens, justify, under the blessings of Divine Providence, a primary reliance upon her own resources ; that we consider it the duty of our citizens and moneyed institutions who stand in the relation of creditors to those who have directly or indirectly suffered by the late fire, to extend to them the utmost forbearance and lenity.”

The meeting, on motion of Dudley Selden, appointed a committee of one hundred to ascertain the extent of the loss and probable value of the property destroyed, also how far the sufferers were protected by insurance. They were also authorized to apply to Congress for relief, by extending credit for debts due to the United States, and for a return or remission of duties on goods destroyed by the fire ; also to solicit the general, State, and city governments to extend their aid if deemed expedient. They were also empowered to institute an investigation with a view to the adoption of measures to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity, and to take measures for the immediate relief of those who were reduced to want by the conflagration. The then leading men of the city engaged in the various fields of business activity were placed on this important committee.* Only two of the members of

* The following named gentlemen constituted that committee : Cornelius W. Lawrence, Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, Samuel Hicks, Benjamin L. Swan, Dudley Selden, Jonathan Goodhue, Saal Alley, Prosper M. Wetmore, John T. Irving, John Pintard, George Newbold, Samuel B. Ruggles, James G. King, William B. Astor, George Griswold, Enos T. Throop, Samuel Cowdrey, Thomas J. Oakley, George Wilson, William T. McConn, John G. Coster, Walter Bowne, James F. Bowman, Louis McLane, Jacob Lorillard, John S. Crary, Jacob Harvey, Renben Withers, Ogden Hoffman, Charles King, Edward Sanford, John W. Leavitt, Adam Treadwell, John Leonard, George S. Robbins, William Neilson, Stephen Whitney, Joseph Burchard, Jacob Morton, John Wilson, Mordecai M. Noah, Philip Hone, William L. Stone, Rensselaer Havens, Charles W. Sanford, William Van Wyck, D. F. Manice, John Kelley, H. C. De Rham, Isaac Bronson, Campbell P. White, John A. Stevens, James Lee, George Douglass, Stephen Allen, John Fleming, John B. Lawrence, William B. Townsend, Charles H. Russell, James Heard, Charles Graham, George Ireland, John Y. Cebra, Samuel Jones, Charles Augustus Davis, Robert C. Wetmore, James D. P. Ogden, Andrew Warner, David Hall, James Conner, Robert White, Richard Pownell, Joseph Blunt, Samuel Ward, F. B. Cutting,

that committee of one hundred citizens appointed forty years ago now (1883) survive. These are General James Watson Webb and Colonel Andrew Warner.

The recuperative energy displayed by the business men at this time was marvellous to behold. They seemed to rebound from sudden depression with wonderful elasticity. The newspapers at home and abroad greeted them with words of sympathy and encouragement. The business ramifications with almost every city and village in the country made that sympathy assume the feature of a personal emotion. After the first shock was over no gloom pervaded the community, though almost every family was more or less affected by the disaster.

“That portion of the city which has been destroyed,” said the *New York Mirror*, a fortnight after the fire, “contained more of talent, respectability, generosity, industry, enterprise, and all the qualities that ennoble and dignify our race, than the same space, perhaps, in any other city in the world. The former occupants of that spot gave employment and subsistence to more of their fellow-creatures, and were the dispensers of more good, more liberal benefactions to their kind, more useful citizens of the community of which they were among the leading members, than probably any other class of men. They were liberal encouragers of the arts, the supporters of literature, the fosterers of native talent in every branch of science. . . . In a short time, we trust, by the goodness of that Providence which produceth benefit out of evil, that this dispensation will be recounted as a curious event and as an historical fact, whose effects are unfelt, and whose results have terminated in improvement and beauty.”

John H. Howland, John Lang, Daniel Jackson, J. Palmer, Richard Riker, James Roosevelt, Jr., James Monroe, Richard McCarthy, Isaac S. Hone, Peter A. Jay, Amos Butler, Joseph D. Beers, David Bryson, Samuel Swartwout, Walter R. Jones, Philo L. Mills, Morris Robinson, Benjamin McVickar, John Haggerty, Charles Dennison, George W. Lee, William Churchill, George Lovett, G. A. Worth, Edwin Lord, B. L. Woolley, William Mitchell, Burr Wakeman, William Leggett, James B. Murray, Peter A. Cowdrey, John L. Graham, George D. Strong, Jonathan Lawrence, Cornelius Heyer, James Lawson, Samuel S. Howland, James Watson Webb, William M. Price, John Delafield, James McCride, M. M. Quackenboss, B. M. Brown, William B. Crosby, Gulian C. Verplanck, William Beach Lawrence, Joseph L. Josephs, S. H. Foster, T. T. Kissam, Robert Bogardus, William Howard, Luman Reed, Robert Smith, M. Ulshoefer, Samuel Thompson, Robert C. Cornell, Peter G. Stuyvesant, David Hadden, Benjamin Strong, William P. Hall, Isaac Townsend, Charles P. Clinch, Rufus L. Lord, J. R. Satterlee, David S. James, David Austen, Seth Geer, Robert Lenox, Perez Jones, William Turner.

To this committee was added the following committee, appointed by the Board of Trade, to co-operate with the Committee of One Hundred: Gabriel P. Disosway, Robert Jaffray, Silas Brown, N. H. Weed, George Underhill, D. A. Cushman, Meigs D. Benjamin, Marcus Wilbur, and Thomas Denny.

It was even so. As has been remarked, the rebound was marvellous. Before many months had passed away this portion of the city—the “burnt district”—literally arose from its ashes. “Improvement and beauty” had done their perfect work. “Business, trade, and commerce revived more rapidly than before,” said Mr. Disosway. “In vain do we search for a chapter in ancient or modern history of such a conflagration and its losses, and of rapid recovery from all its evils, with increasing prosperity, as we find in the great fire of New York in December, 1835.”

The spirit of the business men of the city which prompted immediate reaction was well illustrated by a circumstance related by the late William E. Dodge concerning the conduct of James E. Lee, who was a dry-goods importer, and was subsequently chiefly instrumental in procuring the erection of Brown’s fine equestrian statue of Washington in Union Square.

“As I saw him, covered with dirt,” said Mr. Dodge, “the day after the fire, trying with a gang of men to dig out his iron safe, I said :

“ ‘Well, this is very hard.’

“ ‘Yes,’ said Lee, straightening himself up, ‘but, Dodge, thank God, he has left me my wife and children, and these hands can support them.’ And he lived and died one of the time-honored merchants.”

That fire began the exodus of the dry-goods business from Pearl Street, and it has never returned. It has gradually gone up town, and the finest stores may now be found miles north of the Battery.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE great fire in the early winter of 1835 was a strong confirmation of the popular wisdom evinced at the spring election that year, by casting an overwhelming majority of votes in favor of a project for securing an abundant supply of water for domestic and public use in the city. Let us take a brief glance at methods which had been employed for furnishing water for the city before that period.

The first public well constructed in New York (then New Amsterdam) was in front of the fort at the foot of Broadway. It was put in operation about 1658, and was the resort of the inhabitants, not otherwise supplied, during the remainder of the Dutch rule.

This seems to have been the only public well in the city until 1677, after the final occupation of the town by the English, when it was ordered by the municipal authorities that "wells be made in the following places, by the inhabitants of the streets where they are severally made, namely : One opposite Roelf Jansen, the butcher ; one in Broadway, opposite Van Dyck's ; one in the street opposite Derick Smith's ; one in the street opposite John Cavalier's ; one in the yard of the City Hall, and one in the street opposite Cornelius van Borsum's."

In 1687 seven other public wells were constructed, and for the purpose of defraying the expense, assessments of designated property-owners were made, the city government paying one half the expense.

During the earlier part of the last century the city government contributed annually about \$20 for the construction of new wells, while the inhabitants living in the neighborhoods of the wells paid the remainder of the expense. None of them were allowed the use of the well until they had contributed a fair proportion of the expense.

In the year 1750 pumps first came into use in the public wells, and the General Assembly of the province passed an act to enable the city to raise a tax for the construction and keeping in repair of the pumps in public wells.

So early as 1774, when the population was but twenty-two thousand, an attempt was made to establish a uniform water-supply, under the

direction of Christopher Colles. He suggested to the city authorities the construction of water-works on the easterly side of Broadway, north of (present) Pearl Street. They were to consist of a large well, pumping machinery, and a reservoir, the well to be near the edge of the Collect Pond, and the site of the city prison called the Tombs. The reservoir was to be upon the high ground opposite (present) Worth Street. City bonds were issued to the amount of \$12,500. This amount was increased the next year to \$13,000. The land was purchased for a little more than \$5000, but the breaking out of the old war for independence put an end to the project.

Immediately after the close of the war the subject engaged the public attention, and from that time until 1832 various measures for supplying the city with an abundance of pure water were proposed. Only two were tried, and these proved inadequate. These were the Manhattan Water Works in Chambers Street, and a reservoir near Union Square. In each case the source of the water supply was an immense well.

In 1832 Colonel De Witt Clinton, in response to a resolution of the common council, reported that in his judgment the city of New York should rely upon the Croton River for its supply of wholesome water for all purposes. He set forth very fully all the advantages of the Croton—its purity and unfailing abundance, its superior elevation, and the ease with which it might be introduced. Not having made surveys of the route, Colonel Clinton's estimates, summarized below, were very inadequate. They were as follows :

“ From the best opinion I can form, I am satisfied that the waters of the Croton River may be taken at Pine's Bridge and delivered on the island for a sum not exceeding \$750,000, in an open canal and with stone linings, ditchings, and walls, and including drainages and other contingencies it may swell the cost to \$850,000. The expense of distribution and reservoirs on the island may amount to \$1,650,000 more, which would make the whole cost of the work \$2,500,000.”

In January, 1833, the Legislature, at the request of the common council, passed an act authorizing the governor to appoint five water commissioners for the city of New York to examine and consider all matters in relation to supplying the city with a sufficient quantity of pure and wholesome water, the commissioners to employ the necessary engineers, surveyors, etc. Under this act the governor appointed as commissioners Stephen Allen, B. M. Brown, S. Dusenbury, Saul Alley, and W. W. Fox. The common council appropriated \$5000 for their use. They employed Canvas White and Major D. B.

Douglass, formerly professor of engineering at West Point, to make surveys, plans, and estimates, and instructed them to make examination of the Croton, Sawmill, and Bronx rivers in the counties of Westchester and Putnam, together with their several tributaries, and to furnish the commissioners with a map and profile of the country, and their opinion of the quality of the water, the supply that might be depended upon in all seasons, and the practicability of conveying it to the city at sufficient elevation to preclude the use of machinery, and answer all the purposes contemplated. Also to designate the most feasible route and the best manner of conducting the conduits and reservoirs, the probable amount required to pay for lands, water-rights, damages, and cost of construction.

In his report to the common council, in October, 1834, Major Douglass (who alone was able to make this survey) recommended the Croton River as the source, a masonry aqueduct for the conduit, and described two routes—the “inland route” and the “Hudson River route”—the former being forty-three miles and the latter forty-seven miles long from the proposed dam on the Croton to the distributing reservoir on Murray Hill. He estimated that a minimum supply of twenty-seven million gallons a day might be delivered into the reservoir by either route, at an elevation of one hundred and seventeen feet above tide-water. The cost of the inland route he estimated at \$4,500,000, and of the Hudson River route at \$4,768,197.

The water commissioners, indorsing the views and conclusions of Major Douglass, submitted a report accordingly to the common council and the Legislature. The water commissioners were reappointed, and the Legislature by act made provision for submitting the question of “water” or “no water” to the electors of the city at the charter election in 1835. The common council were authorized, in the event of the vote being in favor of water, to issue water stock to the amount of \$2,500,000, and to instruct the commissioners to proceed with the work—to purchase lands, water rights, etc.—and to have the work done by contract.

On the 2d of March, 1835, the common council

“Resolved, That a poll be and hereby is appointed to be opened on the days upon which the next annual election for charter officers of this city is by law appointed to be held, to the end that the electors may express their assent or refusal to allow the common council to proceed in raising the money necessary to construct the work aforesaid [the Croton Aqueduct, etc.], by depositing their ballots in a box to be provided for that purpose in their respective wards, according to the provisions of the act ‘To provide for supplying the city of New York with pure and wholesome water.’”

The election occurred on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of April following. There had been much opposition to the measure among tax-payers on account of the expense, and so clamorous had been the opposition that friends of the measure were most agreeably surprised at the result. There were 17,330 votes in favor of providing for pure water, and only 5963 against it. Had a vote on the same question been taken immediately after the great fire it would probably have been almost or quite unanimous in favor of water.

The great work was almost immediately begun. On the 7th of May the common council instructed the water commissioners to proceed with the work, and authorized a loan of \$2,500,000, at five per cent interest, to provide for the current expenses. The commissioners appointed Major Douglass their chief engineer, and directed him to organize a corps of engineers as soon as practicable. An engineering party took the field on the 6th of July and proceeded to stake out the land required for the lake formed by the Croton Dam and for the line of the aqueduct.

The surveys and resurveys for the above-named purposes were not completed until the latter part of the summer of 1836. During the progress of these surveys the route was in several places amended and shortened, making the distance finally from the Croton Dam to the distributing reservoir on Murray Hill about forty and one half miles.

In October, 1836, John B. Jervis succeeded Major Douglass as chief engineer, and continued in that position until the great work was completed. Under Mr. Jervis's direction, the map, drawings, and working-plans were completed during the winter of 1836-37, and in the spring of 1837 the work of construction was fairly begun by placing a portion of it under contract.

It was originally intended to have the water cross the Harlem River on a low bridge through an inverted siphon, but in 1839 the Legislature passed an act requiring the Harlem River to be passed on a high bridge. The contract for the bridge was made in August of that year. It was constructed of stone, and supported by thirteen arches resting on solid granite piers. The crown of the highest arch is one hundred and sixteen feet above the river surface at high tide. It is fourteen hundred and sixty feet in length, and crosses the Harlem Valley at One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Street. The water is carried over the bridge in a conduit of iron pipes protected by brick masonry. There is a wide footpath across the bridge, to enable visitors to have a view of the fine scenery from the lofty position. When the High Bridge was completed the water commissioners appointed by the governor

finished their labors, and the whole water system came under the charge of the Croton Aqueduct Board.

On the 27th of June, 1842, with appropriate ceremonies, the water was first conveyed through the aqueduct into the receiving reservoir at Eighty-sixth Street, and on the 4th of July following it was received into the distributing reservoir on Murray Hill, between Fortieth and Forty-second streets and Fifth Avenue.

The celebration of the completion of the Croton Aqueduct occurred on the 14th of October, 1842. That memorable event will be noticed hereafter.

The year 1835 is conspicuous in the annals of New York for the perfection of an ingenious literary hoax which puzzled the scientific world for a moment, and set journalistic pens in motion in both hemispheres. The chief perpetrator was a modest, genial, unpretentious young Englishman named Richard Adams Locke, who had been employed as a reporter on the *Courier and Enquirer*, and was then the editor of the *Sun* newspaper, in the columns of which it appeared, credited to a supplement of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*.

It was a pretended account of wonderful discoveries on the surface of the earth's satellite made by Sir John F. W. Herschel at the Cape of Good Hope, by means of a newly-constructed telescope. It stated that by means of this telescope the moon's surface was brought within the apparent distance of eight miles of the earth, as seen by the naked eye. The topography, vegetable productions, and animal life were all perceived quite clearly. The chief inhabitants—the family of the “man in the moon”—were described as being something of the form of bats; in a word, Herschel had given to the world a revelation of a hitherto unknown inhabited sphere, the nearest neighbor to our earth. The construction of the telescope was so ingeniously described, and everything said to have been seen with it was given with such graphic power and minuteness, and with such a show of probability, that it deceived scientific men. It played upon their credulity and stimulated their speculations; and the public journals, regarding it as a grave historical fact, felt piqued by the circumstance that an obscure and despised “penny sheet” should have been the first vehicle for announcing the great event to the American people. One journal gravely assured its readers that it received the “supplement” by the same mail, but was prevented from publishing the article on the day when it appeared in the *Sun* only because of a want of room!

The newspapers throughout the country copied the article and commented on it. Some dishonestly withheld credit to the *Sun*, leaving



John Card. McCloskey
Archbp. of New York

the inference that they had taken it from the famous "supplement." The more stately newspapers — the "respectable weeklies"— were thoroughly hoaxed. The New York *Daily Advertiser*, one of the "respectable sixpennys," said that "Sir John had added a stock of knowledge to the present age that will immortalize his name and place it high on the page of science." The Albany *Daily Advertiser* read "with unspeakable emotions of pleasure and astonishment an article from the last Edinburgh *Philosophical Journal* containing an account of the recent discoveries of Sir John Herschel at the Cape of Good Hope." Some of the grave religious journals made the great discovery a subject for pointed homilies on the "wonders of God's works more and more revealed to man."

Scientific men were equally deceived at first. On the morning of the appearance of the article in the *Sun* the late Professor J. J. Mapes had occasion to start for Washington on business. He believed the story, took a copy with him, and handed it to Professor Jones, of the Georgetown College. The learned professor read it with most absorbing interest, with a profound belief in its truth, until he came to some statements about the telescope, which presented an impossibility in science, when he dropped the paper and said, with tears starting from his eyes, "Oh, Professor Mapes, it's all a hoax! it's all a hoax!"

It is said that M. Arago, the great French savant, proposed in the French Institute the sending of a deputation to the Cape of Good Hope to confer with Herschel, and other scientific bodies in Europe were deeply stirred by the idea of the "marvellous discovery."

But it was not even a "nine days' wonder." In a few days the story was discovered to be a pure fiction. Locke had discerned the readiness of belief in theories put forth by men like Dr. Dick and others, who framed them to suit their own religious speculations, and he readily engaged in preparing the "Moon Hoax," as it is known in the realm of literature, for the purpose of testing the extent of public credulity. It was a successful experiment, but the editors of journals and scientific men who had readily swallowed the bait never forgave Locke for this cruel infliction. They were the butt of universal merriment for a long time.

The secret history of the "Moon Hoax" is this: Mr. Moses Y. Beach had recently become sole proprietor of the *Sun*, and Richard Adams Locke was the editor. It was desirable to have some new and startling features to increase its popularity, and Locke, for a consideration, proposed to prepare for it a work of fiction. To this proposal Mr. Beach agreed. Locke consulted Lewis Gaylord Clark, the editor

of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, as to the subject. The *Edinburgh Scientific Journal* was then busied with Herschel's astronomical explorations at the Cape of Good Hope, and Clark proposed to make these the basis of the story. It was done. Clark was the real inventor of the incidents, the imaginative part, while to Locke was intrusted the ingenious task of unfolding the discoveries. Messrs. Beach, Clark, and Locke were in daily consultation while the hoax was in preparation. It was thus a joint product.*

Taking advantage of the public excitement caused by the publication of the Moon Hoax, Mr. Harrington, then exhibiting "moving dioramas" in New York, produced one which exhibited scenes in the lunar sphere as described by Locke. It was painted by John Evers, the

* Moses Yale Beach, one of the most enterprising men in the business of journalism in New York forty years ago, was a native of Wallingford, Connecticut, where he was born on January 1, 1800. He was a descendant of one of the first settlers of Stratford, Conn., of that name. On his maternal side he was a descendant of a member of the family of the founder of Yale College. He was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker at Hartford. Energetic and ambitious, he purchased the remainder of the term of his indentures when he was eighteen years of age, and entered the business world on his own account at Northampton, Mass. There, with a partner, he opened a cabinet-making establishment, and soon afterward received the first premium of the Franklin Institute for the best cabinet-ware on exhibition.

Mr. Beach married Nancy Day, a sister of the founder of the *Sun* newspaper, and in 1821 established himself in business in Springfield, Mass. Possessed of genius for invention, several projects claimed his attention. A favorite one was aerial navigation. One of his daily associates was Thomas Blanchard, inventor of the stern-wheel steamboat and the lathe for turning irregular forms, such as lasts, gun-stocks, etc. The two neighbors were so intimate that Mr. Beach's friends regarded them as joint inventors of the stern-wheel.

Mr. Beach was also intimate with the paper-makers in his neighborhood, and he devised the simple machine now in universal use to obviate the necessity of a large amount of hand labor in cutting the rags. This led to his obtaining an interest in a paper-mill at Saugerties, on the Hudson, and to that place he removed with his family in 1827.

In 1835 Mr. Beach purchased an interest in the *Sun* newspaper, and finally he became the sole proprietor of it. His management of the business from the beginning was marked by great enterprise in the adoption of new methods for obtaining the earliest intelligence of current events for his paper. On special occasions he established daily expresses. For example: During the trial at Utica of Alexander McLeod, a British subject, for complicity in the burning of the steamboat *Caroline* in the Niagara River, an express was run between that city and the *Sun* office in New York. Another was run from Halifax to New York, carrying European news brought by the Cunard steamships, then the only regular line of vessels carrying the mails between Europe and America. Frequently expresses were run from Boston and from Albany to New York at the expense of Mr. Beach. Those from Boston were usually confided to Alvin Adams and his associates. In this service Mr. Dinsmore, the (present) president of the Adams Express Company, distinguished himself by celerity of movement with a single horse between Springfield and Hartford, in forwarding Mr. Beach's news budget.

scene-painter at the Park Theatre, who is still living (1883), one of the three survivors of the founders of the National Academy of the Arts of Design. It was very popular for a while. The Hoax gave the *Sun* a great business impetus.

This was the era of the advent of two mighty powers which have played a most important part in the growth, prosperity, and marvellous expansion in the wealth and population of the city of New York. These were railways and ocean steam navigation.

At the beginning of this decade, steamboats, which had been in operation only about twenty years, were comparatively few in number; and the first charter given to a railway company in the United States was granted by the Legislature of New York to the Mohawk

To-day, on the roof of the *Commercial Advertiser* (the old *Sun*) building, corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, may be seen a structure erected by Mr. Beach as the abode of numerous carrier-pigeons, the services of which were often used in the swift transmission of news to the *Sun* from many directions. Sometimes a pigeon was set free on the deck of a just-arrived steamship from Liverpool in Boston harbor, with European news wrapped about its legs; others would come from political nominating conventions, from race-courses, and from other public gatherings, with news of the results. But with the advent of the electro-magnetic telegraph these enterprises were superseded: Mr. Beach found his "occupation gone."

When the war with Mexico was agitating the country the telegraph wires were not extended farther southward than Richmond, Va. The "fast mail" then occupied seven days and nights in the transit between New Orleans and New York. It was the quickest method for communication between the two cities, and consequently from the seat of war. Mr. Beach was satisfied that the time might be much shortened by running an express somewhere. He sent his son to investigate the matter, and it was found that the route between the cities of Mobile and Montgomery, Alabama, which occupied the "fast mail" *thirty-six* hours, might be traversed in *twelve* hours by a horse and his rider. Mr. Beach established an express with this result, and it was continued several months. He asked his fellow-publishers to join in the expense of this important enterprise. They did so, and this was the origin of the alliance of the leading newspapers of the country known as the "Associated Press."

It is an interesting fact not generally known that Mr. Beach was instrumental in obtaining the basis of the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico at Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848. Impressed with the disastrous effects of war upon any country, he conceived a project of ending this one through the indirect intervention of the Roman Catholic clergy. His acquaintance with Bishop Hughes and with President Polk and his cabinet opened the door for proceedings in that direction. With simple letters of introduction and commendation he went to Mexico, obtained important interviews, and secured the points of agreement on which peace was afterward ratified.

While in Mexico Mr. Beach felt the first symptoms of the disease (paralysis) which finally terminated his life. After struggling against it for some time he retired from business late in 1849, and took up his residence among his native hills, where he lived quietly twenty years longer, dying January 19, 1868.

Mr. Beach was a warm friend of popular education, and in all matters of public need he was ever an active worker.

and Hudson Railroad Company in 1825. This railroad, which extended from Albany on the Hudson to Schenectady on the Mohawk River, a distance of about sixteen miles, was completed in the summer of 1831. It was opened for passenger traffic on the 9th of August. The first passenger train went over the road from Albany to Schenectady and back on that day, carrying twelve citizens of Albany. One of these was the late Thurlow Weed, who was the representative of the press. On the crown of each of the two steep slopes leading to the Hudson and the Mohawk there was a stationary engine to place the train on the summit of the high plateau, an extensive pine-barren. The cars were ordinary stage-coach bodies on four-wheeled trucks, and were drawn by a very small engine constructed by the Kembles at the West Point foundry, Cold Spring, and named *De Witt Clinton*. The cars were connected by a three-link chain. There were seats on the tops of the coaches, where the passengers screened themselves with umbrellas from flying sparks from the locomotive, that was fed with pine wood. These umbrellas were sometimes made skeletons by fire when the end of a journey was reached. Passengers frequently had holes burned in their clothes. Such was the beginning of the magnificent railway system which now radiates from New York City and transports annually to and from the metropolis merchandise valued at billions of dollars, as well as millions of human beings. This is the marvellous growth of that single promoter of business in the city of New York within the space of fifty years.

The first instance of ocean steam navigation originated in the harbor of New York. In the year 1808 the steamboat *Phœnix*, built at Hoboken, opposite New York, by John C. Stevens, was sent round to the Delaware River. She had been intended for navigating the Hudson River, but Livingston and Fulton had procured an act from the Legislature giving them a monopoly of navigation by steam on that stream.

This bold experiment was followed by one still bolder in 1819. In that year the steamship *Savannah*, built in New York by Fitchett & Crocket for Daniel Dodd, of Savannah, Georgia, crossed the Atlantic Ocean from that port to Liverpool, and after tarrying there some days¹ went on to the Baltic Sea and reached St. Petersburg, her destination. Her whole sailing time from Savannah to St. Petersburg was only twenty-six days. Her commander was Captain Moses Rogers.

The *Savannah* was a vessel of three hundred and fifty tons burden, and her engine, constructed by Stephen Vail and Daniel Dodd, of Morristown, N. J., was ninety-horse power. She carried only seventy-

five tons of coal (the amount consumed each day by one of our large ocean steamers now) and twenty-five cords of wood. She was also furnished with sails.

On the arrival of the *Savannah* in the Mersey she attracted much attention. Compelled to lie outside the bar until the tide should serve, hundreds of people went off in boats to see her.

“ During this time she had all her colors flying,” narrates the captain’s log-book, “ when a boat from a British man-of-war came alongside and hailed. The sailing-master was on deck at the time. The officer of the boat asked him :

“ ‘ Where is your master ? ’

“ ‘ I have no master,’ was the laconic reply.

“ ‘ Where’s your *captain*, then ? ’

“ ‘ He’s below. Do you want to see him ? ’

“ ‘ I do, sir.’

“ The captain, who was then below, on being called, asked what he wanted, to which the officer answered :

“ ‘ Why do you wear that pennant, sir ? ’

“ ‘ Because my country allows me to, sir.’

“ ‘ My commander thinks it was done to insult him, and if you don’t take it down he will send a force that will do it.’

“ Captain Rogers then exclaimed to the engineer :

“ ‘ Get the hot-water engine ready ! ’

“ Although there was no such machine on board the vessel, the order had the desired effect, and John Bull was glad to paddle off as fast as possible.” *

As the *Savannah* entered the harbor, the shipping, piers, and roofs of houses were thronged with wondering spectators, and naval officers, noblemen, and merchants visited her, and were very curious to ascertain her speed, destination, and other particulars.

The *Savannah* remained at Liverpool twenty-five days, and became an object of suspicion. The journals suggested that she might “ in some manner be connected with the ambitious views of the United States.” It was known that Jerome Bonaparte, of Baltimore, had offered a large reward to any one who should succeed in releasing his brother Napoleon from St. Helena, and some surmised that the *Savannah* had this undertaking in view.

Sailing from Liverpool late in July, the *Savannah* touched at Copen-

* “ The Log-Book of the *Savannah*,” by Dr. H. C. Bolton, in *Harper’s Magazine*, vol. liv. p. 345.

lagen and at Stockholm, where she excited great curiosity. At the latter place she was visited by the royal family, and on the invitation of Christopher Hughes, the American minister at Stockholm, she made an excursion among the neighboring islands. Arriving at St. Petersburg early in September, she remained there a month and then "set sail on her homeward voyage with about eighty sail of shipping."

This achievement of the *Savannah*, a New York built vessel, seems to have been forgotten when, nearly twenty years afterward, on the arrival in New York harbor of the steamships *Sirius* and *Great Western*, the New York *Express* said that it produced "unusual joy and excitement in the city, it being almost universally considered as a new era in the history of Atlantic navigation."

It seems to have been forgotten then—indeed it is hardly known now—that New York is entitled to the credit of a pioneer in ocean steam navigation. Nevertheless it is so. In the year 1821 or 1822 the eminent shipbuilder, Henry Eckford, completed a steamship (which was also fitted for sails) for David Dunham, an old and prominent auctioneer, which was named *Robert Fulton*. She was fitted out for carrying on freight and passenger business between New York, New Orleans, and Havana. After making a number of successful voyages on that route she was sold to the Brazilian Government on account of the pecuniary embarrassments of her owner. Mr. Dunham afterward lost his life by being knocked overboard from a sloop while on a passage between Albany and New York. The *Fulton* was converted into a war-vessel, carrying sixteen guns, and was the fastest sailer in the Brazilian navy.

The beginning of regular ocean steam navigation between Europe and America was postponed until 1838. The unwisdom of the American Government and the jealousy of the British public of everything originating in America were the principal causes which effected this postponement. Even with the practical proof of the feasibility of ocean steam navigation offered by the *Savannah* in the harbor of Liverpool, England, the great philosopher, Dionysius Lardner, proved to his own satisfaction and to that of the average Englishman that it could not be done!

Enterprising and thoughtful Americans had for some time cherished a project for the establishment of lines of ocean steamships, and early in 1835 Nathaniel Cobb, of the old Black Ball line of sailing packets, proposed a line of steamships to run between New York and Liverpool, and application was made to the Legislature of the State of New York for an act of incorporation. But nothing came of it. Almost simulta-

neously enterprising citizens of Bristol, England, with others, projected a line of ocean steamships between that port and New York, and in the spring of 1838 the *Sirius* sailed from that port for New York—the port in western England out of which sailed Sebastian Cabot three hundred and forty years before, on the voyage during which he discovered the continent of North America. The *London Times*, which had spoken disparagingly of the project, said, a few days before the *Sirius* sailed :

“There is really no mistake in the long-talked-of project of navigating the Atlantic by steam. There is no doubt of an intention to make the attempt, and to give the experiment, as such, a fair trial. The *Sirius* is absolutely getting under weigh for America.”

Meanwhile an association had been formed in London called the British and American Steamship Company. They built the *Great Western*, which was launched on the 19th of July, 1837. She sailed for New York early in April, and on a beautiful morning (the 23d) of that month the *Great Western* and the *Sirius* both entered the harbor of New York. The *Sirius* arrived very early in the morning, the *Great Western* a few hours later. Their arrival created intense excitement, not only in the city but throughout the country. The New York newspapers were full of glowing notices of the event. One of them said : “Myriads of persons crowded the Battery to have a glance at the first steam vessel which has crossed the Atlantic from the British Isles and arrived safely in port.”

Such was the beginning of permanent ocean steam navigation. The voyage had been made by the *Great Western* in eighteen days. Other vessels soon followed. In less than twenty years there were fifteen lines of steamships running between Europe and America, numbering forty-six ships in all, of which thirty-seven ran out of New York, making the trips each way on an average of from nine to twelve days. At that time fully half a million of passengers had been carried across the Atlantic in steamships, of whom only twelve hundred had been lost.

The most successful of the lines then, as now, was that established by Samuel Cunard in 1840, to run between Liverpool and Boston and New York. The first Cunard steamship (the *Britannic*) arrived in Boston on July 18, 1840. In the year ending June 30, 1882, 4027 ocean steam vessels entered the ports of the United States, having an aggregate tonnage of 8,520,027. Of these vessels 1903, with a tonnage of 5,099,185, entered the port of New York.

CHAPTER XX.

THE beginning of permanent ocean steam navigation was the dawning of a new era in journalism in New York—namely, the employment of regular foreign correspondents. This had been done to some extent before, but only in a limited and desultory manner. Robert Walsh had written letters for the *National Gazette* from Europe, Nathaniel Carter for the *Statesman*, N. P. Willis for the New York *Mirror*, James Brooks (who established the New York *Express* newspaper in 1836) for the Portland *Advertiser*, in which he gave sketches and incidents of travel of a young American on foot in Europe; the late R. Shelton Mackenzie (long connected with the Philadelphia *Press*) with gossipy letters from London for Noah's *Evening Star* and *Sunday Times*; but no organized European correspondence like that of the leading journals of to-day was then known.

This new feature in journalism was introduced in 1838 by Mr. Bennett, of the New York *Herald*. He took passage in the *Sirius*, on her return trip in May, to make extensive arrangements for correspondence with the principal political and commercial centres of Europe. These, and indeed Europe itself, were not then known in detail in America.

With the advent of the ocean steamers came also a change, as we have observed, in the methods of obtaining news for the morning journals of New York. News-schooners, that put out to sea to meet incoming ships, were now made obsolete. These were superseded by swift row-boats and light sail-boats. These would meet the steamship below Quarantine, and while the inspection of the health officer was going on they would hurry up to the city with the news, and have it published before the passengers arrived. On these occasions the excitement among the aquatic news-gatherers was intense.

About the middle of this decade an abnormal expansion of the credit system occurred, which speedily bore its legitimate fruit. In 1833 President Jackson began a deadly warfare against the United States Bank, because he knew it to be a moneyed institution of great power, socially and politically, and therefore possibly dangerous to the perma-

ment prosperity of the country. In his annual message to Congress in December, 1832, he recommended that body to authorize the removal from that institution of the government moneys deposited in it, and to sell the stock of the bank owned by the United States ; in a word, to decree an absolute divorce of the government from the Bank. Congress refused to do so. After the adjournment of that body the President took the responsibility of ordering Mr. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to withdraw the public funds from the bank, then amounting to about \$10,000,000, and deposit them in certain State banks. The Secretary refused to do so, and he was dismissed from office. He was succeeded by Roger B. Taney, who was afterward chief-justice of the United States. He was then attorney-general. Taney was ordered to remove the deposits, and he obeyed his superior.

The process of removal began in October, 1833, and the task was completed in the space of nine months. This act produced great excitement all over the country, and much commercial distress. The loans of the bank were over \$60,000,000 when the work of removal began. So intricate were the financial relations of the institution with the business of the country, that when the funds of the bank were thus paralyzed all commercial operations felt a deadly shock. This fact confirmed the President in his suspicions and opinions of the dangerous character of the institution, and he persistently refused to listen favorably to all prayers for a modification of his measures, or for relief, made by numerous deputations of manufacturers, mechanics, and merchants who waited upon him. He said to all of them, in substance : "The government can give no relief or provide a remedy ; the banks are the occasion of the evils which exist, and those who have suffered by trading largely on borrowed capital ought to break ; you have no one to blame but yourselves."

The State banks in which the government funds had been deposited came to the relief of the business community. That relief was spasmodic, and resulted in more serious commercial embarrassments. They loaned the money freely ; the panic subsided ; confidence was gradually restored, and there was an appearance of general prosperity. Speculation was stimulated by the freedom with which the State banks loaned the public funds, and the credit system was enormously expanded. It was upon this insecure basis that New York merchants largely resumed active business after the great fire in December, 1835. Trade was brisk ; the shipping interest was prosperous ; prices ruled high ; luxury abounded, and nobody seemed to perceive the dangerous

undercurrent that was surely wasting the foundations of the absurd credit system and the real prosperity of the city and nation.

Suddenly the Ithuriel spear of Necessity pierced the great bubble. A failure of the grain crop of England caused a large demand for coin to pay for food products abroad. The Bank of England, seeing exchanges running higher and higher against that country, contracted its loans and admonished houses who were giving long and extensive credits to the Americans by the use of money loaned from the bank, to curtail that hazardous business.

It was about that time that the famous Specie Circular was issued from the Treasury Department of the United States Government. It was put forth in July, 1836. It directed all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but coin. Thus it was that from the parlor of the Bank of England and from the Treasury of the United States went out almost simultaneously the significant fiat, "Pay up!" American houses in London failed for many millions of dollars, and in 1837 every bank in the United States suspended specie payments, but resumed again within two years afterward. The United States Bank had been rechartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania; it soon fell into hopeless ruin, and with it went a very large number of the State banks of the country. A general bankrupt law passed in 1841 relieved of debt about forty thousand persons, whose liabilities amounted in the aggregate to almost \$441,000,000.

The city of New York suffered severely from the terrible business revulsion of 1836-37. Martin Van Buren succeeded Jackson as President in March, 1837. During the two months succeeding his inauguration there were mercantile failures in the city of New York to the amount of more than \$100,000,000. The panic there was fearful. Two hundred and fifty mercantile houses had been compelled to succumb in the month of April. Every business man and every moneyed institution seemed to be standing on an insecure foundation. At this crisis a deputation from the merchants and bankers of New York waited on the President and petitioned him to defer the collection of duties on imported goods, suspend the operations of the Specie Circular, and call an extraordinary session of Congress. Their prayer was rejected. When this fact became known all the banks in New York City suspended specie payment. That event occurred on the 10th of May. This act embarrassed the government, for it could not get coin wherewith to discharge its own obligations. In this dilemma the President was induced to call an extraordinary session of Congress, which met in September. It did very little toward adopting measure:



of relief except to authorize the issue of treasury notes to an amount not exceeding \$10,000,000.

The banks had resolved to resume specie payments within one year. On the day of the suspension there was a large meeting of business men at the Exchange, when James G. King, the junior partner of the banking-house of Prime, Ward & King, addressed them, and offered resolutions to the effect that the paper currency should be recognized as money and pass as usual among business men until the banks should find it practicable to resume specie payments. These resolutions were seconded by Mr. Prime, the senior of that banking-house, and they were adopted by unanimous vote. This measure produced a feeling of relief, and the panic gradually subsided.

In October Mr. King went to London to confer with the officers of the Bank of England. To these gentlemen he made the startling proposition that the bank and the great capitalists should cease embarrassing American merchants by discounting paper connected with the American trade, and send over to New York at once a large amount of coin. The officers of the bank hesitated. Such a transaction would be wholly foreign to the business policy of the institution. But they finally consented to send several million dollars in coin, on the sole responsibility of the house of Prime, Ward & King and the guaranty of Baring Brothers, of Liverpool. The first consignment of \$5,000,000 was forwarded in March, 1835. This coin was sold on easy terms to the banks, and confidence being revived, business resumed its usual activity. Another large meeting of merchants and others had been held, which pledged the business community to stand by the banks.

During the winter of 1836-37 there were abundant signs of distress and discontent among the so-called laboring classes. The cereal crops of the preceding season throughout the country did not amount to much more than half the usual yield, and flour during that winter, which was one of unusual severity, was from \$12 to \$15 a barrel.

The poor suffered much. The demagogues of the political factions improved the occasion to inflame the popular mind, one party trying to increase their following by impressing the sufferers with the idea that the rich were oppressing the poor; that the high price of food was owing to the greed of wealthy monopolists. At a meeting held in the Broadway Tabernacle to consider and act upon the causes of the high and increasing prices, such views were set forth by some of the speakers, though these harangues were not absolutely incendiary in substance. Nothing of importance was done. Resolutions were adopted, but nothing practical was offered.

There was another class of men at that time who attempted to make capital for the cause in which they were laboring. These were the radical temperance advocates. With profound ignorance, apparently, of the fact that there had been a failure of the cereal crops, they endeavored to impress the public mind with a belief that the distillers were making grain scarce by converting the rye crop into whiskey!

The popular discontent reached a crisis in February, 1837. On the 10th of that month a notice was published in some of the city newspapers, and in placards of large letters and conspicuously posted throughout the city, of a meeting to be held in the Park on the afternoon of February 13th. The following is a copy of the notice:

“BREAD, MEAT, RENT, FUEL!!

“THEIR PRICES MUST COME DOWN!

“☞ *The voice of the People will be heard, and must prevail.*

“☞ The People will meet in the Park, *rain or shine*, at 4 o'clock Monday afternoon, ☞

“To inquire into the cause of the present unexampled distress, and to devise a suitable remedy. All friends of humanity, determined to resist monopolists and extortionists, are invited to attend.

“MOSES JACQUES,	DANIEL GORHAM,
PAULUS HEDDLE,	JOHN WINDT,
DANIEL A. ROBERTSON,	ALEXANDER MING, JR.,
WARDEN HAYWARD,	ELIJAH F. CRANE.

“*New York, Feb. 10, 1837.*”

Obedient to this significant call, fully six thousand persons assembled in front of the City Hall at the appointed hour. It was a cold and bleak winter day. The great mass of human beings presented representatives of almost every class and nationality in the city—very largely of the classes which are readily converted into a mob when their passions are excited. Moses Jacques was chosen chairman. They did not lack appeals to their passions on this occasion, for the multitude were soon gathered in different groups listening to numerous speakers, the most distinguished of whom was Alexander Ming, Jr., a well-known and active politician of the Loco-Foco school in New York City for several years.

The burden of each orator's discourse consisted chiefly of denunciation of the rich, especially of landlords and the holders of large quantities of provisions, particularly of flour.

The popular indignation was chiefly directed against the firm of Eli Hart & Co., extensive commission merchants, whose store was a large brick building on Washington Street, between Dey and Cortlandt streets. It had three wide and strong iron doors upon the street. This store was full of flour and wheat, and knots of men were seen to stop opposite and gaze at it with furtive glances, and sometimes uttering angry words. Sometimes men would be heard muttering curses as they passed. The friends of Mr. Hart tried to persuade him to take precautionary measures for protection, but he could not listen to them with patience. He saw these signs of a gathering storm, but believed, or professed to believe, they indicated nothing very serious, and he and his partners remained tranquil while their friends were alarmed.

One day an anonymous letter addressed to a well-known citizen was picked up in the Park, in which the writer said a conspiracy was matured for sacking the store of Hart & Co. on some dark night. The plan, he said, was to start two alarms of fire simultaneously, one at the Battery and the other in Bleeker Street, and while the watchmen and firemen would be attracted to these distant points, a large body of men with sledges and crowbars would rush upon the store, break in the doors, and rifle it before the guardians of the peace could arrive. This letter was handed to the famous high constable, Jacob Hays, who showed it to Hart & Co.; but they regarded it as an attempt to frighten them.

The gathering in the Park on the 10th of February was not an anonymous warning. It was an ominous notice of danger, not only to Hart & Co., but to the peace of the city. Mr. Hart attended the meeting. The utterances of the several speakers on that occasion were inflammatory in the extreme, excepting that of Ming, who was then a candidate for the office of city register. He seemed to think it was a rare chance to win votes, and he devoted his soul and body on that occasion to the subject of the currency. He was a radical hard-money Democrat—Loco-Foco pure and spotless. He harangued the illiterate and half-brutish mob before him on the evils produced by paper currency. Indeed it was recognized as the chief cause of all the distress that was prevailing among his hearers. With grim satire he advised the shivering *sans-culottes* to refuse any paper dollar that might be offered them, and to receive nothing but gold and silver, well knowing the hopelessness of a large part of his audience receiving the offer of a dollar of any kind. The motley multitude were so charmed with his disquisition on the currency that they seemed to forget all about "Bread, meat, rent, and fuel," which they had been called together to

consider, and when he offered a resolution proposing a memorial to the Legislature to forbid any bank issuing a note for any sum under \$100, it was carried by a wild shout of affirmation that shook the windows of the City Hall. To show their appreciation of Mmg's logic, the "sovereign people" whom he had eulogized seized the orator, hoisted him upon their shoulders, and bore him in triumph across the wide way to Tammany Hall, where they were undoubtedly rewarded with the enjoyment of spirituous blessings poured out in abundance.

The speeches of others were more to the point at issue. One of them, who had worked up the feelings of his hearers to the highest pitch, exclaimed :

"Fellow-citizens, Eli Hart & Co. have now fifty-three thousand barrels of flour in their store ; let us go and offer them \$8 a barrel for it, and if they do not accept it—"

Here some more judicious or more cautious person, seeing the mayor and many policemen near, touched the speaker on the shoulder, and whispered in his ear. He at once concluded his harangue, saying, in a lower tone of voice, "If they will not accept it—we will depart in peace."

The hint he had given produced the desired effect. The great crowd at once began to dissolve, when those who had heard the speech alluded to started off in a body in the direction of the store of Eli Hart & Co. They rushed down Broadway to Dey Street, increasing in number and excitement every moment, so that when they reached Washington Street they had become a roaring mob.

Hearing the tumult of the on-coming multitude, the clerks in the store hastened to close and bar the doors and windows. But the van of the mob was upon them before they could sufficiently secure one of the heavy iron front doors, and the mob rushed in and began rolling barrels of flour into the street and staving in the heads. When they had thus destroyed about thirty barrels, some police officers arrived and drove out the plunderers.

Mr. Hart, who was at the meeting, as has been observed, when he saw the crowd rushing in the direction of his store, hastily gathered some policemen and started for his menaced castle. In Dey Street the mob fiercely attacked the guardians of the law and disarmed them of their clubs. The policemen, however, made their way into Washington Street before the great mass of the rioters had arrived there, and entered the besieged store and drove out the marauders.

Mayor Lawrence, informed of the mob at Hart & Co.'s store, hastened to the scene. He mounted a flight of steps opposite and

began to remonstrate with the rioters on the crime and folly and the consequences of their acts. His words were in vain. Every moment the numbers of the mob increased by accessions from the dissolving crowd in the Park, and the mayor was answered by a shower of missiles—bricks, stones, sticks, and pieces of ice—so copious that he was compelled to retire to a place of safety. The mob was now unrestrained by law or reason. They made a rush for one of the ponderous iron doors, which was speedily wrenched from its hinges. Using it as a battering power, they soon beat down the other doors, when the rioters rushed in in great numbers. The clerks fled, and violence reigned supreme. The doors in the upper lofts were torn down, the windows were broken in, and when hundreds of barrels of flour had been rolled into the street from the lower floor and destroyed, they were hoisted upon the window-sills above and dashed to pieces on the ground. Sack after sack of wheat was also destroyed. At one of the windows a half-grown boy was seen, exclaiming, as each barrel was tumbled into the street, "Here goes flour at eight dollars a barrel!" For this crime he suffered several years' hard labor in the State Prison at Sing Sing.

A larger portion of the mob were of foreign birth, yet there were hundreds of spectators who were native-born citizens that gave the rioters encouragement and aid. When the disturbance was at its height, at twilight, there was observed a strange feature in the scene. Scores of women were perceived, many of them bareheaded and in tattered garments, rushing here and there with eager zeal, like camp-followers after a battle, to secure a share of the plunder so prodigally presented to them. They appeared with boxes, pails, sacks, baskets, and everything that would carry flour, and with their aprons full of the same bore away large quantities to their squalid homes. It was the only bright picture in the terrible scene—these mothers gathering food for their starving children, notwithstanding it had been furnished them by the hand of violence.

When night had fairly set in, the rioters, who were yet in full force, were suddenly alarmed and scattered by the appearance of the National Guard, under Colonel Morgan L. Smith, and other military forces which the mayor had summoned to the aid of the police. Their services, however, were needed only as a restraining power. The mob quickly dispersed on their appearance, after having destroyed all the books and papers in Hart & Co.'s counting-room. The police, so sustained, arrested a number of the rioters and took them to the Bridewell, in the Park, but were assailed on the way by some of the mob. The

chief of police had his coat torn off by the mob, who rescued several of the prisoners. The store was closed, and order again reigned in that neighborhood.

As the cowardly mob at Hart & Co.'s store were about to fly, some one cried out "Meech's!" when a body of the rioters rushed across the town to assail the large flour establishment of Meech & Co., at Coenties Slip. On the way they began an attack upon the flour store of S. H. Hernek & Co. They had broken in the windows with missiles, forced open the doors, and had rolled about thirty barrels of flour into the street and destroyed it, when a body of police and a large number of citizens who had volunteered their services dispersed the rioters and arrested some of the mob. The ringleaders, as usual, taking precious care of their own persons, escaped.

About one thousand bushels of wheat and six hundred barrels of flour were wantonly destroyed by this senseless mob. The scarcity of flour was, of course, made scarcer by this destruction, and the distress of the poor was thus aggravated. The stock of flour being thus reduced, the price naturally advanced, and fifty cents a barrel more was asked than before the riot. Hart & Co. estimated the value of their property destroyed by the mob at \$10,000, which, of course, the city was compelled to pay them.

About forty of the rioters were captured, afterward indicted, and sent to the State Prison at Sing Sing, but not one of the ringleaders was punished. It is said that so strong was the influence of politicians brought to bear upon the ministers of the law that not one of the persons who signed the significant call for the meeting in the Park, or of the several orators who incited the mob, was arrested!

Another meeting of citizens was held in the Park on the 6th of March following. Apprehending a repetition of the disturbances in February, the city authorities directed some of the city military to be in readiness to suppress any outbreak. The National Guard were under arms during the afternoon, but the meeting in the Park passing off quietly their services were not needed.

This was the last exciting scene in the way of real and anticipated disturbances of the public peace which had made the administration of Mayor Lawrence a troublous one, beginning with the Abolition Riot in July, 1835, and ending with the Flour Riot in 1837. A few weeks after the latter event he was succeeded in office by Aaron Clarke.

In May following the National Guard was again called out for the suppression of a possible riot. On the 9th of that month the banks of the city resolved to suspend specie payments. For some weeks the air

had been filled with flying rumors of a conspiracy brewing for a concerted attack upon the banks for the purpose of robbing them. How far the incendiary harangues of political demagogues at meetings had incited hostility to the moneyed institutions of the city nobody knew. Precautionary measures were thought necessary, for the public announcement of the suspension of specie payments by the banks in the newspapers the next morning might produce an exasperation among the ignorant classes which might lead to deeds of violence. So the National Guard were requested to assemble in the Park at seven o'clock on the morning of the 10th.

The announcement of the action of the banks did produce much excitement. Ignorant or timid depositors rushed to these institutions to withdraw their funds. At ten o'clock Wall Street was thronged with an excited multitude, but there were no symptoms of any violent or riotous spirit on the part of the populace. The National Guard had paraded in the Park at the appointed hour. The day wore away without any signs of impending disturbance. The crowds in Wall Street gradually dispersed, and the military retired to their homes.

The Twenty-seventh Regiment (National Guard) now felt that they were entitled to some special consideration at the hands of the city authorities on account of their frequently rendered services at the call of the mayor as conservators of the peace and order and for the security of property in the city. The Second Company, the feeblest in numbers, first moved in the matter. They thought the city ought to furnish the National Guard with drill-rooms, and so relieve the latter of considerable expense. Accordingly at a meeting of the company in August, 1837, a committee were appointed to petition the common council on the subject. They asked for a suitable hall. The petition was favorably received, and the apartments in the second story of Centre Market were assigned as drill-rooms. This furnished a precedent for the future, and to this movement of the Second Company is due the honor of providing for the use of the militia of New York City such elegant accommodations as they now enjoy. It was the initial step toward securing for the Seventh Regiment National Guard (the old Twenty-seventh) the magnificent armory situated on Fifth Avenue, the most expensive, luxurious, and elegant military quarters in the world.

The express business, now so extensive, profitable, and useful, had its origin in the city of New York in 1837. In that year James W. Hale, yet (1883) living, one of the most active men of his day, was conducting an admirable news-room—a sort of Lloyds for the shipping

interest of New York—in the old Tontine Coffee-House, at the corner of Wall and Water streets. Hale was a genial, talkative, sensible, and kind-hearted man, ready to help those who needed help, and was popular with everybody, especially all business men, who were attracted to his news-room in great numbers for general information about commerce, trade, stocks, etc. That was before the telegraph was known, and before railways were much used in conveying letters and newspapers.

Up to nearly that time the newspapers had to rely chiefly upon the old stages or post-riders for transportation, and the transmission of news from point to point was tardily performed in comparison with the swift passages made by them now. So late as 1834, when trains were run by steam on a railway between Charleston and Hamburg, on the Savannah River, the directors of the road advertised that the company then sent one train daily between these two points, one hundred and thirty-six miles, in twelve hours, and "that in the daytime." They added: "The daily papers of this city [Charleston] are sent by this conveyance, but merchants' letters, of the utmost importance to them in business, are not less than two days going; under contract." The government was slow in recognizing the importance of rapid transit in those days; and, though quite rapid communication between New York and Boston by steamboat and railway had been opened in 1835-36, business men lacked public facilities in transmitting letters and packages between the two cities. This want was soon supplied.

One pleasant morning early in the summer of 1837, a young man about twenty-five years of age entered the office of Mr. Hale in rather a dejected mood. He was a native of Massachusetts, was seeking employment, and had called on Mr. Hale for advice how to obtain work. It was a season of great depression in all kinds of business. The young man was rather delicate, even fragile in physical composition, yet he seemed to possess ambition and an energy of character that interested Mr. Hale. He inquired his name and his antecedents. His name was William F. Harnden, and his antecedents were satisfactory.

In the course of a few days, when young Harnden made his usual morning call and anxious inquiries, Hale suggested to him a new business, fitted, he supposed, to his physical strength. Nearly every day Hale was asked by bankers, brokers, and merchants if he knew of any one going to Boston from New York in whose hands they might intrust small packages. This want of a messenger was continually growing. The postage on letters was then very heavy, and packages, even small ones, could only be sent as freight—a slow process. Hale



James Renwick
Architect

thought the matter over carefully, and one morning when young Harnden came in with anxious looks, he said to the youth in his pleasant manner :

“ Harnden, I think I can put you in the way of employing yourself in business. If you will travel between New York and Boston on the steamboat, and do errands for business men in both places, charging a fair remuneration for your services, it will pay.”

“ I will try it,” said Harnden cheerily. “ How shall I get the business to do ?”

“ I’ll help you,” said Hale.

And so he did, most effectually. To all inquirers about carriers, he directed merchants, bankers, and brokers to young Harnden, who hung up a slate in Hale’s news-room for orders. In the course of a week he started on his new business, which, at the suggestion of his good friend and adviser, he called “ The Express,” the term used for the fastest railway trains, and which had been in use scores of years to designate the character of a special messenger.

Harnden started in his new business with a single carpet-bag. The older business men were at first slow to perceive the advantages they might derive from his services, and discouragement met him at the outset. His steamboat expenses for passage and meals were considerable, and at the end of two months his little store of money was exhausted, for his expenses had exceeded his receipts. He was about to abandon the enterprise when some friends procured for him free passage on the steamboat.

This “ subsidy” was the important point on which his fortune turned. His business became more and more popular and profitable, and it was not long before his single carpet-bag became too small for his rapidly increasing business. Two, three, and four bags were added to his means of transportation, and finally he bought and used a large hair-covered trunk, which bore on each end, in strong brass-headed nails, the words, “ HARNDEN’S EXPRESS.”

As the labor of the business increased, Harnden disposed of a part of his business to an assistant in Boston, and a small office was opened in both cities. Very soon they were enabled to employ a man as express messenger on both the morning and evening steamboats, to take charge of articles sent in hand-crates.

When poor overworked Harnden saw twenty dollars saved in one day, bright visions of a speedily won fortune stimulated his ambition to do more. He began to consider the advantages and profits of land routes, and very soon he established a line between Boston and Albany,

and met with success. The Cunard steamships gave him much business between Boston and New York, and he conceived a project for organizing a system of emigration. There was no established means to enable emigrants who had settled in the United States to remit money to their brood "at home," or prepay the passage of those who wished to come to America. Harnden attempted to supply this want. In the year 1841 he established a system of communication which he called "The English and Continental Express," with offices in Liverpool, London, and Paris, and branches in other parts of the continent and Great Britain. He also made arrangements for the cheap conveyance of emigrants from Liverpool in sailing vessels, and chartered a considerable fleet of Erie canal-boats to carry them and their effects to "the West," which then meant Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

At the end of about three years from the establishment of this emigration system, this small, fragile, energetic man had been instrumental in bringing to the United States more than one hundred thousand laborers, and so adding many millions of dollars to the national wealth. But he had impoverished himself, and was dying with consumption. In 1845 he died, comparatively a poor man, only thirty-three years of age. But his name is immortal as the founder of the great express business, in which his successors have accumulated immense fortunes.

When it was perceived that Harnden's express business was successful, Alvin Adams, a native of Windsor, Vermont, then a man between thirty-five and forty years of age, entered into the business. He had been engaged in business in Boston and St. Louis, and finally in 1840 he began an opposition to Harnden's Express between New York and Boston. For a long time he struggled against great discouragements. His pockets would almost hold the packages daily intrusted to his care, and a dollar carpet-bag was his chief vehicle for transportation for a long time. Harnden became so engrossed in his emigration scheme that he lost much of his express business, which Adams, with great sagacity, found and profited by. Prosperity followed. He first associated with himself in the business E. Farnsworth, and afterward William B. Dinsmore, who took charge of the New York office. In ten years the business had so increased that Adams & Co. paid \$1700 a month for a small space in a car of a fast railway train running between New York and New Haven, for the conveyance of money and small packages. Mr. Adams died in 1877, when Mr. Dinsmore became president of the company, and now (1883) occupies that position.

The Adams Express Company is a very wealthy corporation, and is

a leader in the express business in this country. In 1849 Mr. Adams established an overland express to California, to meet the wants of the great army of gold-seekers who had flocked into that region in search of the newly discovered precious metals there. In time he opened a banking-house in connection with the express business at all the principal points in that State, thus enabling miners and others to send home to the East their gold and letters. After that he started an express for Australia. It was unprofitable, and was soon abandoned.

The company rendered great assistance to the government during the late Civil War, quickly transporting war munitions to different exposed points. Their agents often received money from the soldiers when paid off in the field and on the eve of battle, and delivered it to their families or friends at home. These agents were always furnished with a competent escort, with three safes, to points of general distribution of their contents. As the national armies closed in upon the territories wherein insurrection and rebellion existed, these agents followed closely, and reopened their express offices in the Southern States.*

Meanwhile Livingston, Wells & Co.'s express had been established. They carried letters in opposition to the government. Wells had been Hamden's agent at Albany. He first extended the business to Buffalo, and thence westward. The first line extended beyond that city was that of Wells, Fargo & Dunning. In 1848 John Butterfield established an express, and was soon joined by Mr. Wasson. In 1850 the companies of Wells, Fargo & Dunning and Butterfield & Wasson were con-

* Alvin Adams was born at Windsor, Vermont, on June 16, 1804. His parents both died when he was about eight years of age, and Alvin lived with his oldest brother on the farm which was their patrimony until he was sixteen years of age. Then he began to desire a broader sight of the social world, and went to Woodstock, the capital of Windsor County. Here he engaged himself to the principal tavern-keeper in the town, who owned a line of stages that ran between that place and Concord, N. H. With this publican Alvin stayed about five years, and then went to Boston, where, after trying several employments, he started in business for himself as a produce commission merchant. In 1837 he discontinued that business, went to New York and thence to St. Louis, but soon returned from the latter place. In May, 1840, he started in the express business, as mentioned in the text, and was wonderfully successful. His chief characteristics were energy and a preference for things of magnitude. His moral character was unblemished, and his honor and probity were proverbial. Mr. Adams died at his home in Watertown, Mass., September 1, 1877, at the age of about seventy-three years. He married Miss Anne R. Bridge, of Boston, and left a widow, two sons, and a daughter.

In addition to his rich moral qualities, Mr. Adams was endowed with a genial disposition and a capacity of pleasing all with whom he became acquainted.

One of the earliest and most efficient pioneers in the express business was Edward S. Sanford, who died in 1882. He was for over forty years prominently identified with the management of the Adams Express Company.

solidated. By the union of the three companies above named the American Express Company was formed, which soon became a powerful rival of the Adams Express Company. These two associations are now the leading express companies in the world.

It was estimated at the time of the establishment of the American Express Company (about 1850) that the aggregate express agents travelled in the discharge of their duties 30,000 miles a day. In 1882 they travelled about 405,000 miles a day, over nearly 80,000 miles of road. The aggregate companies then employed about 22,000 men and over 4000 horses, and had fully 10,000 business offices. They employ in the business nearly \$30,000,000.

This is the product in less than fifty years of the small seed, "like a grain of mustard seed," planted in James W. Hale's news-room in Wall Street by William F. Harnden, in the form of a small carpet-bag and a capital of \$10. The city of New York, where the express business originated, has continued to be the focal point of the business. From it nearly or quite all the express lines radiate as from a common centre of impulse. There are eleven foreign expresses emanating from New York. There are also two domestic expresses in the city, that of Dodd (N. Y. Transfer Co.) and Westcott's Express Company. The value of the express system to the city is simply incalculable.

CHAPTER XXI.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the beginning of the express system, which so greatly increased the facilities for exchanges of every kind, appeared the dawn of the era of the electro-magnetic telegraph system, which has superseded and far outstripped the steamboat, the railway, and the express systems in the interchange of thought and the diffusion of knowledge throughout the civilized world.

Although for nearly forty years men have been so familiar with the *operations* of this mighty motor that it is commonplace to the common mind, yet to-day, to the apprehension of profound thinkers and skilled scientists, this invisible agent, in its essence and origin, is an undiscovered and apparently undiscoverable mystery which human ken may not fathom, nor of which human imagination may conceive a theory.

In our profound ignorance we may with reverence regard it as did Pope, who, in speaking of the universe, said of creation :

“ Whose body Nature is, and God the soul” ;

and then, with dim discernment of the truth, thus spoke of its manifestation to man :

“ Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze ;
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees ;
It lives through all life, extends through all extent ;
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.”

It was early in the year 1838 that Samuel Finley Breese Morse,* a

* Samuel Finley Breese Morse, LL.D., was a son of the Rev. Jedediah Morse, and was born in Charlestown, Mass., April 27, 1791. He graduated at Yale College in 1810, and went to England the next year, where he studied the art of painting under Benjamin West. On his return in 1815 he practised the art, chiefly in the line of portrait painting, in Boston, Charlestown, and New York. In the latter city he became the chief founder of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, in 1826. He went to Europe in 1829, and remained until 1832. While abroad he was elected professor of the literature of the arts of design in the new University of the City of New York. He had been a close student of chemical science, and had been interested in electrical experiments in France. While voyaging home in 1832 he conceived the idea of an electro-magnetic recording telegraph, which, as is seen in the text, he afterward perfected. This subject absorbed his attention largely during the remainder of his life. Yet from 1832 until about 1838 he was

portrait and historical painter of rare merit, and then professor of the literature of the arts of design in the University of the City of New York, first made a partially public exhibition of his invention of an electro-magnetic recording telegraph. He did not pretend to be the discoverer of electro-magnetism, nor the first inventor of an electro-magnetic machine with dynamic power. These had been known long before. So early as the middle of the last century Dr. Franklin had produced a mechanical effect at a distance of half a mile from his electrical machine, by means of a wire stretched along the bank of the Schuylkill; and other philosophers, from Franklin to Professors Henry and Wheatstone, had from time to time been approaching the solution of the great problem which Morse triumphantly solved—the problem of giving *intelligence* to the subtle power of electro-magnetism in its operations. Nay, more: the power of giving to it an audible language, as perfect and comprehensive to the skilful operator as the spoken English language.

While on a professional visit to Europe as an artist in 1832, Mr. Morse, who had enjoyed many conversations with his friend, Professor J. Freeman Dana, and heard his lectures on electro-magnetism at the

much engaged in the pursuit of his profession. He possessed the elements of a superior artist, and was rapidly gaining in popularity as an historical painter when his mind and efforts were directed to the consideration of the telegraph, which gave him terrestrial immortality, world-wide fame, and a competent fortune. The consequence is, his biographers have passed over his most interesting career as an artist with slight mention. His journals and note-books on art, in the possession of his family, denote his great devotion to his favorite pursuit, and reveal his character in its really most interesting aspect.

Monarchs of Europe testified their appreciation of Professor Morse's beneficent services in producing a recording telegraph by gifts of money and "orders." In many ways, at home and abroad, he was the recipient of honors from his countrymen. In 1856 a banquet was given him in London by British telegraph companies, and in 1858 he participated in a banquet given in his honor in Paris by about one hundred Americans, representing nearly every State in the Republic.

In 1868 a bronze statue of Professor Morse was erected in Central Park, New York, and paid for by the voluntary contributions of telegraph employes. It was unveiled by Bryant, the poet, in June, 1871, and that evening, at a public reception given him at the Academy of Music, Professor Morse, with one of the instruments first employed on the Baltimore and Washington line, sent a message of greeting to all the principal cities on the continent, and to several on the transatlantic hemisphere. His last public act was the unveiling of the statue of Franklin in Printing-House Square, New York, January 17, 1872. He died on the 2d of April following, at his home in New York.

Professor Morse was the originator of the idea of submarine telegraphy, as the narration in the text certifies. He lived to see it in successful operation. He also lived to see performed, what he had long believed to be a possibility—namely, the transmission of despatches over the same wire each way at the same moment. The philosophy of this feat is yet an unsolved riddle to electricians.

Athenæum, made it a special study to ascertain what scientific men abroad had discovered in that special field of investigation. He was familiar with the fable-prophecy of Strada, a Jesuit priest, in 1649, concerning an electric telegraph, and was very earnest in his pursuit of information. He was satisfied that no telegraph proper—no instrument for writing at a distance—had yet been invented.

Morse became much interested in a recent discovery in France of the means for obtaining an electric spark from a magnet, and in his home-ward-bound voyage in the ship *Sully*, from Havre, in the autumn of 1832, that discovery was the principal topic of conversation among his cultivated fellow-passengers. After much deep thought a sudden mental illumination enabled Mr. Morse to conceive not only the idea of an electro-magnetic and chemical recording telegraph, but the plan of an instrument for effecting such a result. Before the *Sully* reached New York he had made drawings and specifications of such an instrument, which he exhibited to his fellow-passengers.

Other occupations absorbed Mr. Morse's attention for two or three years afterward, and the grand idea was allowed to slumber in his mind. He was appointed to the professorship already mentioned, in the University of the City of New York. Finally he again turned his thoughts toward the production of a recording electro-magnetic telegraph, and in November, 1835, he had completed the rude instrument which his family preserve at their house near Poughkeepsie. It embodied the general mechanical principles of the machines now in use.

Pursuing his experiments, in July, 1837, Professor Morse was enabled, by means of two instruments, to communicate *from* as well as *to* distant points. Scores of persons saw the telegraph in operation at the university in the late summer and early autumn of 1837, and pitied the dreamer because he was foolishly wasting his time and high genius as an artist in playing with what seemed to be a useless scientific toy.

The great city—then containing a population of about three hundred thousand—full of intellectual, moral, and material activities of every kind; rapidly extending in commerce, manufactures, the mechanical arts, architectural beauty, wealth, and moral, religious, social, and benevolent institutions; in a word, endowed with everything which constitutes a prosperous and enlightened community—the great city did not dream of the effulgence which was about to overspread it, and make it conspicuous for all time, by a discovery unparalleled in importance in the history of civilization. And yet that effulgence at first seemed like a waxing aurora. It appeared dimly when, in response to invitations like the following, quite a large number of intelligent and

influential citizens assembled in Professor Morse's room in the university :

" Professor Morse requests the honor of Thomas S. Cummings, Esq., and family's company in the Geological Cabinet of the University, Washington Square, to witness the operation of the electro-magnetic telegraph, at a private exhibition of it to a few friends, previous to its leaving the city for Washington.

" The apparatus will be prepared at precisely twelve o'clock, on Wednesday, 24th instant. The time being limited, punctuality is specially requested.

" *New York University*, January 22, 1838."

A goodly company of believers, doubters, and critics were assembled. There stood the instrument, with copper wire coiled around the room attached to it. Professor Morse requested his visitors to give him brief messages for transmission. These were sent around the circuit and read by one who had no knowledge of the words that had been given to the operator. In compliment to Mr. Cummings, who was present, and who had recently been promoted to the military rank of general, one of the gentlemen present handed to Professor Morse the following message :

" ATTENTION THE UNIVERSE!
BY KINGDOMS, RIGHT WHEEL!"

This was distinctly written, letter by letter, in the newly invented telegraphic alphabet, on a strip of paper moved by clock-work. Astonishment filled the minds of the company, as they with grave ponderings witnessed the seeming miracle that had been wrought. The sentence was prophetic. It was a call to attention by the mundane universe to which it was about to speak, and has been speaking ever since. Five days afterward the *New York Journal of Commerce* contained the following sentence :

" THE TELEGRAPH.—We did not witness the operations of Professor Morse's electro-magnetic telegraph on Wednesday last, but we learn that the numerous company of scientific persons who were present pronounced it entirely successful. Intelligence was instantly transmitted through a circuit of *ten miles*, and legibly written on a cylinder at the extremity of the circuit."

Professor Morse now started for Washington to seek government aid in perfecting and testing his invention. He accepted an invitation to stop in Philadelphia and exhibit his discovery to the committee on the arts and sciences, of the Franklin Institute. Their verdict was highly commendatory, and on repeating this fact to his brother, the late Sidney E. Morse,* that gentleman responded in words that exhibited great prophetic prescience. He said :

* Sidney Edwards Morse was born in Charlestown, Mass., February 7, 1794. He graduated at Yale College in 1811 ; entered the famous law school at Litchfield, Conn., but

“Your invention, measuring it by the power which it will give man to accomplish his plans, is not only the greatest invention of the age, but the greatest invention of any age. I see, as an almost immediate effect, that the surface of the earth will be networked with wire, and every wire will be a nerve, conveying to every part intelligence of what is doing in every other part. The earth will become a huge animal with ten million hands, and in every hand a pen to record whatever the directing soul may dictate. No limit can be assigned to the value of the invention.”

Sidney E. Morse was then the editor and proprietor of the New York *Observer*, now (1883) the oldest weekly newspaper in the city of New York, having been published sixty consecutive years. It is ably edited by the Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., who has been connected with it as editor and proprietor since 1840.*

preferring literature to the legal profession, he established the Boston *Recorder*, the first so-called religious newspaper issued in America. That was in 1815, when he was twenty-one years of age. In 1823, in connection with his younger brother, Richard C., he founded the New York *Observer*, also a “religious newspaper,” which he, as senior editor, conducted with great ability and success until 1858, when he disposed of his interest in the paper. Like his brother the professor, Mr. Sidney Morse was possessed of an inventive genius. In connection with that brother he invented a fire-engine, in 1817. In 1820 he published a small geography for schools, and in 1839, in connection with another, he invented a process for producing maps and other outline pictures to be printed typographically. This process was first practically applied to the production of maps for a new edition of his geography, of which 100,000 copies were sold the first year. He called the process Cerography. Its product was a crude prototype of the plates of what is now known as the Moss photographic process. During the latter years of his life Mr. Morse devoted much time and study to an invention for making rapid deep-sea soundings. He died December 23, 1871.

* Samuel Irenæus Prime, D.D., is a leader of the conservative religious press of our country. He is of clerical ancestry. His great-grandfather, the Rev. Ebenezer Prime, was a graduate of Yale and a distinguished scholar and divine before the period of the Revolution. His grandfather, Dr. Benjamin Young Prime, was a graduate of Princeton College, and was an accomplished physician. He was a man of varied learning, writing both poetry and prose freely in Greek, Latin, French, and English. He wrote many popular songs and ballads during the Revolution. The father of S. Irenæus Prime was the Rev. Nathaniel S. Prime, D.D., who died in 1855. He, too, was a graduate of Princeton, and was distinguished for his scholarly attainments and fervid eloquence as a Presbyterian preacher.

The subject of this sketch was born at Ballston, N. Y., on November 4, 1812. While he was yet an infant his parents removed to Cambridge, Washington County, N. Y., and there his boyhood was spent. Bright and studious, he was fitted for college at the age of eleven years. But he was nearly fourteen years of age before he was permitted to enter Williams College. He was graduated with one of the highest honors of his class before he was seventeen years old. Studying theology at Princeton, he entered upon the duties of the Christian ministry before he was twenty-one years of age, at Ballston Spa, near his birthplace. He labored with great earnestness and zeal; and, overworked at the end of a year, he was compelled by failing health to leave the pulpit for a while.

Mr. Prime resumed clerical duties in Matteawan, Dutchess County, where for about three years he labored most earnestly and acceptably, when again his health gave way. It

Professor Morse exhibited his wonderful invention to government officials and members of Congress, but met with little encouragement ; so he filed a caveat in the Patent Office and went to Europe to seek

now became evident to him that his physical strength was not adequate to the sustention of continuous labor in the vineyard which he had chosen for his life-task, and he turned his attention to literature and the field of journalism. In 1840 he became assistant editor of the *New York Observer*. With only one slight interval, he has been editorially connected with the *Observer* until now, a period of forty-three years. That interval was in 1849 when he was appointed secretary of the American Bible Society. He soon found that the much public speaking which the duties of that office required was too much for him to endure, when he resigned and resumed his connection with the *Observer*.

In 1853 Dr. Prime tried the advantages of foreign travel, on account of frequent failing health, when his brother, the Rev. E. D. G. Prime, became associate editor of the *Observer*. He spent some time in Europe and extended his travels to Egypt and Palestine. During that time he enriched the columns of the *Observer* with a most valuable series of letters over the signature of "Irenæus," which were afterward published in book form. In 1858 Mr. Morse sold his interest in the *Observer* property to Mr. Prime, since which time the latter has been the chief editor and proprietor of this venerable but vigorous and progressive newspaper.

Dr. Prime has been all through life a most industrious laborer, especially in the field of literature, and a most earnest and faithful worker in various societies for the promotion of Christianity and good living. He is the author of more than forty volumes, many of them not bearing his name. They have been issued by excellent publishers—Harpers, Appletons, Randolph, and Carter. Among them, as most prominent, may be mentioned "The Old White Meeting-House, or Reminiscences of a Country Congregation," 1845 ; "Travels in Europe and the East," two volumes, 1855 ; "Letters from Switzerland," 1860 ; "The Alhambra and the Kremlin," 1873 ; "The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse," 1874 ; "Under the Trees," 1874 ; "Songs of the Soul" (selections), 1874 ; four volumes on "Prayer and its Answers."

Dr. Prime is as "busy as a bee" in social and religious work. He is president of the New York Association for the Advancement of Science and Art, vice-president and director of the American Tract Society, ex-corresponding secretary and director of the American Bible Society, vice president and director of the American and Foreign Christian Union, corresponding secretary of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, director of the American Colonization Society, director and member of the executive committee of the New York Society for the Prevention of Crime, member of the International Code Committee, trustee of Williams College, and ex-president and a trustee of Wells College for Women. Besides these offices and trusts, he is identified with many institutions in the Presbyterian Church, of which he is a member. None of these offices does Dr. Prime hold as sinecures, but he is a working member—generally a "wheel-horse" bearing the brunt—attending all meetings, and giving his time gratuitously to every cause which he undertakes to promote.

Dr. Prime is eminently conservative in all things. He is earnest in controversy. Right or wrong, he deals telling blows. In the social circle he is one of the most genial of men, full of wit and humor and pleasant repartee. In the pulpit he is always impressive, and his arguments are convincing. As a speaker he is easy, graceful, impassioned, and marked by simplicity. He bears the burden of more than threescore and ten years with ease. Dr. Prime received his honorary degree from Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia.



Oswald Ottendorfer

the countenance of some foreign government. He was unsuccessful. England would not grant him a patent, and from France he received only a *brevet d'invention*, a worthless piece of paper that did not secure to him any special privilege. Yet among scientific men like Arago and Humboldt the invention excited wonder, admiration, and great expectations.

Professor Morse returned to New York in the steamship *Great Western*, in April, 1839, disappointed but not disheartened. He waited nearly four years before Congress did anything for him. Meanwhile he had demonstrated the feasibility of marine telegraphy by laying a submarine cable across the harbor of New York, and working it perfectly. This achievement won for Morse the gold medal of the American Institute.

Soon after that Professor Morse suggested the feasibility of an ocean telegraph to connect Europe and America. In a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, John C. Spencer, in August, 1843, Morse said, after referring to certain scientific principles :

“The practical inference from this law is that telegraphic communication on the electro-magnetic plan may with certainty be established across the Atlantic Ocean. Startling as this may now seem, I am confident the time will come when this project will be realized.”

In February, 1843, the late John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, then in Congress, moved an appropriation of \$30,000, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, for testing the merits of the telegraph. Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, proposed one half that sum to be used in testing the merits of mesmerism, while Houston, from the same State, thought Millerism ought to be included in the benefits of the appropriation. In this cheap wit and displays of ignorance the Speaker of the House (John White, of Kentucky) indulged ; but there were wiser men enough in the House to pass a bill making the desired appropriation on February 23d. When it went to the Senate it did not meet with sneers nor opposition, but at twilight on the last day of the session there were one hundred and nineteen bills before Morse's, and he retired to his lodgings with a heavy heart, satisfied he would have to wait another year. He paid his hotel bill, procured his railway ticket for home the next morning, and had just seventy-five cents left — “all the money I had in the world that I could call my own,” said the professor in relating the circumstance to the writer.

While taking his breakfast, before it was fairly light, the next morning, a waiter told him there was a young lady in the parlor who desired to see him. There he met Miss Anna Ellsworth, a daughter of

his good friend Henry L. Ellsworth, the Commissioner of Patents. She extended her hand, and said :

“ I have come to congratulate you !”

“ Upon what ?” inquired the professor.

“ Upon the passage of your bill.”

“ Impossible ! its fate was sealed at dusk last evening. You must be mistaken.”

“ I am not mistaken,” responded the earnest young girl ; “ father sent me to tell you that your bill was passed. He remained until the session closed, and yours was the last bill acted upon. It was passed just five minutes before twelve o’clock, the hour of final adjournment, and I am so glad to be the first one to tell you. Mother says, too, you must come home with me to breakfast.”

Grasping the hand of his young friend, the grateful professor thanked her again and again for bringing him such pleasant tidings. He assured her that the only reward he could offer her was a promise that she should select the first message to be sent over the telegraph.

A little more than a year after this interview a line of telegraph was constructed between Washington and Baltimore. The instruments were ready at each end ; the one at Washington, managed by Professor Morse, was in the Supreme Court room ; the one at Baltimore, managed by Mr. Alfred Vail, was in the Montclair depot. Morse sent for Miss Ellsworth to bring her message. She gave him words from the lips of Balaam : “ *WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT !*”

And this was the first and appropriate message ever transmitted by a recording telegraph. The first public message was the announcement from the Democratic National Convention sitting in Baltimore, to Silas Wright, in Washington, that James K. Polk was nominated for the Presidency of the United States. The Johnsons, the Houstons, and the sneering Speaker were astounded. Doubters were soon ready to bring garlanded bulls to sacrifice to it as a god, and a poet wrote :

“ What more, presumptuous mortals, will you dare ?

See Franklin seize the Clouds, their bolts to bury ;

The Sun assigns his pencil to Dagnerre,

And Morse the Lightning makes his secretary.”

The regular business of the Morse electro-magnetic telegraph was begun in a small basement room, No. 46 Wall Street, New York, in 1844, for which a rent of \$500 a year was paid. There was a single telegraphic instrument in the room and a solitary operator, who was idle most of the time for want of business.* But the invention was

* The only survivor of the first operators of the Morse telegraph is Captain Louis M.

soon appreciated by thoughtful and enterprising men. Several telegraph companies were organized to use it. So early as 1846 Henry O'Reilly, one of the energetic citizens of New York, formed a project for using all the companies for a general system of telegraphic operations, and he actually established a system extending over a line eight thousand miles in length.* Within seven years from the time when the first message passed over the wires between Washington and Baltimore, there were more than fifty separate telegraph organizations within the limits of the United States. The most important of these companies were consolidated in 1851, the year in which the Western Union Telegraph Company was formed. That is the leading company in this country. It occupies the greater portion of an immense building which was erected about ten years ago on the corner of Broadway and Dey Street, New York, at a cost of over \$2,000,000. In that building about six hundred operators and clerks are employed. They are divided into relief gangs, so that work never ceases. A large portion of this force is composed of young women. They all work entirely by the ear, for the telegraph has, for them, a distinct language of its own.

In the summer of 1844, less than forty years ago, three men performed the entire telegraph service in the United States. In 1882 the

Chasteau, who was living in Philadelphia in August, 1883, the commander of the Park Guard, and an old journalist. At the beginning of operations, after the line between Washington and Baltimore was completed, Professor Morse was the superintendent at Washington, with Alfred Vail as his efficient assistant superintendent there. Henry J. Rogers was the assistant superintendent at Baltimore. Lewis Zantzingler was the operator at Washington, and Mr. Chasteau at Baltimore. Of the persons here mentioned, only Mr. Chasteau, as we have observed, now lives on the earth.

The telegraphic line between Washington and Baltimore was then a copper wire wrapped in cotton. The instruments were all very large: the relay magnet was kept in a box three feet long, locked, and the key in Superintendent Vail's pocket. No insulators were then known, but sealing-wax, glass, oiled silk, and an imperfect preparation of asphaltum were used. All connections were made with glass tubes filled with mercury, and all operators during thunder-storms held in their hands large pieces of oiled silk.

* Mr. O'Reilly yet lives in the city of New York, and at the age of seventy-seven years possesses remarkable vigor of mind and body. He is a native of Ireland, where he was born in 1806. He came with his parents to America in 1816, was apprenticed to a printer in New York, and at the age of seventeen years became assistant editor of a leading New York newspaper. Before he was twenty-one he was chosen editor of a daily paper at Rochester, N. Y., the first established between the Hudson River and the Pacific Ocean. During a long life he has ever been an advocate and promoter of the most important measures tending to the prosperity of the country, whether State or national, and was a pioneer in many movements to that end. He has deposited in the New York Historical Society about two hundred manuscript volumes, which comprise valuable authentic materials for a history of the public improvements in the State of New York. For a biography of Mr. O'Reilly, see Lossing's "Cyclopædia of United States History."

Western Union Telegraph Company alone,* which has a capital stock of \$80,000,000, had 131,060 miles of poles and 374,368 miles of wire employed; had 12,068 offices; had sent out during the year 38,842,-247 messages; received as revenue \$17,114,165; expended \$9,996,095, and secured a profit of \$7,118,070. This is the substance of a report from only one of the telegraph companies now (1883) existing in our country. Over this great corporation Dr. Norvin Green presides.†

* The officers of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1882-83 are: Norvin Green, president; Thomas T. Eckert, vice-president and general manager; Augustus Schell, Harrison Durkee, and John Van Horne, vice-presidents; D. H. Bates, acting vice-president and assistant general manager; J. B. Van Every, acting vice-president and auditor; A. R. Brewer, secretary; R. H. Rochester, treasurer; Clarkson Carey, attorney.

† Norvin Green, M.D., the president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, is a native of Kentucky, where he was born in 1818. In 1840 he graduated in the medical department of the University of Louisville. Active and energetic, he early took part in political movements, and was several times elected to a seat in the Kentucky Legislature, in which he served with distinction. Dr. Green was appointed, in 1853, a commissioner in charge of the building of a new custom-house and post-office at Louisville. The next year he became interested in telegraphy, and showed such administrative ability that he was soon chosen president of the South-Western Telegraph Company. Dr. Green was not only held in highest esteem by business men, but he was exceedingly popular with all classes, and is especially noted for his kindness of heart. He won great success for his telegraph company, which was finally merged into the American Telegraph Company, organized some twenty-five years ago by Peter Cooper, Cyrus W. Field, Wilson G. Hunt, and others, of which Peter Cooper, Abram S. Hewitt, and Edwards S. Sanford were successive presidents. It became a constituent part of the Western Union system in 1866, and in recognition of his services and ability Dr. Green was made vice-president of the latter company, which position he filled with great ability until the death of the president, William Orton, in 1878.

Dr. Green was chosen to succeed Mr. Orton in the presidency of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and has performed the functions of that important position with rare ability ever since. He combines two essential qualifications for that office, namely, a thorough practical knowledge of the telegraph system, and experience in public life and a knowledge of public men. While he was vice-president of the company he was one of three candidates for a seat in the Senate of the United States, and was only defeated by a blunder in counting the votes.

In the summer of 1883 Dr. Green visited England, and on August 3d, just before his departure for home, a dinner was given in his honor in London by the directors of the Eastern Telegraph and Eastern Telegraph Extension companies, at which John Pender, a member of Parliament, presided.

Thomas Thompson Eckert, who is virtually the managing head of the Western Union Telegraph system, was born at St. Clairsville, Ohio, April 23, 1825. He learned telegraphy in 1849, beginning at the bottom of the ladder, and had made such a reputation for ability in that field that at the breaking out of the war he was summoned to Washington and placed in charge of the military telegraphs of the Department of the Potomac, with the rank of captain. In 1862 he was promoted to the rank of major, and given charge of the military telegraph department at Washington. In 1864 he had successfully

It was at about this period, when the three great elements which have contributed so largely to the growth and prosperity of New York City—the railway, the express, and the telegraph systems—were in the

organized the entire military telegraph system, and had in so many ways shown his ability that he was chosen for Assistant Secretary of War, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1865 he was selected for the duty of conferring with the commissioners of the Southern Confederacy at City Point, and for his services was breveted brigadier-general. He resigned the secretaryship to accept the responsible post of general superintendent of the eastern division of the Western Union Telegraph Company. In this position he organized all the connecting lines for the new cables and the supervision of the transatlantic correspondence, which began with the successful laying of the first cable.

In 1875 he accepted the presidency of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, and made it so prominent a factor in the telegraph business of the country that the Western Union Company made overtures for a pooling arrangement between the companies, which resulted in an arrangement satisfactory to both. After a year or two of inactive work as president of the Atlantic and Pacific Company, General Eckert withdrew from its service, and in 1879, in conjunction with Jay Gould and others, organized the American Union Telegraph Company. In 1881, when Mr. Gould became one of the largest owners of the Western Union Company, it and the American Union Company were merged, and General Eckert was unanimously chosen for the position of general manager of the consolidated companies, in which position he has added largely to the reputation of the company for prompt and efficient service, and, if possible, to his own reputation of being the most vigorous, straightforward, and able practical telegraph man of the day. In Dr. Green's absence in Europe, during the great strike of telegraph operators and linemen, in July and August, 1883, the general was in full command of the company, and while he was uncompromising in yielding anything to the strikers during its progress, he acted with great magnanimity toward them as soon as it was over.

William Orton, the predecessor of Dr. Green in the presidency of the Western Union Telegraph Company, was a man of rare gifts. He was a native of Allegany County, N. Y., where he was born in June, 1826. He died at his residence in New York City, April 22, 1878. Receiving a meagre common-school education, young Orton entered the Normal School at Albany, graduated with honor, and began school-teaching in Geneva, N. Y. He became a bookseller, first in Geneva, then in Auburn, and finally in New York. He was a warm Republican in politics and a thorough patriot, and in 1862 he was appointed a collector of internal revenue in New York City. In this position he showed his great executive ability, and, without being a lawyer, he displayed such legal skill that he was strongly commended to the favor of Secretary Chase. He was called to Washington as commissioner of internal revenue at the seat of government because of his "administrative ability and his power of grasping details." His health giving way, he resigned. Almost immediately he was offered the presidency of the United States Telegraph Company, at a salary of \$10,000 a year. He accepted it. In this position he showed such remarkable ability that when his company united with the Western Union Company in 1866, Mr. Orton was made vice-president of the new organization. On the retirement of its president on account of failing health, in 1867, Mr. Orton was chosen his successor, and he immediately brought to bear upon its business his wonderful organizing powers and administrative ability with what success its history fully attests. He was at once its president, its champion on all occasions, and its vigilant and untiring servant. Overwork broke him down. At

first stages of their development, between 1835 and 1840, that Samuel Woodworth, a printer by profession and a poet of much excellence, wrote a remarkable poem.*

the time of his death Mr. Orton was president of the International Ocean Telegraph Company (the Cuban line), the Gold and Stock Telegraph Company, and the Pacific and Southern Atlantic Telegraph companies. He was a member of the Union League Club, of the Board of Trade, and of the Chamber of Commerce.

* This poem, which is inserted below, seems to have been designed to call the attention of the citizens of New York, who were then witnesses of the amazing growth of the metropolis—its marvellous transformations, its inventions, and its wonderful promises for the future—to the contrast of the then aspect of the city and that of the more feeble town, when the poet's "old house was new." The poem, written when the author was partially paralyzed, lay hidden in manuscript until brought to public notice in the *New York Evening Post*, by Mr. J. Barnitz Bacon, a zealous antiquarian. Woodworth died in 1842.

"THE HOUSE I LIVE IN.

"Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance, knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle."—2 PETER 1 : 13.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>"When this old house was young and new,
Some fifty years ago,
Before this thriving city grew
In population so ;
The Revolution was just past,
Our States were weak and few,
And many thought they could not last,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"Then Chatham Street was Boston Road,
Queen Street was changed to Pearl—
For we with love no longer glowed
For king and queen and earl.
The British troops had gone away,
And every patriot true
Then kept Evacuation Day,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"Our country, then in infancy,
Had just begun to grow,
Oppressed by debt and poverty,
Some fifty years ago.
But Washington, the first of men,
To God and virtue true,
Presided o'er the nation then,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"We'd thirteen feeble States in all,
And Congress met, we know,
In the old Wall Street City Hall
Some fifty years ago.
There did our chief, as President,
His godlike course pursue.
We were not into parties rent,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"Louisiana was not ours,
We merely lined the coast ;
While colonies of foreign powers
Encircled us almost.</p> | <p>We had not then the Floridas,
Our coasting ships were few,
Though some from China brought us teas,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"Commerce and agriculture drooped,
The arts we scarcely met,
Nor had a native pencil grouped
Our deathless patriots yet.
Genius of literature, 'twas thought,
Would never rise to view,
And native poetry was short,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"Our city then did not extend
Beyond the Collect Brook,
And one might from its northern end
Upon the Battery look.
Broad Street was but a muddy creek,
And banks were very few ;
The Greenwich stage ran twice a week,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"We once a week from Boston heard,
From Philadelphia twice,
And oft in summer we got word
Of Southern corn and rice,
Tobacco, cotton, indigo,
Whate'er the planters grew :
The mails all travelled very slow,
When this old house was new.</p> <p>"To visit Albany or Troy
Was quite an enterprise ;
In Tappan Zee the wind was flawy,
And billows oft would rise ;
And then the Overslaugh alone
For weeks detained a few :
Steamboats and railroads were unknown
When this old house was new.</p> |
|---|---|

The allusion in the poem to the Halls of Justice or the Tombs, as the city prison is called, brings us to a consideration of the places in the city provided for the restraint of criminals and debtors at that time.

- “ Our trade with the West India Isles
Was not extremely good,
But we got French and English files
Of papers when we could.
News-boats were then not known at all,
And bulletins were few ;
But there were boatmen at Whitehall
When this old house was new.
- “ An octagon pagoda rose
Upon the Battery green,
Which we ascended when we chose,
If ships were to be seen.
’Twas built some fifty years ago ;
There Freedom’s banner flew,
And there small beer and ale would flow,
When this old house was new.
- “ No towers with dark Egyptian frown *
Graced Centre Street, we know,
Bridewell and Jail were far up town,
The courts were far below.
Nor did we have such vice and guilt
As now disgust the view ;
State prisons had not yet been built
When this old house was new.
- “ ’Tis true our streets were somewhat dark,
No gas its lustre shed,
There was no playhouse near the Park,
Nor near the Old Bull’s Head.
And as our journalist records,
E’en churches were but few ;
Our city had but seven small wards
When this old house was new.
- “ Oswego Market, from Broadway
Ran down in Maiden Lane,
And Barley Street has since that day
Been altered to Duane.
Duke Street has since been changed to
Stone,
And Cedar Street, ’tis true,
As Little Queen Street then was known,
When this old house was new.
- “ Crown Street is now called Liberty,
Prince Street was changed to Rose,
Princess to Beaver—thus the free
New appellations chose.
The celebrated Doctors’ mob,
From which some mischief grew,
Had nearly proved a serious job,
When this old house was new.
- “ Old Trinity was just rebuilt—
’Twas burnt by British men ;
Modern improvement bears the guilt
Of razing it again.
We sighed for water pure and sweet,
As now we daily do,
And saw them bore for ’t near Wall Street
When this old house was new.
- “ The Federal Constitution brought
About a great parade—
A grand procession, where they wrought
At every art and trade.
The Almshouse, fronting Chambers Street,
Had not then risen to view,
Nor Broadway did the Bowery meet,
When this old house was new.
- “ Dire Pestilence, the fiend of wrath,
With yellow, withering frown,
Scattering destruction in its path,
Oft sadly thinned the town.
Terror, dismay, and death prevailed,
With mourners not a few,
Who friends and relatives bewailed
When this old house was new.
- “ The smallpox, too, would oft assail ;
The kinpox was not known ;
Societies did not prevail,
Though since so numerous grown.
We’d no Academy of Arts,
And schools were very few,
With drawings, pictures, maps, and charts,
When this old house was new.
- “ We had no licensed coaches then,
Arranged on public stands ;
We’d not two boards of aldermen
To vote away our lands.
On beef and venison to regale,
With turtle at Bellevue ;
They’d take their crackers, cheese, and ale
When this old house was new.
- “ No Navy Yard and no Dry Dock,
No City Hall in Park,
And no illuminated clock
To light us after dark.
No omnibuses thronged Broadway,
And ran with furious heat
Over the people, night and day,
Who tried to cross the street.

* An allusion to the City Prison or “ Tombs,” which was completed in 1838.

The construction of the Halls of Justice was completed in the year 1838. The building occupies a portion of the site of the old Collect Pond, a sheet of fresh water lying in a hollow between the Bowery and Broadway, and receiving the drainage of the surrounding hills. Its outlet was a rivulet that flowed through oozy land (Lispenard's Meadow) into the Hudson River along the route of the present Canal Street, which derives its name from that circumstance.

This pond was filled up in 1836, and the present building of the Halls of Justice was erected upon the site in the course of two years afterward. The pond for a time seemed to be bottomless. An immense quantity of stones and earth was thrown into it, and when it appeared filled, and the solid matter was above the surface of the water at evening, it would be unseen in the morning. And when the builders of the structure, who laid the foundations much deeper than usual, began to pile up the blocks of granite, there was at one time such evident settling at the foundation that the safety of the building seemed in peril. But it has stood well-nigh half a century, and seems to rest upon a solid foundation.

Externally the Halls of Justice building is entirely of granite, and appears as one lofty story, the windows being carried above the ground up to beneath the cornice. It is thought to be the best specimen of Egyptian architecture out of Egypt. The main entrance is in Centre Street, and is reached by a flight of wide, dark stone steps, then through a spacious but dark and gloomy portico, calculated to impress

“The wheels of State had fewer cranks,
All turned by honest men ;
And we'd no crusade 'gainst the banks
And no defaulters then.
Virtue and honesty survived,
Our offices were few ;
Sub-treasuries were not contrived
When this old house was new.

“We had no lingering Indian wars
To drain the public purse,
And Revolutionary scars
Were healed by careful nurse.
We had no quacks, nor hygeian pills,
Nor stean physician then ;
No gambling-shops, nor stepping-mills,
Nor Graham regimen.

“No tinkers of the currency
Had altered bad to worse,
For healthy infants then, you see,
Were not put out to nurse.
We quarrelled not 'bout public lands,
For they were wild and new,
As everybody understands,
When this old house was new.

“The evil days have come at last,
In which few joys I find ;
The morning of my life is past—
I'm lame, and almost blind.
The keepers of the house now shake
As palsied porters do,
And my strong limbs obeisance make
Where it was never due.

“The smallest weight a burden seems,
The curbstone is too high ;
How different from my former dreams,
When I could almost fly !
My sight is dim, my hearing dull,
For music's tones decay ;
And ah ! this dome—I mean my skull—
Is thatched with silver gray.

“But though my sight be dull and dim,
My Saviour's love was prized ;
In youth I placed my hopes in Him,
And now they're realized.
Yea, though He slay me, still I'll trust ;
His promises are true ;
Though this old house decay, He must
Rebuild it good as new.”



Jonathan Thorne

the mind of the unfortunate prisoner with the idea that "who enters here leaves hope behind"—a sort of "Bridge of Sighs." It was this gloomy aspect of the building that gave it the name of "the Egyptian Tombs"—the Tombs—where the worst felons and murderers are confined, and where the death-sentences of criminals are executed in the presence of the limited number of persons required by law.

Before the erection of the Halls of Justice there were five public prisons in the city, one of which belonged to the State. These were the Debtors' Prison (now the Hall of Records), east of the City Hall; the Bridewell, the Penitentiary, the State Prison, and the House of Refuge.*

The Bridewell or old City Prison was devoted to the temporary incarceration of prisoners, where they were held until discharged as innocent or convicted as guilty of charges preferred against them. The building was constructed of stone, and consisted of a central edifice and wings, three stories in height, and stood between the west end of the City Hall and Broadway. Its affairs were directed by five citizens, appointed by the common council, with the title of Commissioners of the Almshouse, Bridewell, and the Penitentiary of the City of New York.

The Penitentiary was a stone building at Bellevue, on the East River, adjoining the almshouse. It has already been described in a

* The first named was exclusively devoted to the confinement of prisoners for debt, whom barbarous laws illogically and cruelly incarcerated. Well did Red Jacket, the great Seneca chief, illustrate the folly and injustice of the imprisonment of a debtor, when, on seeing a man taken to prison in Batavia, N. Y., he inquired what his crime was.

"He is in debt and cannot pay," answered his companion in the street, the late venerable Mr. Hosmer, of Avon, who was the first lawyer settled west of Utica.

"Why, he no catch beaver there!" said the chief—he could not work in jail to earn money to pay his debt. So this "son of the forest" illustrated the unwisdom of the law.

Happily such a law no longer prevails in any part of our Republic. The State of New York was the leader in adopting measures for its abolition so early as 1831. It is believed that one of the most powerful instrumentalities in bringing about the repeal of laws which sent debtors to prison was a stirring poem written by the gentle Quaker poet, John G. Whittier, called "The Prisoner for Debt," in which he said:

"Down with the law that binds him thus!
Unworthy freemen, let it find
No refuge from the withering curse
Of God and human kind!
Open the prisoner's living tomb,
And usher from its brooding gloom
The victims of your savage code
To the free sun and air of God;
No longer dare as crime to brand
The chastening of th' Almighty's hand!"

notice of Bellevue Hospital. It was opened in May, 1816, and was devoted exclusively to the confinement of such persons at hard labor as should be convicted at the Court of Sessions of petit larceny and other offences, and of vagrants. Some of the prisoners were employed on the roads on the island, or in garden work; others in house-work, shoe-making, tailoring, and whatever other employment they were efficient in, while the women were employed in the kitchen, or in making and mending the clothes of their fellow-prisoners.

The House of Refuge for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents had its origin in a benevolent movement in 1817, in which John Griscom, LL.D., a member of the Society of Friends, was the chief leader. He was the pioneer in the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. In this society his most earnest coadjutors were Thomas Eddy and John Pintard. The society investigated the *causes* of pauperism, studied the statistics of prisons in England and the United States, and came to the conclusion that the most efficient work in the enterprise must be among the young of both sexes.

Late in 1823 some benevolent persons formed an association entitled The Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. Into this society the former association was merged. Measures were then taken for the establishment of a house of refuge for erring or criminal youth, the first institution of the kind ever founded. A charter was obtained in 1824, and in the old arsenal grounds, on the site of Madison Square, near the junction of Broadway (then known as the Bloomingdale Road at that point) and Fifth Avenue, two stone buildings, two stories in height, were erected, one for boys, the other for girls. The grounds were surrounded by a strong stone wall inclosing an area three hundred by three hundred and twenty feet in size, and seventeen feet in height.

The House of Refuge was opened on the first of January, 1825. On that occasion there appeared before a large and respectable audience, gathered at that dreary out-of-town spot, nine wretched "juvenile delinquents"—three boys and six girls—in tattered garments, as candidates for the reformatory. They were the first of nearly one hundred who were found within its walls during the first year. The first superintendent was the late Joseph Curtis, a philanthropist of purest mould, and for many years before his death an indefatigable worker in the cause of free schools in the city of New York.

The Refuge remained there until the buildings were destroyed by fire in 1838, soon after which time it was removed to Bellevue. There it continued until November, 1854, when it was removed to Randall's Island, its present location.

According to the fifty-eighth annual report of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents (1882), there had been received into the House of Refuge, since its opening in 1825, 20,624 juvenile delinquents, and that the weekly average number of inmates during the year was 771. Careful inquiries reveal the fact that intemperance is not a prevailing vice of the parents of these delinquents, nor that their delinquency is chargeable to their being orphans, for about 86 per cent of the fathers and 94 per cent of the mothers were temperate people, and correspondingly few of the children had lost their parents.*

Randall's Island is one of a group of beautiful and picturesque islands in the East River belonging to the city of New York. It contains about one hundred acres of land.

The other islands of the group alluded to are Blackwell's and Ward's. Blackwell's contains about one hundred and twenty acres, and was purchased by the city in 1828 for \$50,000. It has a heavy granite seawall, built by the convicts. Its public edifices are large and substantial, built in mediæval style of architecture, with turrets and battlements. The buildings are of stone quarried on the island by the convicts. Around the buildings are gardens and pleasant shaded grounds. On this island are a penitentiary, with an average of between twelve hundred and thirteen hundred inmates; a correctional workhouse, a charity hospital, with accommodations for eight hundred patients; an almshouse, a lunatic asylum for females, an asylum for the blind, a hospital for incurables, and a convalescent hospital. The houses of the officials are pleasantly situated among the trees on the island. It is estimated that the entire population of the island is about seven thousand, all under the care of the commissioners of public charities and correction.

Randall's Island, as we have observed, contains about one hundred acres of land. It is divided from the shore of Westchester County on the north by a narrow channel known as the Harlem Kills, and on the south from Ward's Island by Little Hell Gate. It contains, besides the House of Refuge, an idiot asylum, a nursery, children's and infants' hospital, schools, and other charities provided by the city of New York for destitute children. The buildings of these institutions are chiefly of brick, and imposing in appearance. The island is pleasantly shaded with trees. These institutions are all under the care of the commissioners of public charities and correction.

* The officers of the society for 1882-83 are: John A. Weeks, president; Benjamin B. Atterbury, James M. Halsted, J. W. C. Leveridge, Edgar S. Van Winkle, John J. Townsend, Alexander McL. Agnew, vice-presidents; Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr., treasurer; Frederick W. Downer, secretary; Israel C. Jones, superintendent.

On the southern end of the island is the House of Refuge, under the care of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. The two principal buildings are of brick, nearly one thousand feet in length, in the Italian style of architecture. The boys and girls are kept separate, and those guilty of social crime apart from the younger inmates. Children brought before magistrates are sentenced by them to this institution. The average number of inmates is about eight hundred. They are all taught to work, and are educated in the common English branches. The total population of the island is about twenty-five hundred.

Ward's Island is nearly circular, and is situated near the junction of the East and Harlem rivers. It is the largest of the three islands, containing about two hundred acres, and is finely wooded in some parts. It is owned partly by the city and partly by individuals. The part belonging to the city is apportioned between the commissioners of emigration and the commissioners of public charities and correction. Under the care of the latter is an insane asylum for males and a homœopathic hospital; under the charge of the former are the State Emigrant Hospital, a lunatic asylum, houses of refuge, and a nursery or home for children. In these institutions, under charge of the commissioners of emigration, sick and destitute aliens arriving in New York are cared for.

The buildings on Randall's Island are generally plain but substantial structures of brick. Those erected by the commissioners of emigration are noticeable for their spaciousness and beauty, being built of brick and gray stone. They are much hidden from spectators on the water by fine old trees. The lunatic asylum contains an average of over one thousand patients. The convicts from Blackwell's Island are constantly engaged in the grading and beautifying of Ward's Island, and in constructing a sea-wall around it.

These three islands in the East River display the richest fruit of the magnificent public charities of New York City.

The State Prison stood near the bank of the Hudson River, at what was then known as Greenwich Village, and about a mile and a half north-west of the City Hall. It was one of two public prisons authorized by the Legislature of the State of New York in the closing decade of the last century. One was to be erected at Albany, and one at New York.

The prison at Greenwich Village was built of stone, three stories in height, and surrounded by a massive stone wall fourteen feet high in front and twenty feet high in the rear, where the workshops were sit-

uated. The prison and its appendages covered about four acres of ground. It was called Newgate, and was opened for the reception of prisoners in 1797. It soon became crowded, and another prison was erected by the State at Auburn, Cayuga County. Of the convicts in this prison, the average was always about seventy per cent of foreign birth.

The rooms in this prison were large, and several convicts occupied the same sleeping apartment. This was found to be a very unwise arrangement, as it had a powerful tendency to a further corruption of the morals of the inmates. It was finally deemed wise to abandon this prison in the city and erect another and more spacious further up the Hudson River. In 1825 the Legislature authorized the erection of a new prison, and the spot selected was Mount Pleasant (Sing Sing), on the Hudson, in Westchester County. The foundations of this new prison were laid in May, 1826, and it was completed in 1828. The site was selected largely because it was in the vicinity of extensive beds of white marble, the quarrying of which would give profitable employment to the prisoners.

A powerful impetus to the growth of a city consists in facilities for transporting persons or merchandise within its borders to and from distant points. New Yorkers perceived this when the steamboat appeared, the Erie Canal was completed, the omnibus was introduced, and the railway made its advent into this country. Such facilities on the island would greatly increase the migration of population from the dense precincts of business, and increase the value of real estate at remote points from the centre of trade. Alert New Yorkers readily joined in a scheme for so benefiting the city by building a railway that would bisect Manhattan Island longitudinally, but extend finally to Albany.

New York City has the honor of introducing to the world the system of horse railroads in city streets, that of the New York and Harlem Railroad (Fourth Avenue) having been the first constructed.

The New York and Harlem Railroad Company was incorporated on the 25th of April, 1831, with authority to construct a double-track road to any point on the Harlem River, between the east bounds of Third Avenue and the west bounds of Eighth Avenue.* The capital stock

* The following persons were the incorporators of the New York and Harlem Railroad Company in the spring of 1831 - Benjamin Bailey, Mordecai M. Noah, Benson MacGowan, James B. Murray, Charles Henry Hall, Moses Henriques, Isaac Adriaance, Thomas Addis Emmet, Gideon Lee, Silas E. Burrows, Samuel F. Halsey, Cornelius Harsen, Robert Stewart. At the first election of directors, in July, 1831, John Mason was elected president.

was \$1,100,000. An act was passed the next year authorizing the company to extend the track along the Bowery (now Fourth Avenue) to Fourteenth Street, and such other streets as the city authorities might from time to time permit. The use of steam as a motor was first introduced in 1834 on this road—W. T. James, the machinist of the road, being the inventor of the first steam-motor for city railways.

In 1833 the common council passed an ordinance authorizing the company to lay a track in Broadway. Rails were actually laid the distance of two blocks, but there was so much opposition to the measure that they were taken up, and a track was laid down to Prince Street and the Bowery. A portion of the road was open to travel in 1832. The conductors were boys, and they were required to report the receipts to the superintendent once a week—every Saturday night. There arose a suspicion that the boys were “taking toll.” A liberal reward was offered to the boy who should report the largest amount of receipts at the end of the week. The result was a very large increase in the receipts returned by each boy.

The introduction of a street railway into New York City in 1831-32 created a new mechanical business in the metropolis—the manufacture of tramears, as the English call them, for the use of such roads. In that business John Stephenson was the pioneer. He had recently finished his apprenticeship to a coach-builder, and began manufacturing omnibuses for Abraham Brower on his own account, when he received an order from the New York and Harlem Railroad Company to build a street-car for them. Mr. Stephenson constructed it after a design of his own, and named it *John Mason*, in honor of the first president of the company and founder of the Chemical Bank.

This was the first street-railway car ever built. It was made to hold thirty passengers, in three compartments. The driver's seat was in the roof, and it had passenger seats on the roof, which were reached by steps at each end. It was a sort of cross between an omnibus, a rockaway, and an English railway coach, and had four wheels. This was first put on the road between Prince and Fourteenth streets, on November 26, 1832, carrying the president of the road and the mayor and common council of the city of New York. For this car Mr. Stephenson received a patent from the United States Government.

Other orders from the same company soon followed, and very soon Mr. Stephenson was employed to build passenger-cars for railways as they rapidly increased in numbers and extent in our country. These were, at first, cars with four wheels. When eight-wheeled cars were introduced by Ross Winans, of Baltimore, Mr. Stephenson found it

necessary to extend his premises. In 1836 he built a spacious factory at Harlem, and in 1843 he bought the land on Twenty-seventh Street, near Fourth Avenue, where his present establishment now is, and built the nucleus of the factory which, with its lumber-yards, covers sixteen city lots. Mr. Stephenson has continued to build omnibuses from the beginning, and has been a constructor of these and railway cars for the space of fifty-three years. Now, in his seventy-fifth year, he is vigorous in mind and body.

The street-railway car is a purely New York product. It was in successful operation in that city for twenty-five years before it appeared in any other city of the Union or elsewhere. George Francis Train introduced a street railway into Birkenhead, England, in 1860, and also commenced one in London. It bred a riot, and the mob tore up the rails. Now they are seen in all civilized countries, and the John Stephenson Company manufacture street-railway cars for North and South America, for Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and isles of the sea.

Mr. Stephenson (with Mr. Slawson) is the inventor of the "bobtail" or one-horse car, now so popular. They were first introduced into New Orleans just at the breaking out of the Civil War, but only since the war have they been in use everywhere in the United States.*

* John Stephenson was born in the north of Ireland on July 4, 1809. His parents, James Stephenson and Grace Stuart, of English and Scotch lineage, had settled there. In 1811 they came to New York with John, their first-born, who received an academic education at the Wesleyan Seminary in New York. His father designed him for mercantile life, but his proclivities for mechanics changed his destiny and caused him to be apprenticed to a coachmaker. At his majority (1831) he set up business for himself, chiefly as a maker of omnibuses, then a new business in the city. His shop was adjoining the rear of Brower's stables, No. 667 Broadway. Here, in 1831, he designed and constructed the first omnibus built in New York. In less than a year he lost all his property by fire. He then planted his business in Elizabeth Street, and there he built the first street-railway car. He transferred his business to Harlem (Fourth Avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Street) in 1836, and to its present site in 1843, then a rural district of the city. His prosperous course in railway-car and omnibus building has been intimated in the text; and now, at the age of over seventy-four years, he is actively engaged at the head of the most extensive establishment of the kind in the United States.

Mr. Stephenson is an earnest working member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as both his parents were. He had seven sisters, who were all church members. About 1816 he entered a Sabbath-school, then just organized by Mrs. Divie Bethune, Mrs. Mary Mason, and others; and from that time to this he has been active in Sabbath-schools in various capacities. He has now (1883) under his teaching a Bible-class of forty members. He is passionately fond of music. He was a performing member of the Sacred Music Society, which about fifty years ago met in the Chatham Theatre (then Chapel), and he was subsequently an active member of the Harmonic Society. He was for forty years leader of a church choir of forty volunteer singers, chiefly from Sunday-school

The New York and Harlem Railroad was extended to Yorkville, a suburban village, in 1837, a distance of about five miles. Late in that year it had a double track from Prince Street to Yorkville. Its coaches ran at intervals of fifteen minutes every day in the week. The fare for each passenger was twenty-five cents. The road was extended down the Bowery to Walker Street, and afterward through Broome, Centre and Chatham streets and Park Row to the southern end of the City Hall Park, where the Post-Office now stands.

Such, in brief, is the genesis of the first horse-railroad in the world. This system originated in the city of New York about fifty-two years ago ; now (1883) there are twenty lines of railway traversing the city in various directions.

As the New York and Harlem Railroad was the first of the great arteries of transportation which contributed to the life, vigor, and growth of the city, the history of its extension toward the political capital of the State may be appropriately given in a few sentences.

In 1837 the widening of Fourth Avenue from Thirty-fourth Street to Harlem River was authorized, and the extension of the New York and Harlem Railroad into the open country beyond the Harlem River was speedily begun.

In 1835 the company was authorized to convert into capital stock the amount of money which it had borrowed. The amount of the capital stock was increased from time to time, and in 1849 amounted to \$1,000,000. That year the company was authorized to extend the road in the county of Westchester beyond the Harlem River, to build a bridge across the same, and to connect with the New York and Albany Railroad. In 1845 it was authorized to extend its road through the counties of Putnam, Dutchess, and Columbia. The road was completed to Chatham, its northern terminus, in 1852.

In the year 1859 the company was authorized to run horse-cars to Forty-second Street and up Madison Avenue to Seventy-ninth Street ; also to use steam on Fourth Avenue, from Forty-second Street to the Harlem River, for thirty years.

The capital stock of the company was increased to \$10,000,000 in 1871, and in 1872 the great Fourth Avenue improvements, between Forty-second Street and Harlem, were authorized. The actual cost of those improvements was about \$6,500,000. The Grand Central Depot

classes which he had trained. He has in his library a rare collection of musical literature. Mr. Stephenson was for over twenty years a public school trustee in the Twenty-first Ward.

was constructed in 1870-71, at a cost of about \$3,000,000, including the cost of the land.

A greater portion of the stock of the New York and Harlem Railroad (as well as the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, to which it is leased) belongs to the Vanderbilt family. Cornelius Vanderbilt,* familiarly known as "the Commodore," was made a director

* Cornelius Vanderbilt, a native of Staten Island, N. Y., was the most eminent and successful organizer of methods of transportation by steam on land and water. His ancestors were among the earlier settlers on Staten Island. The original members of the family settled in Flatbush, Long Island, and held a high social position as persons of wealth and public spirit. They were members of the Reformed Dutch Church. The first of the family who settled on Staten Island was Jacob, who made his residence there about 1715. He was the great-grandfather of Cornelius. The latter was born May 27, 1794, and died January 4, 1877. The famous "Rose and Crown" tavern on Staten Island, which was the headquarters of General Sir William Howe in the summer of 1776, belonged to the Vanderbilt family.

The place of Cornelius Vanderbilt's birth is claimed by several places on Staten Island—Port Richmond, various houses in Stapleton, and two or three in the interior of the island. While he was an infant his parents were residents of Stapleton. His mother was Phebe Hand, of New Jersey, a niece of Colonel Hand of the Revolution. His only inheritance was the careful training of his mother, a vigorous physical constitution, a clear head, sound judgment, and indomitable energy. He received very little book learning away from his mother's knee. He was a "healthy, harum-scarum lad," a good oarsman, an expert swimmer, and a perfect rider. He rode a race-horse against a colored boy in a race when he was six years of age. He worked on the farm, sailed the boats of his father (who was a ferryman), and when he was sixteen years of age he earned money enough to purchase a sail-boat and began business on his own account in the transportation of passengers and garden "truck" to and from New York City, then containing between 70,000 and 80,000 inhabitants. In the same line of business largely, Cornelius Vanderbilt, at the close of an active life of about sixty-seven years, had accumulated a fortune estimated at \$100,000,000. Honestly recognizing his duty to his parents, he gave to them a larger portion of the receipts from his business until he was twenty-one years of age.

During the war of 1812 young Vanderbilt's boats were in constant demand in carrying soldiers and supplies from point to point in the harbor. In this public service his personal bravery was often called into requisition. The business was very remunerative. Meanwhile he had married his cousin, Sophia Johnson, in 1813, a sensible and practical young woman. He had been able to become the owner of several boats of larger capacity, and he was soon the acknowledged head of the local transportation business of the harbor. He also extended his voyages up the North and East rivers, engaging in traffic of every kind, and so combining the merchant and the navigator.

At the age of twenty-three years Vanderbilt had accumulated nearly \$10,000 in addition to his property in vessels. At that time (1817) he became captain of a small steamboat called the *Mouse*, owned by a wealthy New Jerseyman. The next year he was put in command of a larger steamboat, which remained over night at New Brunswick. Thither he removed his family, and became the successful proprietor of a hotel there for the accommodation of travellers. In that hotel his son and successor, William H. Vanderbilt, was born in 1821. Such was the "Commodore's" introduction to the steam-

in 1858, and in 1864 he was chosen president of the corporation. After his death, in 1877, his son, William H. Vanderbilt, was elected president, and his son Cornelius was chosen vice-president. J. H. Rutter was chosen president in 1883.

boat business, in which he so profitably engaged. After serving twelve years he purchased the vessel he commanded of the owner, and became master in the business in 1829.

During the next twenty years Vanderbilt built steamboats, established opposition lines to various monopolies, and drove some of his competitors from the field. It was during this time that he received the title of "Commodore." When the discoveries of gold in California caused a line of steamships to be established between New York and Panama, Vanderbilt proceeded to form an opposition line to San Francisco by way of Nicaragua, having first obtained valuable charter privileges from that government. The Transit Company was formed. Vanderbilt constructed first class steamships on the Atlantic and Pacific sides of the isthmus, and a semi-monthly line between New York and San Francisco was put into operation in 1851. In 1853 Vanderbilt sold his vessels to the Transit Company.

Mr. Vanderbilt was now a very rich man, and in 1853 he made a tour of European ports in his fine steamship *North Star*, with his family. His reception everywhere partook of the character of an ovation. His voyage occupied about four months, and the distance travelled was about 15,000 miles. The Rev. Mr. Choules, a Baptist clergyman, accompanied them, and wrote an account of the trip. Mr. Vanderbilt afterward established a line of steamships between New York and Havre, building a number of superb vessels for the purpose. Among them was the *Vanderbilt*, which cost \$800,000. When, in 1862, his country was in peril and in distress for want of means for transportation, he generously presented to his government this magnificent vessel of 5000 tons burden, for which patriotic and munificent gift Congress thanked him in the name of the nation. Mr. Vanderbilt had then disposed of all his ships. He had been the owner of more than one hundred water craft, from his hundred dollar sail-boat to his \$800,000 steamship.

Mr. Vanderbilt now turned his attention to railroad matters almost exclusively, and became the controlling owner of the Harlem, the Hudson River, and the New York Central railroads. In this species of property and in other railroad securities he chiefly "operated." He made the roads which he managed the best paying and the best equipped roads in the country. Under his direction the Grand Central Depot at Forty-second Street, and the vast improvements between it and the Harlem River, were constructed. His financial career was successful until the last, and he left, as we have said, property valued at \$100,000,000.

In August, 1868, Mrs. Vanderbilt, one of the noblest of women, died. Thirteen children had blessed their union. In August, 1869, Mr. Vanderbilt married Miss Frances Crawford, of Mobile, Alabama, whose devotion to and religious influence over her husband was most salutary. He became interested in the ministrations of Dr. Deems, pastor of the Church of the Strangers, in Mercer Street, and when the church edifice was sold in 1873 Mr. Vanderbilt bought it for \$50,000, and gave it to the minister for the use of his congregation. The same year he munificently endowed a university at Nashville, Tennessee, the name of which was changed to Vanderbilt University. Subsequent donations by him made his aggregate gifts to the institution \$1,000,000.

In person Mr. Vanderbilt was erect until the last. In his diet he was simple and even abstemious. He was one of the finest specimens of manly vigor until past fourscore years of age. His equanimity of temper was remarkable, and at the age of eighty years the wear and tear of an exceedingly active and excitable life seemed not to have affected him.



John Thompson

CHAPTER XXII.

ALMOST simultaneously with the invention of the recording telegraph in the city of New York was the discovery of the daguerreotype process of producing pictures, which began a wonderful revolution in the arts of design and its great and momentous improvement by citizens of New York. The process was so named from its discoverer, L. J. M. Daguerre, a French scene and panorama painter, born in 1789, and who died in 1851. He was the inventor of the diorama about 1822.

Daguerre made improvements in the effect of pictures by the skilful use of sunlight, and for several years he experimented in efforts to produce fac-similes of pictures and other objects by means of the chemical action of sunlight and the scientific toy known as the camera-obscura. At the same time another Frenchman, N. Niepécé was making similar experiments for the same purpose. He made the partial discovery, and late in 1829 Daguerre and Niepécé united to develop and perfect it.

After the death of Niepécé, in 1833, Daguerre prosecuted his experiments and researches alone, and made such great improvements in the process that Niepécé's son consented that the discovery and invention should be known as Daguerre's, instead of the names of both, as had been agreed.

At a session of the Academy of Sciences in January, 1839, M. Arago, the eminent French philosopher, announced the discovery. Profound interest was at once excited. This was intensified by the exhibition, soon afterward, of pictures taken from statues by the process. In the summer of the same year Daguerre offered the French Government to make the invention public for an annuity of four thousand francs for Niepécé's son, and the same amount for himself. The offer was accepted, and the sum to be paid to Daguerre was increased to six thousand francs on condition that he should also make public the secret method of producing dioramas, and any improvement he might make in the daguerreotype. Daguerre was also made an officer of the Legion of Honor.

At the time of this wonderful revelation, Professor Morse was in

Paris seeking official recognition for his more wonderful invention. Through the kindness of Mr. Walsh, the American consul at Paris, Morse and Daguerre had a personal interview, and exhibited their respective inventions to each other. Daguerre promised to send to Morse a descriptive publication he was to make so soon as his pension should be secured.

Daguerre kept his promise. By the hand of M. Segur he sent a copy of his pamphlet to Morse, who was undoubtedly the first recipient of the work in this country. It contained illustrative diagrams, and these the writer of these pages reproduced for Professor Mapes's "American Repository of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures." This was in the autumn of 1839.*

Professor Morse took the description and drawings to George W. Prosch, an instrument-maker in the basement of No. 142 Nassau Street. In less than a month after the pamphlet was received, or in October, 1839, the instrument was finished, and the first daguerreotype ever produced in the United States was by Professor Morse. He placed the camera-obscura on the steps leading down to Prosch's shop, and the picture taken was that of the Brick Church (Dr. Spring's) and the City Hall. In the foreground was a hackney-coach and horses, and the driver asleep on the seat. This picture was a great curiosity.

The process was very slow. Dr. John W. Draper † took great in-

* James J. Mapes, LL.D., a practical chemist, was born in the city of New York in May, 1808, and died in Newark, N. J., in January, 1866. He was a man of varied learning and accomplishments, with a genius for art, a love for science, a taste for mechanics, and eminently social in his habits. He was a very popular and highly esteemed citizen. He was a professor of chemistry and natural philosophy in the National Academy of the Arts of Design. In the later years of his life he devoted his talents to the pursuit of agricultural science, with great success as a farmer, near Newark. Professor Mapes edited the *Working Farmer*. He manufactured a fertilizer called "nitrogenized super-phosphate." His lectures and essays on agriculture and cognate sciences were exceedingly useful, and his "American Repository of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures," in four volumes, attest his industry and judgment.

† John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., was born near Liverpool, England, in May, 1811; was educated in scientific studies in the University of London, and came to America in 1833. At the University of Pennsylvania he continued his medical and chemical studies, and there took his degree of M.D. In 1836-39 he was professor of chemistry, natural philosophy, and physiology in Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia. Dr. Draper was connected, as professor, with the University of the City of New York from 1839 until his death, which occurred on the 4th of January, 1882. He aided in establishing the University Medical College, of which he was appointed professor of chemistry in 1841. From 1850 he was president of the medical faculty of the University until his death. In 1874 he was chosen president of the scientific department of the institution.

Dr. Draper was one of the most patient, industrious careful, and acute scientific

terest in the discovery, and believed in its great possibilities. He and Morse experimented together. There seemed hardly a possibility of taking a picture of the human form without some material modifications of the process. The first thing of importance was to get a good working achromatic lens, and the second, chemicals more sensitive to the action of light than iodine, which Daguerre had used in preparing the plates. To this end Dr. Draper brought his knowledge of chemistry and the property of light to bear, and succeeded. He took the first portrait from the living human face with *the eyes open* by the daguerrian process.

Meanwhile Professor Morse had been experimenting. From a window of the University he took a fair picture of the tower of the Church of the Messiah, on Broadway, and surrounding buildings, on a plate the size of a playing-card. Afterward, in a studio which he and Professor Draper had erected on the roof of the University, he succeeded in taking likenesses from the human figure. The process was so slow it took nearly fifteen minutes at a sitting, and the subject had to have the eyes closed. In this way he took the likeness of his daughter and a young lady (his kinswoman, whom he afterward married, and who survives him), who sat with their bonnets on and their eyes closed. This picture and others taken at the time are in the possession of Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie. The discovery of Professor Draper, in the autumn of 1839, greatly facilitating the process, is the real beginning of the wonderful and useful art now known as photography, the legitimate offspring of the daguerreotype invention.

Operators immediately appeared. Proseh, who made the first daguerreotype instrument, opened the first daguerrian gallery on the corner of Broadway and Liberty Street, and his first sitter was Professor Charles E. West, of the Rutgers Female Institute. The sunlight was reflected full on his face by a mirror suspended outside

investigators. His industry in experimental researches was marvellous, and his publications through various vehicles on scientific subjects are very voluminous. To him is due the knowledge of many fundamental facts concerning the phenomena of the spectrum, of light and heat. His researches materially aided in developing the great discovery of Daguerre. In 1876 the Rumford gold medal was bestowed upon him by the American Academy of Sciences for his researches in radiant energy.

Dr. Draper was equally industrious in researches and expositions in other departments of learning. His "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," "Thoughts on the Future Policy of America," "Philosophical History of the Civil War in America," and "History of the Conflict between Science and Religion," are all works which attest his profundity of knowledge, philosophical tone of mind, and grasp of intellectual forces.

the window. One of the most successful of the early operators was A. S. Wolcott, who had his establishment on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street.

The honor given Dr. Draper has been claimed by others, but without substantial proof of correctness. Dr. Draper first gave an account of his improvement in a note to the editor of the London *Philosophical Magazine*, in March, 1840, in which he announced that he had proven it to be possible, by photogenic process, such as the daguerreotype, to obtain likenesses from life.

The daguerreotype process was soon succeeded by the photographic process; indeed the latter speedily superseded the former altogether in the production of sun-pictures, because the images made by it were capable of indefinite multiplication from the original or "negative," as it is termed, which is on glass.

Wedgwood and Sir Humphry Davy, in experimenting, had been successful in making "negatives" on leather imbued with a solution of nitrate of silver and exposing it under the images of a magic-lantern slide. But these images were evanescent, and their experiments were useless.

So early as 1835 Dr. Draper began a series of papers in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* on the subject of photogenic methods. In his experiments thus reported he had used bromide of silver and other compounds much more sensitive to light than any that had hitherto been used. The discoveries of Daguerre and Niepécé, publicly announced in 1839, aroused the attention of scientists to the subject of photogeny, and in England William H. Talbot, who had made the discovery of a method for photographing on paper in 1833 or 1834, at once announced a process which he called Calotype or photogenic writing. It was also called Talbotype. It consisted essentially in covering a sheet of paper with a changeable salt of silver, exposing it on a camera, and developing the latent image by a solution of gallic acid. The result was a "negative"—that is, a photograph in which the light and shadows answer respectively to the shadows and lights of the original. These negatives are now made on plate glass. It had the advantage over Daguerre's process, that it was capable of multiplication; yet the daguerreotype had an advantage, which it has to the present day—namely, its images were exquisitely defined and sharp, and given with microscopic minuteness.

Since the introduction of the photograph, vast and valuable improvements have been made in its methods and products, not only in beauty but in permanence; and to-day it is playing a most important part in

the realm of the fine arts, in literature, in science, the useful arts, and in common, every-day life. Photography is now followed by thousands and tens of thousands as an industrial pursuit, and enters largely into literary productions and various processes of the graphic art.

Among the living and active photographers in the city of New York, Mr. C. D. Fredricks and Mr. William Kurtz have possibly done more to develop the advantages and illustrate the true character, mission, and influence of the art than any of their compeers. Mr. Fredricks may properly be classed as a veteran and a benefactor of the photographic art. His earlier life was an eventful one, and the outline of it, which is given below, is full of hints for a romance.*

* Mr. Fredricks was born in the city of New York in 1823. When he was a lad his father sent him to Havana, where he remained a year and acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language, which was afterward of great service to him. On his return he intended to complete his collegiate studies, but the financial crash of 1837 swept away his father's fortune, and young Fredricks was compelled to seek some occupation for a livelihood. With a South Street mercantile firm he was engaged about two years, when he entered the banking-house of Cammann & Whitehouse, in Wall Street.

Fredricks had a brother in Venezuela. Having received from him glowing accounts of business prospects in that country, and stimulated by a love of adventure and the expectation of speedily winning a large fortune there, he purchased an assortment of goods suitable to that market, and with \$400 cash—his whole fortune at that time—he sailed for Angostura in 1843. He had wisely reflected that the bright dream might possibly prove delusive, that he might lose his venture, and before he started he received some lessons in daguerreotyping from Mr. J. Gurney, the knowledge of which might be a resource to fall back upon in case of a failure of his mercantile operation. He took with him a complete daguerreotype apparatus and a small stock of plates.

At Angostura Fredricks went through the usual process of paying duties on his goods, but when the custom-house officer came to his daguerreotype instrument he was puzzled. He had never seen nor heard of such a thing before, and he refused to let it pass unless Mr. Fredricks would pay a heavy duty on it. This he would not do, and was making arrangements to reship it to New York, when a singular circumstance changed his plans, and perchance his whole subsequent career.

Mr. Fredricks was the guest of the principal merchant of Angostura. While he was making arrangements for sending his goods up the river to San Fernando, where his brother resided, a child of his hospitable friend died. One of the merchant's clerks had informed his employer of the nature of Mr. Fredricks's daguerreotype instrument, and of its detention at the custom-house. The merchant went immediately to the latter, paid the duty demanded, and had the apparatus sent to the room of his guest. He then asked Mr. Fredricks to take a picture of his dead child. Though rather doubting his ability to make a satisfactory likeness, he said, "I'll try."

Information of the intended operation spread over the town, and at the hour appointed the room was filled with the principal inhabitants of Angostura to witness the event. The operation was perfectly successful. The people were astonished. Few had even heard of the great discovery, and none had seen its work. The operator received the most tempting offers to induce him to stay and take the likenesses of everybody. He did so. He sent his goods up the river to the care of his brother, and in three weeks he

After long and varied experience in the business of photography, as set forth in the subjoined foot-note, Mr. Fredricks, on returning to the city of New York from Paris in 1853, formed a partnership with Mr.

earned \$4000 with his daguerreotype instrument. Then he sent to New York for a large supply of materials. While waiting for their arrival he went up to San Fernando, exchanged his goods for hides, which he shipped to New York, and returning to Angostura he proceeded to visit the islands of Tobago and St. Vincent, where he was very successful in his new profession.

Mr. Fredricks desired to go to Brazil, but there was no coastwise conveyance from Angostura, to which place he had returned. There he made the acquaintance of the governor of the province of Rio Negro (a wild country inhabited by many Indian tribes), who suggested a plan of going up the Orinoco River and down the Amazon. He guaranteed to Fredricks thousands of dollars' worth of Indian portraits. He also agreed to forward Mr. Fredricks and his brother, who accompanied him, to Brazil. The journey was undertaken, and a series of wild and dangerous adventures was experienced. The journey consumed nine months.

Ascending the Orinoco in a big canoe, with Indian attendants, they came to the rapids of Maypures, where the Indians unloaded the vessel in order to carry it and its contents to still water above. The brothers occupied a hut that night. In the morning, to their dismay, they found the Indians were all gone, with the canoe and the provisions! After suffering twenty days from hunger, fever and ague, swarms of biting insects, and dangers from alligators and venomous snakes, they were picked up by some government officials and soldiers from Caracas, and taken to the mouth of the Amazon, where they embarked for New York, to recruit their strength.

Love of adventure and a hope of gain took Fredricks back to Para the next year, where he established a gallery, and was very successful. He visited other places with equal success. After a flying visit to New York he went back, visited Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and other places. He crossed the province of Rio Grande in company with Edward Hopkins and George A. Brandreth (a son of Dr. Brandreth), of New York, who were on their way to Paraguay. They transported their baggage in an ox-cart, stopping long enough at each village to take the likenesses of the principal inhabitants. Coin being scarce, a horse was generally given in exchange for each picture, and at the end of the journey our photographer appeared in patriarchal style, surrounded by an immense drove of horses, which he sold for \$3 each.

At San Borja Fredricks met Bonpland, the celebrated naturalist and the companion of Humboldt. With this traveller he embarked in a small boat to descend the river to Montevideo and Buenos Ayres. On the way Bonpland paid a visit to the governors of Corrientes and Entre Rios. One of them desired Fredricks to take his likeness. He asked Bonpland what remuneration he should make the artist.

"None whatever," said the traveller; "it is a compliment to your Excellency."

This did not satisfy the governor, and as the travellers were about to leave the shore, some Indians came, leading a large tiger, which they chained securely in the bow of the boat, saying, "A present from the governor to the young American." This was to pay for the daguerreotype of the governor. What to do with the animal was a serious question; it would not do to decline to receive it. Bonpland was in mortal fear of the animal. It was harmless, however, and died at Buenos Ayres.

Fredricks returned to New York in 1853 and proceeded to Paris, where the photographic art was much inferior in its development to the art in New York. There he made a great advance in the art, taking portraits life size and finishing them with crayons. He

Gurney, a skilful operator. They were together about ten years, when, in 1855, Mr. Fredricks opened a large photographic gallery on Broadway, opposite the Metropolitan Hotel, with a corps of French artists whom he had brought from Paris, and introduced photography on a grand scale, making life-size portraits. There he remained twenty years, until burned out in 1876, when he removed to his present quarters, No. 770 Broadway. In 1857 Mr. Fredricks married Miss Marie Laura Barron, and has five children.

It has been asserted that only a fixed proportion of the population has an inborn taste for the fine arts, and that the widespread demand for art productions now observed in the city of New York, as elsewhere, indicates only the increase in the numbers of the population. This theory does not seem to be sustained by facts. Fine-art productions placed before the public have certainly multiplied the lovers of art in much greater proportion than the increase of population, in a given time, than ever before, either by creating a taste or developing a taste for the fine arts in individuals. In this good work Mr. Kurtz, one of the leading photographers of New York City, has borne and is bearing a conspicuous part.

Mr. Kurtz is a German by birth, having been born in a village in the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, in May, 1834, where he received a common-school education. He was the eldest of seven children. His father dying when he was fourteen years of age, his mother placed him as a clerk with a merchant at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The business was distasteful to him, for he had a taste and talent for art, and he was a failure as a merchant's clerk. At the end of two years he was apprenticed to a lithographer at Offenbach for four years. The story of his subsequent career is interesting.*

was the first who made photographs of this kind. He remained in Paris about six months, when, believing that the novelty of life-size portraits painted by French artists would be very popular and become a profitable business in New York, he determined to establish himself permanently in that city.

* At twenty years of age young Kurtz was drafted into the infantry service at Worms, and leaving Germany joined the British-German Legion and engaged in the Crimean war. At the conclusion of peace he went to London and unsuccessfully sought employment as a lithographer. He became a teacher of drawing and foreman in a earmine factory. The financial revulsion in 1857 deprived him of employment, and he went to sea as a green sailor before the mast, making several voyages. Finally, while on a voyage from England to California with a cargo of coal, his vessel was wrecked below the equator. The crew were picked up by an English ship bound for Calcutta. They were speedily transferred to an American ship bound for Hampton Roads, Virginia. From that port he, with other seamen, went to the Sailors' Snug Harbor in New York, in Christmas week, 1859. When he arrived there he had just ten cents in his monkey-

Great changes in the localities of business centres were begun in this decade. We have already noticed the localities of groups of various kinds of business previous to the year 1830, and the first migrations from these groups.

The great fire in December, 1835, caused a much greater migration, especially in one branch of business, than had yet been seen. The locality of that fire, as we have observed, was the chief centre of the wholesale dry-goods business. The smitten district was soon rebuilt with far superior structures, but the mordnate demands of the owners for rent caused the former occupants to push across Wall Street.

jacket. While tarrying there he saw in a New York paper an advertisement for an artist to retouch photographs at an establishment in the Bowery. He went to the city, and was employed there.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Mr. Kurtz took the preliminary steps toward becoming a naturalized citizen. He left the city with the Seventh Regiment National Guard, for Washington, and remained with it in the capacity of sergeant until the expiration of its term of enlistment—three months. In 1863 he took charge of the artistic department of a Broadway gallery, and the next year he married Miss Clotilde Raefle. In 1865 he started a photographic gallery of his own far up Broadway, where Lord & Taylor's store now is, and in the same year he introduced the carbon process, which renders photographs altogether unalterable in the air. He also introduced porcelain miniatures. At the annual fair of the American Institute, held in the autumn of 1865, he received the first medal of that institution for superior photographs.

In 1866 Mr. Kurtz made a revolution in photography by introducing the "Rembrandt effect," which method has been adopted at all the chief photographic galleries of the world. In 1870 he received at the Paris Exposition the first premium for superior photographs. It was the first medal that ever came to the United States as a premium for photographs. At the Vienna Exhibition in 1873 he received the first and greatest awards for portraits—the Medal of Progress and the Medal of Art (medal for good taste) combined.

In 1874 Mr. Kurtz opened the Kurtz Gallery, on Madison Square, a model building for the exhibition of photographs and productions in every other department of art. He invested \$130,000 in that building and its equipment. The next year he introduced the "transfer crayon" portraits, which abolish crayon drawings on photographic bases. The process he kept secret. In 1876 his name was first mentioned by the jurors at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in their report, "for general artistic excellence in all styles of portrait photography, plain, crayon, oil, and pastel, and for a new process of making durable crayons." He was the only artist whose crayon drawings were admitted as "works of art" to Memorial Hall (where photographs were excluded) by a committee of eminent artists. Orders for his crayon drawings have been received from Paris and other cities of Europe.

In 1880 Mr. Kurtz had received letters-patent for the "vibrottype," an improvement of the old way of taking photographic pictures; also for the "conigraph," an invention for a variety of uses for artists who work on paper. The latter was patented in France.

Mr. Kurtz has filled the offices of president of the German Photographic Society, vice-president of the American Photographic Society, and president of the Palette Art Association.



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They made Pine, Cedar, and Liberty streets the great centre of the wholesale dry-goods trade. Gradually firm after firm ventured upon Broadway in the lower part. In 1840 a wholesale store on Broadway, half a mile from the Battery, was unknown. The centre of business was then within a quarter of a mile of the Battery. When a venturesome merchant opened a wholesale store on the site of old Grace Church, on the corner of Rector Street and Broadway, conservative and cautious men said, "Too high up!"

But the omnibuses and the city railroads soon wrought a change in business and domestic arrangements. These made transportation to a distance of two or three miles easier than foot travel a distance of half a mile, and enabled the merchant and professional man, the mechanic and the common laborer, to have their homes more remote from their respective places of employment. The families of merchants left the often inconvenient and undesirable quarters over the stores for more spacious and comfortable dwellings, where they could enjoy more light and air. The city, containing in 1840 nearly 313,000 inhabitants, rapidly spread out in fan-like shape, with the City Hall Park as the base, at which point several of the railways still radiate. At that period the streets above Fourteenth were rapidly filling up with dwellings, and very small stores and shops for the supply of local wants.

From that period extensive retail stores rapidly multiplied on Broadway below Canal Street, and some speedily appeared above that point. The first of these retail stores which finally expanded its enormous proportions and continued to our day was that of Alexander T. Stewart, who, at the time of his death in 1876, was the most extensive and probably the wealthiest merchant on the earth.

Mr. Stewart was of Scotch-Irish descent. He was born in 1803, at a little town six miles from Belfast, Ireland. Left an orphan under the care of his grandfather, who was a Methodist, at the age of eight years, he was educated with a view to the ministry. Before he had graduated from Trinity College his grandfather died, and he was left without a known relative in the world. He left the college with honors, and at the age of twenty years came to America.

Mr. Stewart landed at the Battery in 1823. His guardian was a Friend or Quaker, and he gave Stewart letters of introduction to some of his coreligionists in New York. Being a fair linguist and well educated, Stewart obtained a situation in a public school. He was also a teacher of penmanship for a while, and one of his pupils in that art was the late Fletcher Harper, of the firm of Harper & Brothers.

A seeming trivial circumstance introduced him into the mercantile

world. He expected to receive a small patrimony when he should be twenty-one years of age. He brought some money with him. A young man of his acquaintance applied to him for some funds wherewith to stock a small dry-goods store. Stewart advanced the money, the little store was stocked, but his friend could not go on with the business, and Stewart concluded to undertake it himself.

Stewart went to Ireland for his patrimony, and invested \$3000 of it in goods. Soon after his return there appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* (September 2, 1825) a modest advertisement announcing that A. T. Stewart offered for sale, at No. 283 Broadway, "a general assortment of fresh and seasonable dry goods." He had rented one half of a store in a little wooden building exactly opposite where he erected his great marble building afterward. He had a sleeping-room in the rear. He moved into a larger store, at No. 262 Broadway, and not long afterward to No. 257, where, by industry, discretion, sagacity, vigilance, and persistence, he laid the foundation of his extensive business and great fortune. He soon rose to the head of the dry-goods business of the country.

On the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street stood quite an imposing building known as Washington Hall. It was completed in 1812, and was the finest structure, in an architectural point of view, in the city at that time. It was erected under the auspices of the Washington Benevolent Society, one of several political organizations of that name which originated in Philadelphia at about the beginning of the century, but was not thoroughly organized until a dozen years afterward. In politics these societies were opposed to the Tammany societies. They disappeared with the demise of the Federal party, during the administration of President Monroe.

In 1848 Mr. Stewart, by great commercial sagacity and operating upon a cash basis, had accumulated a fortune sufficient to enable him to purchase Washington Hall, which had been used for many years as a hotel. Upon its site, the front of which extended from Chambers Street to Reade Street, he erected a magnificent marble structure for his business, five stories in height, on Broadway. That store—the pioneer of marble, freestone, and iron stores on Broadway—attracted great attention at home and abroad. It was an efficient advertisement for Stewart. The Astor House, grand in size and built of granite, had been until then one of the architectural wonders of the city; now Stewart's store was a prolific topic of remark.

Fourteen years later, Stewart's business having outgrown his great store, he resolved to anticipate the up-town movement of population,

the unmistakable symptoms of which were then apparent. He purchased a part of the Randall estate (the Sailors' Snug Harbor), between Ninth and Tenth streets and Broadway and Fourth Avenue, whereon he built an extensive iron structure, six stories in height, with a basement and sub-basement. It was not unlike, in outward appearance, the great down-town store, which was subsequently devoted to the wholesale dry-goods business. In the new retail store about two thousand persons were employed, and the running expenses of the establishment were estimated at over \$1,000,000 a year. The sales in the two establishments are said to have amounted to \$203,000,000 in three years, and his net income for several years was over \$1,000,000.

The business of the house of A. T. Stewart & Co. was literally "world-wide" at the time of his death in 1876. A foreign office had been established at Manchester, England, where English goods were collected, examined, and packed. The firm had a factory at Belfast for the perfecting of Irish linens. At Glasgow they had a house for the collection and forwarding of Scotch goods. They also had a store at Paris, where were gathered goods from India, France, and Germany. They had a woollen house at Berlin, and a silk warehouse at Lyons. They also had mills in Europe and America for the manufacture of goods exclusively for their house, and their agents and buyers were continually "travelling between Hong Kong and Paris, Thibet and Peru."

Mr. Stewart had no taste for politics as such, nor aspirations for official position. He was very retiring in his habits. By his shrewd business management he had honestly and deservedly acquired the title of a "merchant prince," and he wore the honor with modesty. He was chairman of the honorary commission sent by the United States to the Paris Exposition. President Grant nominated him for a seat in his cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, but an existing and wise law barred his entrance upon the duties of the office.

It is said that Mr. Stewart's private charities, of which the world knew nothing, were extensive and generous. He designed to make provision for various public charities. In March, 1876, he had addressed a letter to his wife (they had no children), in which he stated this determination, and that he depended upon her to carry out his plans in case he should fail to complete them himself.

These generous plans were not executed by those who had the management of Mr. Stewart's estate after his death. He had begun the construction of a town on Hempstead Plains, on Long Island, called Garden City, designed to furnish comfortable homes at moderate

prices. He also had in progress at the time of his death a magnificent iron building on Fourth Avenue, between Thirty-second and Thirty-third streets, intended to furnish comfortable homes to respectable working-girls. A magnificent cathedral (which also serves as a mausoleum) has been erected at Garden City, at a cost that would have built scores of cottages. And the Home for Working-Girls was dedicated, before it was completed, to the service of Mammon. Its ground floor (as was originally intended) is devoted to mercantile pursuits, but the remainder of the building, designed for benevolent uses, was made a "first-class" hotel.

The Home for Working-Girls would have been the noblest monument imaginable to the memory of the benevolent and generous merchant prince. Even the mercantile house of A. T. Stewart & Co., which formed a magnificent monument to his memory as a business man and a citizen, who, by his genius and lofty probity, had for half a century contributed immensely to the prosperity and good name of the city of New York, was allowed to disappear from the realm of commercial life in the city almost immediately after his death. There is now, seven years after his departure, on April 10, 1876, nothing in the great metropolis to keep alive in memory a knowledge of the existence there of Alexander T. Stewart, excepting his marble mansion on Fifth Avenue, the rapidly fading recollections in fashionable society and of mercantile circles of "Stewart's," and the fact that he left behind him a fortune of \$50,000,000.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DURING this first decade places of amusement and associations for social enjoyment multiplied and were modified in character by the prevailing tone of society. The theatre was the chief source of intellectual amusement, for the lyceum lecturer was unknown. The Park Theatre maintained its supremacy as a dignified and well-conducted play-house. It was the usual place of introduction to the American public of the best foreign actors, dancers, and singers, also of the best native talent. It was at that house that Thomas A. Cooper,* Charles Mathews, the Keans, Charles and Fanny Kemble, Malibran, Celeste, Fanny Elisler, Madame Vestris, and others first made their appearance in this country, at about the period under consideration.

Miss Clara Fisher was a most remarkable young woman, and fairly bewitched New York society at the beginning of this decade. She was a plump English girl of exquisite form, below the middle height in stature, vivacious, running over with fun, her cheeks continually dimpled with smiles. She was seventeen years of age when she first arrived in New York. She first appeared at the Park Theatre. The town seemed crazed by her presence. Her name was given to hotels, stages, and race-horses. She continually performed in the character of boys or striplings. Having her hair cut short behind,

* Thomas Apthorpe Cooper, though an old man, was a favorite actor during a portion of this decade. He was born in England in 1776, and went upon the stage when he was seventeen years of age, under Stephen Kemble, at Edinburgh. At the age of twenty he appeared on the boards in Philadelphia as Hamlet. He was at one time the manager of a theatre in New York, and did not leave the stage until 1836, when he was sixty years of age.

In February, 1833, Mr. Cooper took a benefit at the Bowery, on which occasion he introduced to the stage his beautiful and accomplished daughter, Priscilla Elizabeth, in the character of Virginia. She entered the profession reluctantly, but did well. In September, 1839, she married Robert Tyler, son of (afterward) President John Tyler, and she was the presiding lady at the White House while her father-in-law was President. Her mother was a daughter of Major Fairlie and granddaughter of Robert Yates, of New York State. In 1841 President Tyler appointed Cooper military storekeeper at Frankford, Pennsylvania.

fashionable young ladies under twenty-five years of age adopted the fashion, and also her slight lisping speech.

Miss Fisher was a charming singer, and at the Park she introduced to the Americans the stirring song of "Hurrah for the Bonnets of Blue." It electrified audiences. She was equally at home in tragedy or comedy. On December 6, 1834, she married James G. Maeder, a distinguished musician, and the preceptor in vocal music of Charlotte Cushman.

Miss Fisher acquired an ample fortune in her earlier years, much of which was lost in the rum of the United States Bank. Her last intended appearance on the stage was in 1844, for the benefit of her sister, Mrs. Vernon, but in 1851 she appeared at Brougham's Lyceum, and assisted occasionally at Niblo's. Her character was almost faultless.

Miss Alexina Fisher, a juvenile star, appeared on the boards of the Park in 1831, when she was ten years of age; her last appearance in New York was in 1862, when she supported Edwin Booth at the Winter Garden in the characters of Ophelia, Desdemona, and Emilia.

Miss Julia Wheatley, daughter of the excellent Mrs. (Ross) Wheatley, made her first appearance as an actress at the Park in 1833, when she was fourteen years of age. She had been seen on its boards as a little dancer when she was five years of age. She had a rich and highly cultivated voice. Miss Wheatley was a great favorite for several years. In 1840 she married Mr. E. H. Miller, and retired from the stage.

Miss Emma Wheatley, the younger daughter of Mrs. Wheatley, was also a charming actress. She appeared as one of the children in *Romeo and Juliet* with Mrs. Barnes in 1828, and was a favorite before she was thirteen years old in 1834, when she made her first appearance as a regular actress, as Julia in Sheridan Knowles's *Hunchback*, at a benefit of her mother. She played the same character in company with the author while he was in this country, until 1837, when she married James Mason. His father, who was wealthy, gave them the means for supporting a pleasant home, and she retired from the stage. At the elder Mason's death his will gave them little. It was contested for some time. Meanwhile Mrs. Mason resumed her profession. The courts finally awarded her husband an equal share in his father's estate. It was an ample fortune, but she did not live long to enjoy the happiness of a model home they had prepared. She died in 1854, at the early age of thirty-two years.

Mrs. Wheatley, the mother of Miss Julia and Miss Emma Wheatley, was Miss Ross, a daughter of Lieutenant Ross of the British army, and was born in Nova Scotia in 1788. She came to New York with her

mother after her father's death, and appeared at the Park Theatre, then quite new, as early as 1805. At the end of that season she married Mr. Wheatley. Altered circumstances caused her to resume her profession in 1811. She had two daughters and a son, all of whom gained distinction on the stage. She finally retired from the profession in New York in 1843, with the highest character in every part of the drama of life.

About 1830 Charles J. Kean (as we have observed), Mrs. Barnes, and Master Burke, the latter a precocious Irish youth, were very popular at the Park. Burke appeared as Young Norval. He was already a skilful violinist and also an accomplished singer, especially of humorous songs. His powers of mimicry were wonderful, and for several seasons he was a most attractive star at the Park. Burke became one of the first violinists of the age, and assisted Jenny Lind, Jullien, Thalberg, and others in their concerts. Mrs. Barnes took the part of Pocahontas in the play of *Powhatan* at the Park, a drama written by George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington.

One of the most attractive actresses known to the American stage about 1831 or 1832 was Miss Emily Mestayer, doubtless well remembered by the older theatre-going readers. She is described as "lovely in form, complexion, and character." She was skilled in vocalism, and was for a long time the most popular of the dramatic profession in New York. At an early age she married Mr. Houpt, but retained her maiden name professionally.

Edwin Forrest made his first appearance in New York City in 1826, at the age of twenty. He was a native of Philadelphia. Having performed at Albany, he came to New York and played the part of Othello at the Bowery Theatre. He very soon made his way to the position of a great American tragedian. John Augustus Stone's tragedy of *Metamora* and Dr. Bird's tragedy of *The Gladiator* were written for Forrest. He appeared in the latter at the Park in 1831. In 1834 distinguished citizens of New York honored him with a public banquet, on which occasion he was presented with a massive gold medal designed by Ingham, having appropriate devices and inscriptions. In 1837 he married a daughter of John Sinclair, the English vocalist. The marriage was infelicitous. He performed both in America and in England. He cherished a feud with Macready, and his course in wantonly persecuting that excellent actor led to the sad Astor Place riot in 1849, which will be noticed hereafter. The celebrated Josephine Clifton first appeared on the stage in 1831. She was a native of New York, and was then eighteen years old. Miss Clifton

appeared at the Bowery Theatre as Belvidera. Possessed of surpassing beauty in form and feature, and thoroughly cultivated for the purpose, she was successful at the start, and at once became a star of the first magnitude. In 1835 she appeared at the Drury Lane Theatre, London. She brought out the play of *Bianca Visconti* in 1837, which was written for her by N. P. Willis. Miss Clifton married Mr. Place, manager of a New Orleans theatre, in 1846, and died in that city the next year.

The Ravel Family introduced a most charming pantomime performance into New York in 1832, and the same year Charles Kemble * and his charming daughter of twenty appeared at the Park Theatre, first in *Hamlet* and then in *The Merchant of Venice*, he as Shylock and she as Portia. They produced a great sensation in the theatrical and fashionable world. She was immediately the acknowledged Queen of Tragedy.

The cholera raged in New York in 1832, and was injurious to the business of the theatres as well as other pursuits. The aggregate receipts of all the theatres in the city of New York during the "cholera season" was only \$50,000.

The Ravels were favorites for a long series of years, and are yet remembered with pleasure, not only by the older residents of New York, but by the visitors to the city forty or fifty years ago. After playing at the Park and Bowery they went to Niblo's, where they performed several successive seasons, making great profits for themselves and the proprietor of the theatre. They also performed at Palmo's Opera House, in Chambers Street. The troupe was gradually changed, but

* Charles Kemble was fifty-seven years of age when he first appeared in New York. He became an actor when he was only a lad. He married a distinguished German actress in 1806, who became the mother of Frances Anne and Adelaide Kemble. The former was born in London in 1811. She first appeared on the stage at Covent Garden in 1829. She inherited from her mother much of the extraordinary talent then exhibited. She was a lithe and slender girl. No actress in America ever held her audience under absolute control like Fanny Kemble. Her hand was sought, with offers of great wealth; she gave it to Pierce Butler, a wealthy slaveowner then living near Philadelphia. Their dispositions and tastes were utterly incompatible; their affections were alienated; a legal separation took place after she had borne two daughters, and she assumed her maiden name. The stage was distasteful to her, or rather its associations, and she soon began dramatic readings, to which she ever afterward adhered as a profession.

Fanny Kemble wrote a play called *Francis First*, which was introduced at Covent Garden before she was twenty years of age. She was imperious in manner, and offended the American public by her criticisms. For these she apologized. A drama from her pen—*The Duke's Wager*—was performed at the Astor Place Opera House. Her "Letters" to Miss Sedgwick, at the breaking out of our Civil War, produced a sensation, as they revealed the iniquities of the slave system as she saw it on her husband's plantation.

ever kept up their reputation. In 1857-58 they played an engagement of three hundred nights at Niblo's, giving a performance four times a week. Portions of the old troupe won triumphs at Niblo's so late as 1865.

Tyrone Power, the great Irish comedian, first appeared in New York at the Park Theatre in 1833, in the character of the Irish Tutor. He was then thirty-six years of age, and had been engaged in dramatic performances since 1815. He was unrivalled in his personation of Irish character. He was also an accomplished writer. His "Impressions of America" had a ready and large sale. Power was about five feet eight inches in height, compactly built, with light hair and complexion, and in spirits was overflowing with geniality and good-humor. He was also a fine musician and dancer. Power was lost in the ill-fated steamship *President*, which foundered at sea while on a voyage from New York to Liverpool. She was never heard of.

Mr. and Mrs. Wood, eminent singers, appeared at the Park in 1833, in opera. Mrs. Wood was an extraordinary vocalist. She sang and played the piano and other instruments correctly when she was four years of age. She first appeared on the stage in London at twenty. Mrs. Wood was a Scotch girl. Won by a title, she married poor Lord Lennox, who was poor in purse and spirit, and they were soon divorced, when she immediately married Joseph Wood, of the Covent Garden Theatre troupe. She died in England in 1863.

The apparent public interest in the Italian opera caused the formation of a stock company in New York for the purpose of establishing it permanently in the city. They built an elegant opera-house on the corner of Church and Leonard streets. The enterprise was a total failure. In the fall of 1836 the house was opened for dramatic performances, and it was called the National Theatre. It afterward passed into the hands of Mr. Hackett, and at length into those of James Wallack. During its management by the latter the building was destroyed by fire (September, 1839), but was soon rebuilt. It was leased first to Alexander Wilson, and then to William E. Burton. During the management of the latter it was again (May, 1841) consumed by fire.

The above mentioned New York Opera Company was formed through the exertions of Signor Rivafinoli, and the house was first opened to the public in November, 1833. On that occasion Signorina Clementine Fanti, a large and beautiful woman, was the first soprano.

James Sheridan Knowles, author of *The Hunchback*, *William Tell*, and other plays, first appeared on the stage in New York at the Park in the spring of 1831. He had been performing in Philadelphia. At

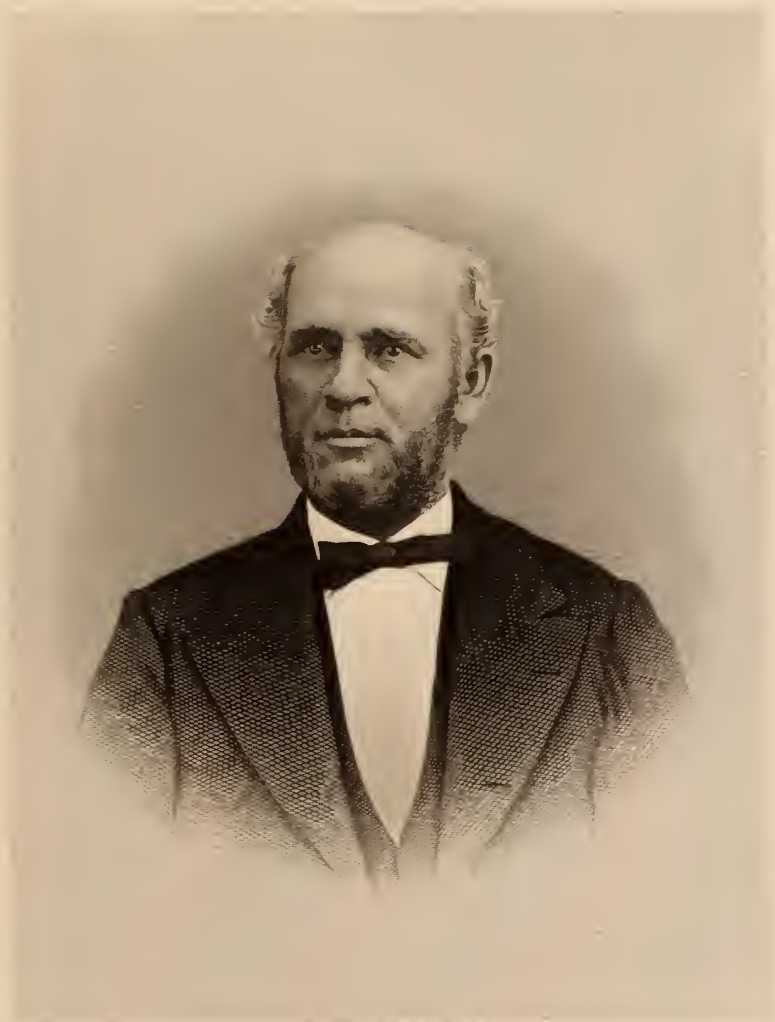
the close of the season he returned to Europe and entered the pulpit as a Baptist minister, in which profession he was very popular.

During this decade several famous singers and dancers appeared in the New York theatres. Mademoiselle Celeste took the town by storm, as it were, by her dancing, when she appeared in 1834. She had been married in 1828, at the age of fifteen years, to an American gentleman, and became the mother of an only daughter. She afterward made a successful professional tour in Europe, when she returned to New York, and made a more successful tour in the United States during three years, gaining by her profession the net sum of \$200,000. She returned to England. She came back in 1838, and played a farewell engagement at the Park in 1840. She came again in 1851, and performed at the Broadway Theatre. She came again in 1865, and, as ever, excited great interest. She was then fifty-one years of age.

Mme. Vestris, who was noted for the elegance and symmetry of her figure, beauty of face, and as a most perfect actress in pantomime, delighted New York from 1836 to 1838. She was a daughter of Bartolozzi, the eminent engraver; married Armand Vestris when she was sixteen years of age, and became the most popular dancer of the time. She did not aspire to the stage, but at her husband's request and for his benefit she appeared at the King's Theatre, in London, in the summer of 1815. From that time for many years she was the leading vocalist and dancer of the London stage. In 1830 she became connected with Charles Mathews, Jr., professionally and otherwise, and in the same year, having long been separated from her husband, she became legally married to Mathews, just before they embarked for America, and bore his name while they were here. Her American engagement ended late in 1838, when they returned to England, and she became the lessee of a theatre in London. She died there in 1856, at the age of sixty years, in comparative poverty, having squandered her immense earnings as fast as they were received.

Mathews, the husband of Madame Vestris, was the son of the more celebrated comedian of that name. He revisited New York in 1857, married Mrs. A. H. Davenport, and brought her out at Burton's Theatre as Mrs. Mathews. His last appearance in New York was in May, 1858, when he returned to England with his new wife.

Miss Charlotte Watson, a beautiful English girl of seventeen summers, bewitched New York theatre-goers by her marvellous singing. She appeared at the Park in 1835. She was of a celebrated musical family, and had recently accompanied the great violinist Paganini on a musical tour in Great Britain and on the continent.



Wm Webb

She so charmed the Italian that he offered her his hand in marriage. There were impediments. He induced her to elope from England and join him at Boulogne, with a view to their marriage at that place. His intentions were honorable. Her father, informed of the affair, went in pursuit, and reached Boulogne before her arrival. He brought her to America. In February, 1837, she married Thomas Bailey, of New York City. Mrs. Bailey continued to appear in public occasionally. She made her last appearance at the Park in the fall of 1857 as second to Madame Anna Bishop. She had sung a ballad for Mr. Brough's complimentary benefit at Niblo's in January, 1851.

One of the best American actresses, and one of the best of women, was Miss Charlotte Saunders Cushman, a lineal descendant of the Rev. Robert Cushman, who preached the first sermon in New England. She first appeared on the stage at the Bowery Theatre in September, 1835. She was then twenty years of age. Her father, a Boston merchant, had left her mother at his death in indigent circumstances, with five children. Charlotte was the eldest. She had an excellent voice, and sang at a concert when she was fifteen years old. Her fine contralto voice on that occasion attracted great attention. She sang at one of the concerts given by Mr. and Mrs. Wood, who encouraged her to cultivate her voice. After receiving instruction she appeared at the Tremont Theatre as the Countess in the *Marriage of Figaro*. That was in 1835. She was immediately engaged as a prima donna for the New Orleans theatre. The change in climate caused the loss of the firmness of her voice, and she was compelled to abandon vocalism and become an actress, in which profession she was finally very successful.

Miss Cushman came north, unsuccessfully sought employment at the Park, and accepted an engagement at the Bowery Theatre with a hope of giving support to her mother and family. But she was prostrated by illness, and her acting was long delayed. She recovered, played a few nights, was again taken ill, and before she had regained her health the Bowery Theatre was burned, with all her theatrical wardrobe. Mr. Hackett, of the National Theatre, engaged her, and she first appeared there in 1831 in *Romeo and Juliet*. That fall she became the leading stock actress at the Park. After directing the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia for a while, she went to New York in 1844 to play with Macready. Success attended her. She played at the Princess's Theatre, London, in 1845, eighty-four nights in succession. She alternated her residence and professional duties between America and England for several years. She finally left the stage in 1861, but afterward gave dramatic readings on occasion. Miss Cushman was tall and

commanding in appearance, with light hair and complexion and refinement of manner. Miss Cushman died in her native city, Boston, on February 18, 1876.

Miss Ellen Tree, a charming English actress, first appeared in America at the Park at the close of 1836. She followed and rivalled Fanny Kemble in popularity. Her acting always attracted the "cream of society." The bloom of youth had departed from her cheek when she came to New York, but being a most consummate actor and charming woman, her slight personal defects were unnoticed. At the end of two years Miss Tree returned to England, and in 1842 she married Charles Kean.

In 1836 Mademoiselle Augusta appeared at the Park as a famous ballet-dancer, and won immense popularity. Lovely in form and feature, and endowed with maidenly reserve of manner, she attracted crowds nightly, and won every heart. She was called, professionally, mademoiselle, but she was the wife of a venerable French nobleman, the Count Fitz-James, and said to have been a scion of the royal house of Stuart. He died in 1851. Augusta's last appearance on the stage was at the Metropolitan Theatre in New York in 1855, when she became a teacher of dancing in that city.

In the spring of 1839 two famous dancers, Monsieur and Madame Taglioni, made their first appearance at the Park in the ballet of *La Sylphide*. They were brilliant performers. Madame Taglioni was not pretty in feature, but was vivacious and faultless in form and motion. The popularity of the Park was then waning, and the Taglionis, after performing one season, returned to Europe.

We have observed that the popularity of the Park was waning. It was too severely strict in its adherence to the pure drama and the highest performances in the histrionic art. Public taste about 1837 and 1838 was evidently changing. The Bowery Theatre had introduced "sensational" acting, and was attracting the multitude of theatre-goers. A vulgar taste was evidently usurping the seat of refined taste. The pure drama no longer satisfied the cravings of the vitiated appetite newly created, and the better actors at the Park played to comparatively empty seats.

Clara Fisher (then Mrs. Maeder), who a short time before commanded overflowing houses at the Park, was now struggling in vain to attract paying audiences at the little Olympic and Vauxhall; Cooper was suing for an engagement; Junius Brutus Booth was playing at the Franklin; Mrs. Duff and Mrs. Brown were unappreciated at the Richmond Hill; and Forrest, James Wallack, and Placide were

starring at the Chatham, afterward known as Purdy's National Theatre.

“What is the cause of this indifference to the legitimate drama?” asked Clark, of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. “What do the public want? Novelty, excitement, dash, show, parade. Spectacle has become the order of the day. Impossible circumstances drawn up in big, windy words, glowing scenery, pompous processions, discordant noises, roaring lions, and men and women who can outroar them—these, with novelty for the scene-shifter, are the aliment for which the public appetite is set.”

The last and most famous of the dancers who visited America at this period was Mademoiselle Fanny Elssler, a German woman, who first appeared in public at the Park Theatre in New York in May, 1841. She came with a high professional name, for she had charmed crowds of delighted people at the theatres in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, and London. She was tall, and of exquisite womanly proportions. Her complexion was of delicate whiteness, which contrasted finely with her rich, glossy, and profuse chestnut hair. She is described as being exceedingly fascinating in person and manner. Mademoiselle Elssler won immense popularity at once by her execution of the dainty *Pas Cracovienne*.

Mademoiselle Elssler was a native of Vienna, and was about thirty years of age when she came to New York. She and her sister Theresa had been educated for the ballet at Naples, and they first appeared on the stage at Berlin in 1830. Fanny left the stage in 1851. Theresa married Prince Adalbert of Prussia, and was ennobled by the king.

There were several meritorious actors and stage managers who first appeared at the New York theatres during this decade, and rose to eminence in their profession. Among the most notable of these were Hackett,* Danforth Marble,† and Hill, in the personification of the

* Mr. Hackett, whose wife was an actress, had been a merchant, but failing in business took to the stage as a profession. He first appeared on the boards in 1826 as an impersonator of “Yankee character” and exponent of “Yankee humor.” In this line he was for years unrivalled, was very popular, amassed a fortune, and paid every mercantile creditor his just dues. In private life Hackett was much esteemed.

† Danforth Marble—“Dan Marble,” as he was familiarly termed—was another successful impersonator of character. He was a native of Danbury, Connecticut, learned the trade of a silversmith in New York, became a member of a Thespian association, was introduced behind the scenes at the Chatham Theatre, and resolved to become an actor. In April, 1831, he paid the manager of the Richmond Hill Theatre \$20 for the privilege of performing the part of Robin Roughhead. Again he paid him \$10 for a similar privilege. Then he took a position among the lowest grade of actors, performing chiefly in “Yankee” and “Kentucky” characters. He made a decided “hit” in the play of *Sam*

traditional "Yankee" and of other nationalities. Mr. Hill * was known as "Yankee Hill." There were also Hamblin,† Mitchell, Burton, and Flynn—"Poor Tom Flynn," as he was spoken of in his later years.

Edward Simpson was, of course, chief among managers at that period, and was a veteran at the beginning of this decade, for he and Stephen Price had been lessees of the Park many years.

William Niblo, whose place of amusement was very popular for many years, even down to the beginning of the present decade (1870-80), began business life as the keeper of the famous Bank Coffee-House, corner of Pine and William streets, which he opened in 1814. He had married the excellent daughter of Daniel King, a famous innkeeper, first in Wall Street, and then on the site of "Niblo's Garden," near Spring Street. There King died about 1828, and in his house Niblo opened a branch of his coffee-house in 1829. To his surprise and delight, he soon found it filled with the families of eminent merchants, who preferred boarding for a while to housekeeping. The then great merchant, Archibald Gracie, and his family were boarders within a week after it was opened. The omnibuses, just introduced, made a residence that distance from business quite feasible. Niblo's was the only building on the block where the Metropolitan Hotel now stands, and there were no houses on Broadway opposite.

At the suggestion of friends Niblo opened a "garden" for the pleasure of the higher class of citizens, where ice-cream, cake, lemonade, and other refreshments were served in the open air. It was very suc-

Patch, and became immensely popular in the West and South-West. Within seven years from the time he paid \$20 for the privilege of trying his powers, he was one of the most attractive star actors at the Park. He went to London in 1844, where he was very popular in a play entitled *The Vermont Wool-Dealer*, and his welcome on his return was an ovation. His last performance was at St. Louis in May, 1849. A few days afterward he died there of Asiatic cholera. In 1836 Marble married a daughter of Mr. Warren, of Philadelphia, a celebrated comedian.

* "Yankee Hill" (George H.) was a native of Boston. He was a jeweller's apprentice, working near the theatre. He first recited "Yankee stories" and sang "Yankee songs" at the Warren Street Theatre in that city. He was always a favorite at the Park, and was very popular at the Adelphi, in London, in 1838. Hill played with great success at other theatres in Great Britain and the United States. He died at Saratoga Springs, in September, 1849.

† Thomas S. Hamblin was an Englishman, and made his first appearance on an American stage as Hamlet, when he was about twenty-four years of age. He had first appeared as a ballet-dancer at the Adelphi, in London, with a salary of \$1.50 a week. In 1830 he became lessee of the Bowery Theatre with Hackett. As an actor he was rather a failure, but was an energetic manager. In that capacity he served until his death, from brain fever, in 1853. During his administration of the Bowery, that theatre was twice burned, the first time in 1836, and the second time in 1845.

cessful from the beginning. Vauxhall Garden, that extended from the Bowery nearly to Broadway above Fourth Street, was then too far up town. In a short time Niblo altered an old building on the premises into an open-air theatre for summer dramatic and musical performances, and it became very famous, and remained so until our day. The theatre really forms a part of the Metropolitan Hotel, and a small courtyard with a fountain is still called a garden. Upon this the superb lobbies of the theatre open.

This theatre was the scene of the *Black Crook*, the first grand ballet spectacle ever seen in this country. It was presented in 1865, and ran for several years. It was followed by similar spectacles. The interior of the theatre was burned in 1872, but was soon restored. Its auditorium will seat nearly two thousand persons. It is still known as Niblo's Garden Theatre. The founder lived until he was nearly eighty years of age, and his face and complexion at seventy-five were as fair as that of a middle-aged woman.

William Mitchell was an Englishman, and first appeared at the National Theatre in 1836. He was not a marked favorite until he opened the Olympic, on Broadway, late in 1839, with amusing travesties and burlesques, which became very popular. He hit the humor of the time. Burton finally rivalled him, and Mitchell retired in 1850 with a competence, but finally became poor. While arrangements were in progress to give him a benefit, he died, May 12, 1856.

We have observed that William E. Burton rivalled Mitchell as an actor and manager. He, too, was an Englishman, was thoroughly educated, and was designed by his father, the eminent scholar and author of "Biblical Researches," for one of the liberal professions. On the death of his father he became connected with the newspaper press, and an intimacy with actors led him to adopt the profession of a player. He played in the provinces for seven years in an extensive range of characters, and made his first appearance on the London stage in 1831, where he was very successful. He came to America in 1834, and first appeared at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia, principally in comedy. He played his first engagement in New York as a star at the National Theatre in 1839. He was afterward manager of theatres in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and finally of the National Theatre in New York in April, 1841. It was burned in May. In 1848 he opened Burton's Theatre, in Palmo's Opera House, in Chambers Street. There he was very successful, drawing crowded houses by his acting in comedies. His impersonations of some of Dickens's characters, and especially Toodles, were constant delights to theatre-goers, and for years

Burton's Theatre was the favorite resort of the most intelligent class of pleasure-seekers, where fashionable people were not trammelled by etiquette as at the stately Park.

Commerce needed Chambers Street, and with a hope of conquering his rivals, Wallack and Laura Keene, Burton opened Burton's New Theatre in 1856, far up Broadway. He was unsuccessful, and abandoned the field. Burton was an unrivalled comedian, and an accomplished writer. He died in New York February 9, 1860.

"Poor Tom Flynn" made his first appearance on the stage at the Chatham Theatre. He was stage manager of the Bowery in 1833-34, and afterward of the Richmond Hill Theatre. In 1836 he opened the National Theatre, where he brought out William Mitchell. With others he built the New Chatham Theatre, first opened in 1839. He had now become intemperate: the "social glass" had ruined him. He made an attempt at reform, and became a zealous public advocate of the temperance cause. This was a hopeful pause in his life career. It was only a pause: he soon relapsed, and he died, in poverty and shame, of cholera in 1849. Flynn married Miss Matilda Twibell, the "belle of the stage," in 1828.

