







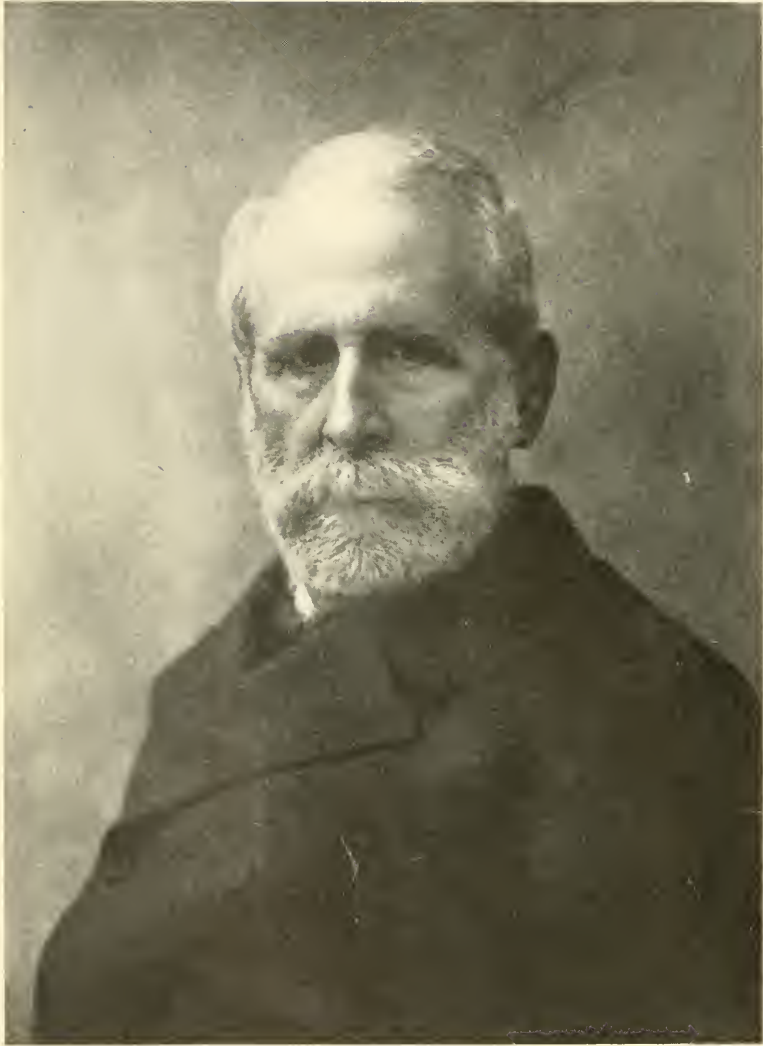




THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF
ANDREW HASWELL GREEN :







ANDREW HASWELL GREEN, 1903

THE LIFE
AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
ANDREW HASWELL GREEN

By
JOHN FOORD



ILLUSTRATED

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS memoir has been compiled from the diaries, letters, and public papers of its subject, supplemented by the copious references to his public career contained in the newspaper press. The original material has been supplied by the executors of Mr. Green's will, and the work has been done under their sanction and supervision, and in its completed form bears the stamp of their acceptance and approval. Special acknowledgment for well-digested summaries of Mr. Green's work in the creation of Central Park and its adjuncts, and his administration of the Comptroller's Office, is due to Mr. Henry Mann, and free use has been made of an appreciative monograph on Mr. Green's career prepared by Dr. Edward Haganan Hall. With the events that belong to the most stirring period of Mr. Green's public life, the writer of this Memoir had intimate personal association, and he may claim to have a certain special fitness for dealing with the tangled history of affairs related to the rise and fall of the Tweed Ring. For the rest, he has been guided by the counsel of those more familiar than himself with the later activities herein recorded, and he ventures to express the hope that the narrative of a life so largely devoted to the service of the City of New York may not be found unworthy of its theme by those who knew and appreciated the exceptional work and the unique capacity for public usefulness of Andrew H. Green.



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THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF
ANDREW HASWELL GREEN



CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND PLACE OF BIRTH — HOME SURROUNDINGS AND
INFLUENCE — EARLY EDUCATION AND HABITS OF STUDY —
ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK AND INTRODUCTION TO BUSINESS —
SELF-ANALYSIS OF HIS DIARIES — FRIENDSHIP WITH
SAMUEL G. ARNOLD

THE Greens of Massachusetts are a numerous family, with several stems and many branches. The branch with which this memoir is immediately concerned begins with Thomas Green, who came from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636, being then about thirty years old. He brought with him a wife and five children, the eldest of them eight years old, and five other children were born of this union on his farm in the town of Malden. The force of character which has been steadily characteristic of this branch of the Green family through all its history in the new world was a well marked attribute of Thomas Green. He was frequently summoned by his fellow-citizens to act as selectman of the town and grand juror for the county. The connections by marriage formed by the five sons and three of the five daughters of Thomas Green identified them with the best blood of the colony. Thomas, the eldest son, married the daughter of Joseph Hills, one of the great lawyers of his time, who was distinguished as "a man active in bringing the laws of the country into order," and whose wife, Rose Dunster, was the sister of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College. Five children were born to Thomas Green, the second, and Rebecca Hills, his wife, of whom the fifth, Samuel Green, was reckoned by his neighbors as a man of light and leading. He was called "Captain," and when the General Court granted the township of Leicester in February, 1713-14, he was appointed, with Colonel William Dudley of Roxbury and others, to settle it. He moved his family from Malden about 1717, to the new town, in which he owned 180 acres, and in the direction of whose affairs he

exercised great influence. His wife was Elizabeth Upham, who bore him eight children, of whom only one, the fourth, was a son, who received the favorite family name of Thomas.

This third Thomas Green was born in Malden in 1699, and was eighteen years of age when his parents took him to the new town of Leicester. He acquired a knowledge of medicine from two English surgeons who had abandoned the positions they held on piratical craft on the Spanish Main in response to the offer of amnesty made to reformed pirates by the home government, and who had in some way drifted to the domestic shelter of the house of Captain Samuel Green. In addition to being a successful physician — a profession which has existed in the family for five generations — Thomas Green was the pastor of a Baptist Church which he founded in South Leicester. It was he who first acquired the large estate named Green Hill in the present city of Worcester, which remained in possession of the family for a century and a half. Dr. Thomas Green's wife was a daughter of Captain John Lynde, and seven children were born of their union. The fifth child, John Green, was born in Leicester in 1736, and lived most of his life in Worcester, where he died in 1799. He also was a medical practitioner, and one of his best remembered traits was the vigilance with which he personally watched his patients, like a nurse, by day and night, if the occasion demanded. During the Revolutionary War he was a member of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, and he served as representative in the General Court in 1777, and selectman of the town in 1780. By his first wife Dr. John Green had three children, and by his second wife, Mary Ruggles, he had ten. The second Mrs. Green was the daughter of Gen. Timothy Ruggles, one of the bravest and ablest military leaders during the French and Indian War. She was a descendant of John Tilley, his daughter Elizabeth, and her husband John Howland, all passengers on the *Mayflower* in 1620, the line of descent being from them through Hope Howland Chipman, Desire Chipman Bourne, and Bathsheba Bourne, who was the wife of Gen. Timothy Ruggles.

The seventh child of John Green and Mary Ruggles was William Elijah, who was born in 1777 and died in 1865, and was the father of the subject of this memoir. He was graduated from

Brown University in 1798; studied law with Judge Bangs of Worcester; began practice in Grafton; and later pursued his profession in Worcester. He was married four times, and reared a family of eleven children, all of whom but one reached years of maturity. The mother of nine of these children was his third wife, Julia Plimpton, who was a daughter of Oliver Plimpton, a soldier of the Revolution, and of Lydia Fiske, who was a daughter of Daniel Fiske, member of the Massachusetts General Court during the Revolution. Her fifth child was Andrew Haswell Green, born at Green Hill on October 6, 1820.

It will be perceived that in the direct male line Andrew H. Green came of vigorous Massachusetts stock, through which there ran a well marked vein of distinction. His female lineage reveals an ancestry equally honorable. He was eighth in descent from Thomas Ruggles, who came from Nasing, Essex, England, in 1637; sixth from Martha Woodbridge, daughter of the Rev. John Woodbridge and niece of Benjamin Woodbridge, the first graduate of Harvard College; eighth from Thomas Dudley, who came over in 1630 and was Governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay; seventh from Joseph Dudley, President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, Governor of the Province of New England, Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, Chief Justice of New York, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight, and Member of Parliament; sixth from Paul Dudley, Chief Justice of Massachusetts and founder of the Dudleian Lectures at Harvard University; seventh from Thomas Nelson, who came to this country in 1638, and whose son Philip was the only graduate from Harvard College in 1654; and fifth from Shearjashub Bourne of Scituate, Mass., whose grand-daughter, Bathsheba, married Gen. Timothy Ruggles.

The family circle at Green Hill must have been an unusually interesting one. The father was a man of fine personal presence, had a constitutional geniality of disposition and exercised a liberal hospitality. With his boys, he was a comrade and companion, a participant in their pleasures and a helper in their studies. His literary tastes were exceptionally comprehensive, and he had a breadth of culture not commonly found in a country lawyer of that time, even in Massachusetts. The Puritan ideals of faith and of

life seem to have sat somewhat loosely on William E. Green, and the mere joy of living possessed him in a way that would have brought him reproof from the spiritual fathers of the community in sterner times. Boys brought up under the influence of such a man were likely to have all the faculties of mind and body well developed, to detest falsehood and to scorn pretentious self-importance. Three girls of the family were Andrew's seniors by from four to ten years, and all three grew up with habits of studious application associated with a deep and fervent religious feeling. There was no lack of seriousness in the household at Green Hill, but there was also no lack of outlets for the healthy, spontaneous flow of animal spirits. There were no near neighbors, and after a winter storm the house was pretty thoroughly isolated from the outside world. The family was necessarily thrown a good deal on its own resources, and probably no family of individually stronger, but also individually diverse, character ever assembled around a New England hearth. One child, the first Lydia, died in infancy, and another, the second Lydia, died at the age of forty-five. All of them, men and women alike, stood for something out of the common in their respective walks of life and spheres of action.

Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall, to whose short biography of Andrew H. Green I am indebted for most of the genealogical details which precede, makes this very just remark on the domestic circle at Green Hill: "Certain it is that the family was closely knit together. They were all of strong intellectuality, high-principled and courageous of convictions, and the exchange of views between them was frank and vigorous. This intellectual attrition was always wholesome in its effects, tempered as it was by the kindness of sincere affection and by the deeply religious sentiment which pervaded the family life." To this may be added the testimony of Dr. Samuel Fiske Green, Andrew's younger brother: "The life of a family so remote from the village and from neighbors would seem to have been, inevitably, rather monotonous; but it was not without important compensations. The professional life of the head of each of its generations attracted visitors of high cultivation, broad views, and instructive and stimulating conversation. There was always at

the homestead a library, rather scant, it is true, of standard works, elevating, refining and well read. The necessity of relying so much upon themselves for social pleasure and culture may account in part for the remarkable development of their affection for one another." By common consent, the primacy of the new generation was early accorded to Andrew, and it seemed a perfectly natural thing that he should, even before he reached man's estate, assume a large share of its responsibilities.

In the formation of the tastes and character of Andrew H. Green the situation of Green Hill had a considerable share. It is one of remarkable beauty, and ninety years ago it must have had a setting of woods and fields which the growth of the city of Worcester gradually impaired. The highest point of the farm, some five or six hundred feet above the surrounding country, commands a superb view. In the outspread panorama may be seen the towns of Auburn, Leicester, Paxton, Holden, Rutland, Princeton, Harvard, Boylston, West Boylston, Shrewsbury, South Shrewsbury, and Grafton. In the near distance may be seen the rocky summit of Mount Wachusett, and far away Mount Monadnock sentinels the horizon. It was a place around which the affections of a boy might readily grow, and Andrew Green loved his parent home and its surroundings with an affection only excelled by that which he felt for the members of his family. In youth and in manhood he knew of no pleasure so exquisite as a return to Green Hill, and the sentiment which he records in his diary at the age of eighteen was one that he carried with him all through life: "It is delightful once more to be at a place that I can call home; everything that I see reminds me of my childhood which has passed away and taken with it many of the pleasures of life." To quote the words of Doctor Hall: "The first fifteen years of Mr. Green's life were spent on the old homestead at Green Hill. He was familiar with every nook and cranny of the old estate, knew every tree by name, and loved every feature of its varying landscape. In these large and picturesque acres, over which he roamed free and unrestrained as a boy, and in which, after he removed to New York, he found refuge yearly from the cares and confinement of the great city, we find the school in which was cultivated his love of nature and landscape

art which flowered later in the beautiful Central Park of the metropolis."

There is abundant evidence that it was to the influence of his home that Andrew H. Green owed his intense desire to improve his mind and enlarge the sphere of his knowledge. Such book education as he had at his start in life he received partly at the hands of his family, partly from the schools in Worcester, and partly under the tuition of Charles Thurber. In addition to the common school branches, he studied grammar, mathematics, Latin and Greek, and apparently acquired some knowledge of German. When about thirteen, he spent a winter in Roxbury with Jacob Abbott, father of the Rev. Lyman Abbott. But it was also greatly to his advantage, not less in character than in physique, that as a boy he did his share of the work of the farm. How thoroughly he liked this work his later diaries fully attest. In his yearly visits to the farm, in youth and early manhood, he takes up the familiar work with evident zest; now building with his brother John a hencoop, "finished in superior style"; now taking his turn at the plough, cutting corn, mowing and raking hay, picking and storing apples, and preparing loads of farm produce for market. From his gunning, fishing, nut-gathering, with his brothers, to the serious work of the farm, Andrew Green bore from his earliest years the stamp of a country-bred boy.

About his taste for reading there appears to have been room for some difference of opinion. His eldest sister, Lucy, who was the only child of the second Mrs. Green, Lucy Merriam of Grafton, and who became one of the best known educators of her time, did not find young Andrew coming up to her standard of literary culture. At the age of seventeen, he records in his diary having seen a letter written home by Lucy in which she says that "Andrew would never become an elegant man on account of his distaste for reading." The effect was characteristic. "I resolve," he adds, "to apply myself to it both night and day that I might not merit what she has said." By way of practical application of his resolution, on that 10th of July, 1837, he procured Russell's "Modern History." But before this we find him reading the "Life of Frederick the Great," and later, after setting himself twenty-five pages of Russell for his daily reading, he

records that he is preparing in his mind a definite course of study. Of his lighter reading, there are occasional hints, such as having finished Bulwer's "Rienzi" and having taken up a book on the "Life and Times of Rienzi." He apparently finishes the latter work, of which he conceived a poor opinion, in four days, and proceeds to the reading of "The Last Days of Pompeii." He retains his taste for history, and plunges into the compendious work of Abbé Millott, meanwhile borrowing a copy of "Virgil," which, to the credit of his early tutors, he obviously reads with ease and appreciation.

The influence of studies more recondite, which come as he grows into manhood, will be dealt with in its proper place. My purpose in tracing the course of his earlier reading is to throw some light on the development of the character of the boy who at the age of fifteen left home to earn his living in New York. The broad facts of the case are simple enough: Andrew H. Green made his first visit in New York in the company of his sister Lucy, by stage coach to Providence and thence by steamboat to the city, on April 30, 1835. His first employment was as an errand boy in the store of Hinsdale & Atkins, by whom he was paid \$50 a year and board. His next, which began on February 24, 1836, was as a clerk in the employ of Lee, Savage & Co., wholesale cloth merchants and importers, whose store was at No. 77 William Street, corner of Liberty. Inheriting the sturdy frame and fine physical presence of his family, young Andrew had, nevertheless, intermittently bad health. He spent the Fourth of July, 1836, at Green Hill, but had a severe illness after his return, from which it took him two months to recover. His place was kept for him and he resumed work in October. He appears to have been accustomed to go to bed about ten o'clock, or earlier. He occasionally records his arrival at the store at six o'clock, and even when he takes breakfast before going he is never later at business than eight o'clock, a habit which was apparently not shared by the rest of the staff. The work, unless on the books and accounts, he always found interesting, and there are casual entries in his diary like the following of May 1, 1837: "I found how to calculate duties on square yard goods, which I think is quite an acquisition to my little stock of knowledge.

Happy and contented, I retired to rest and thanked my Maker for my preservation." He has to keep track of the arrival and departure of the packet ships, and later is intrusted with the Custom House business. Altogether, his commercial training appears to have been thorough, and that he fully utilized his opportunities may be inferred from Mr. Savage's statement to him of November 9, 1837, that he had attained a place in the counting-house, which not one in five thousand had an opportunity of doing.

Perhaps the most notable trait of character which appears in the brief self-revelations of his diaries is that of extreme conscientiousness. The earliest of these records which has come into my possession begins with April, 1837, two years after his arrival in New York. But it may be fairly assumed that the lad of seventeen did not have a sense of duty materially different from the boy of fifteen. It might have been a trifle more austere, as where he was invited to play whist, but declined, thinking he was getting too fond of the game, though he candidly adds another reason, that there was a man in the party whose acquaintance he did not care to cultivate. A little later, he fears he is getting to be too much of a flirt, but being twitted by his landlady with excess of pride, he says: "She thinks I am very proud; I am, I admit, but not any more than I ought to be. If my pride shows itself in any manner disagreeable to any one, I must try to check it, but if my pride is to fear to do wrong (as I don't think it is in all cases), I may well be proud." The candor of his self-analysis is quite as naïve as some of the comments he makes on the social conventions of his time. He is already in his eighteenth year when it oppresses him with sadness to think "that the moral and religious state of feeling had got to so low an ebb that two persons of different sexes cannot walk the street without exciting remark." Again, he is at Cousin Martha's, a boarding-school for young ladies, and finds her going to Niblo's with a party of her pupils, and he relates this experience: "She asked me if I would go 'with her.' That is, you are neither to look at, speak to, nor think of the ladies. Said I, 'No, I don't go.'" His habit of business exactness is well illustrated in an entry of July 10, 1838, in which he records the fact that after taking account of stock he

corrected an error of ten cents made by him in the cash of May 9th: "The first one I have ever made, and it shall be the last, if I can prevent it, although I have always been exceedingly careful." The same trait appears in his regret that he had sent his friend Samuel G. Arnold a letter without paying the postage, "which is vexatious, as it is a debt that can't be paid." His habitual abstinence finds evidence in his statement of December 29, 1838: "Drank a glass or two of wine — a thing so unusual with me that I deem it worthy of note here. I don't probably drink more than one or two a year." Some depreciatory comments on his manners come to his ears, and he philosophically remarks that when one's manners are disagreeable it is desirable to be informed of it, that the necessary correction may be applied. This, too, although he regards the reports as "palpably and clearly unjust."

Underlying all this there is a very deep and sincere religious feeling. In matters of doctrine he has, at least, a liberal toleration. At the age of seventeen he participates at his boarding-house in an argument on Unitarianism, and he advocates the cause of the Unitarians. But the fundamental principles of Evangelical Puritanism are strong in him — among them a scrupulous regard for the sanctity of Sunday. While he was diligently applying himself to the study of French, it was his habit to attend service at the French church by way of assisting him to acquire a familiarity with the spoken language. But, after due deliberation, he comes to the conclusion that "it is not exactly right to appropriate Sunday to my own purposes," and he goes to Mr. Mason's church instead. Shortly after this, in his nineteenth year, there ensues a brief but intense period of spiritual conflict. It begins by his Cousin Cornelia plainly asking him, after they had attended prayer-meeting together, why he did not become a sincere Christian, and proposing to him to go to see Mr. Williams next Wednesday. The appeal evidently touched a sensitive chord, for, in the interval, he can think of nothing else, and in his diary next day he says: "My thoughts still are turned upward . . . I will become a Christian. It is not an excitement that will easily die away, for I have long thought on this subject and am now resolved, through God's mercy, to attain that name 'Christian' in its fullest sense." But

he feels that he must be born again, because without the second birth no man can see God, and he endures the anguish of the devout soul struggling under a sense of its own unworthiness. His spiritual adviser was the Rev. William R. Williams, pastor of the Amity Street Baptist Church, whose main counsel seems to have consisted in cautions against the possibility of mistaking a passing emotion for a genuine call to grace. After many visits to this sympathetic counselor, he finally reaches a restful conclusion: "I intend, with God's grace, to go on with the work I have commenced, and may I be a true Christian; this is all I want, all I ask for."

Any biographical record of the boyhood and youth of Andrew H. Green would be incomplete which failed to take account of the friendship which he formed very early with Samuel G. Arnold of Providence, the future Lieutenant-Governor, United States Senator, and historian of Rhode Island. The two families appear to have had many ties, and Arnold's sister was the wife of Timothy R. Green, one of Andrew's New York cousins. The love between these two was as that of David and Jonathan, and was never interrupted by either misunderstanding or estrangement. How lasting it was is amply attested by the message sent by Senator Arnold on his deathbed, on January 31, 1880: "Tell Andrew H. Green that I would like to have seen him once more on this earth, but that it will not be long, even measured by mortal years, before we shall renew in a better world a friendship that has been so lasting and so true in this."

Samuel G. Arnold was the younger by one year, and while he is still at school at Flushing, his friend is already at work in New York. As he passes through college, the other is getting his training in commerce. When Samuel is traveling in Europe, Andrew is facing, with undaunted resolution, the problem of earning a living. But in thought or sympathy they never drift apart. Their confidence in each other was absolute; their reciprocal affection was of a kind that no one else shared. At the age of eighteen Andrew writes to Samuel: "I have no one except yourself in the world that I can call an intimate friend (except always my father, brothers, and sisters, but these are different entirely)." This was elicited by the following declaration in a

letter from his friend, then a student at Brown: "I have very few here whom I call my friends — in all the students at this college there are but two or three with whom I am particularly intimate, and but one of those with whom I like to walk and talk, and even he has many others among the students with whom he is almost as intimate as he is with me. Among the city fellows, there is not more than one or two with whom I go much, and with them only when I feel like having a scrape or going on a bust, or such kind of things with which you do not sympathize. You, Andrew, are almost the only standby and effectual friend which I have, and our situations are not very dissimilar, for you know no one and go with no one in New York, and I, as you see above, have scarce any here whom I can call my friend."

The letters which pass between them are the frank outpourings of two rather exceptional natures, with healthy tastes and kindred enthusiasms. Here and there one strikes a vein of youthful extravagance, as when Andrew writes on February 14, 1838: "With what inexpressible, unbounded, unheard of, inconceivable emotions of joy and delight did I receive your letter of February 11. . . . This much for a commencement. I must now rest a while and cogitate and get my feelings a little subdued, which have been aroused to a very extensive degree by your beautiful, delightful, exquisite, intense, sublime, handsome, well-written, well-composed epistle." This badinage calling for explanation, he replies to his friend's responsive banter in a way that fairly indicates the feeling with which Andrew H. Green regarded Samuel G. Arnold: "I meant to say that your letters suited me exactly, and I want you to let *him* come out of you. You have enough of *him* in you. . . . By '*him*' I mean the *devil* himself. Do you understand? I am obliged to tell you in these words, though some word expressive of playfulness and vivacity, life, happiness, good sense, and everything that makes man happy might be better." In the following year, when Arnold, after nine months' travel in Europe, broke in on his friend at breakfast in his New York boarding-house, the latter commits to his diary the following characteristic piece of appreciation: "He looks very well, and is, as he was, as fine a fellow as ever walked."

The gravity of demeanor which distinguished Andrew H. Green

in youth, as it did in manhood, always had its sunny side, and the labor of his early life in New York was relieved by a fair share of simple pleasures. For one thing he was on visiting terms with a wide circle of relatives, and was very much at home in the house of his cousin Timothy R. Green. Neither his own religious training nor that of his immediate connections appears to have interfered with an occasional visit to the theatre, Niblo's Garden for the most part, an occasional dancing party, or a casual game of cards. His attendance at church was rigidly regular, and he was a fairly constant attendant at the weekly prayer meetings. He made a brief trial of a Sunday class of rather unpromising urchins, held at Jefferson Market, but had to retire from the experiment discouraged. His intimate relation to the political activity of his time did not begin until he had reached man's estate, and, considering the robust quality of his Democracy in later life, it is curious to find him, as a youth, gleefully recording Whig victories at the polls. On the eve of the great Whig triumph of November 8, 1837, he writes: "It is reported that there will be a great majority for the Whigs. I hope it may turn out so; the party in power at present are misguided, and have done a great deal of injury since they commenced." It is interesting to compare this with the comment of the great New York Whig protagonist, Philip Hone: "The battle has been fought and won. The election closed this evening at sundown and the Whigs have succeeded in their whole ticket. New York has broken her chains and stands erect, regenerated. The moral and political effect of this victory will be prodigious. The eyes of the whole United States were turned to us. The measures of the administration stand condemned before the nation, and Mr. Van Buren must alter his course or sink to rise no more." Once again, a year later, but only once again, were these two in perfect accord as to the results of a New York election.

CHAPTER II

LIFE IN NEW YORK — A SOJOURN AT THE FARM — VOYAGE TO
BARBADOES — SUNDAY-SCHOOL WORK AMONG THE PLANTATION
NEGROES — RETURN TO NEW YORK AND THE BEGINNING
OF THE STUDY OF LAW — ASSUMES THE RESPONSIBILI-
TIES OF HEAD OF THE FAMILY — ADMISSION
TO THE BAR

THE New York to which Andrew H. Green came in 1835 was a city of about 250,000 people. The business quarter was south of Fulton Street, and the most important commercial establishments were south of Wall. The fire of December 16, 1835, swept an area a quarter of a mile square, and destroyed property valued at \$15,000,000. Philip Hone, who did not then know much about Europe, puts on record his belief that "there is not, perhaps, in the world the same space of ground covered by so great an amount of real and personal property as the scene of this dreadful conflagration." Its limits were as follows: South side of Wall Street from William Street to East River; Exchange Street, both sides, from Broad Street, crossing William to Merchant Street; Merchant Street, both sides, from Wall Street to Hanover Square; Pearl Street, both sides, from Wall Street to Coenties Slip, with the whole sweep of Hanover Square, Stone Street, and Beaver Street, nearly to Broad Street; Water Street, Front Street, and South Street, with all the intersecting streets and lanes from Wall Street to Coenties Slip, including the south side of Coffee House Slip.

The situation of the boarding-houses successively occupied by young Green sufficiently indicates the restricted area within which the life of the commercial metropolis of the country then moved: Franklin Street, John Street, Monroe Street, Frankfort Street, corner of Cliff, and finally No. 5 Amity Street, and 49 Bond Street. Some of the old families still lived around Bowling Green, and on that part of Broadway which faced the City Hall

Park, as well as on the streets adjoining, was a cluster of fashionable houses. Broadway was the favorite promenade, and the most frequented part of it was still below Canal Street. On a pleasant Sunday in May, three weeks after his arrival, Andrew Green probably walked in the throng in which Philip Hone records, "the ladies' new French hats and the gentlemen's white pantaloons were exhibited with impunity from staining shower or biting blast, and the air was redolent of the tender grass and opening lilacs."

But close as the New York of Mayor Lawrence was to these country odors, it lay closer yet to the sea, and in recreating the city of that era one becomes conscious of the dominance of the interests of the port and the pervasive smell of tar and salt water. The relative proportions of the shipping trade of Providence and that of New York come in for frequent notice in the letters that pass between Andrew H. Green and Samuel G. Arnold. "You know what a marine chap I am," writes Arnold on October 17, 1836. "Well, yesterday some things happened to please me, viz., the arrival of the Swedish ship *Albion*, seventy days from Gottenburg, and four other foreign arrivals. The Swede reports two more ships loading for Providence. I've a wonder to tell: There is a very small schooner here, smaller than a sloop, which is to sail for the East Indies shortly. She is merely a fore-and-aft rigged vessel, no topsails. This is a bold thing, is it not? There are three East Indiamen now in port besides this schooner." Six weeks later there are these items to chronicle: "We have had some ships here since your last one from Gottenburg; an American this time is the most important. One sailed a month ago for the Northwest coast — a three years' voyage. She was a beautiful ship and had fine accommodations for passengers in her roundhouse. She had three passengers aboard. A sloop of only twelve tons sailed from here the other day for Mobile. The owner gave the pilot who takes her out \$200 for the dangerous voyage. A ship is expected in here daily from Canton and Manila." In the summer of the following year the naval pride of Providence is seen to be visibly swelling, for Arnold recounts: "A large ship, the *Brunswick*, arrived from St. Helena. The ship *Hanover* is expected in a fortnight from Canton. Another

from Liverpool will arrive to-night and another from Greenock soon, besides half a dozen from the West Indies and the provinces, and a ship from New Zealand some time in the course of next month. So, you see, we are in a pretty good way for foreign vessels this year, but the Southern trade hard times has greatly diminished."

To the *New Yorker* the most remarkable thing about all this was that so many good ships should brave the perils of the approach to Providence Harbor and that so comparatively few should come to grief. Not to chill the enthusiasm of his well-beloved correspondent, but by way of showing that New York had become one of the really great ports of the world, Green encloses, in July, 1837, this very suggestive newspaper clipping which, on its own merits, seems worth reproduction:

Foreign Shipping.—Yesterday our wharves presented quite a variety of foreign decoration. We counted the flags of sixteen different nations. This is rather an unusual number, caused in part doubtless by the immense importations of foreign grain; yet we should be aware that our ships have a hard contest with those of some other Powers, navigated as the latter are, at so much less expense.

Of two hundred and seventy odd vessels, there were about 90 ships, 32 barques, 130 brigs, 11 galliots, 4 schooners (foreign), exclusive of schooners and sloops engaged in the coasting trade, too numerous to mention.

Of the 270 above mentioned, 93 were foreign vessels, viz: 17 British, 15 Dutch, 12 Prussian, 12 Swedish, 10 Danish, 8 Bremen, 4 French, 3 Spanish, 3 Italian, 3 Austrian, and from Hanover, Russia, Hamburg, Belgium, Mecklenbourg, (sic) Genoa, one each. The high rate of exchange compels those who have the impudence to think of paying their foreign debts, to ship anything which offers any inducement. The Liverpool packets are therefore partially loaded out, with the prospect of nothing home but passengers. The Havre packets must depend much upon the latter alone.

The vistas of the continent behind them being still relatively short — the construction of the Erie Railroad had only begun, and the lines that were to form the New York Central system were still few and far between — the outlook of New Yorkers seems to have had a more spacious range seaward than landward. When the panic of 1837 cast a blight on young Green's commercial prospects, he had frequent consultations with his nautical friends about shipping as supercargo on a merchant ship. Finally, when the prospects of achieving a secure position in the mercantile life of New York were but little encouraging, he ac-

cepted a proposition to go to Trinidad to assist in the management of a sugar plantation.

He had, meanwhile, on the dissolution of the firm of Lee, Savage & Co., in August, 1839, terminated a connection which seems on the whole to have been a pleasant one on both sides. Mr. Savage hoped to resume business on his own account, and expressed a desire again to secure the services of a valued assistant. A very brief connection with the firm of Wood, Johnson & Burritt, linen importers in Exchange Place, was followed by a nearly continuous sojourn of a year at Green Hill. This began and ended with one of those visits to the Arnolds at Providence which were always among the brightest spots of this period of his career. Life at the farm was by no means monotonous, and the unremitting labor of the spring, summer and fall in the fields and garden certainly did not depress his spirits and probably strengthened his constitution. In the comparative leisure of the winter months he makes frequent visits to the library of Antiquarian Hall in Worcester, and forms the acquaintance of Elihu Burritt, who became known throughout the English-speaking world as "The Learned Blacksmith." Burritt introduced him to Icelandic, lent him a Hebrew Bible, grammar and dictionary, and evidently awakened his interest in linguistic and ethnological studies. But his mind keeps constantly running on making provision for the future, and, after much inward debate, he returns to New York on February 3, 1841.

It was apparently during his last long stay at the farm that he made the draft of a very characteristic document intended to be his last will and testament. It begins as follows:

"Knowing not how long my life may be spared, and having for some time thought that (as Doctor Washington of New York told me that I possibly might have an aneurism of the right artery though afterward on consultation with Doctor Stevens of New York said that there was nothing in it but a nervous disorder of the heart or that my glandular system was affected) I was not long to live here — God grant that it may be so long till my peace is made with Him through Jesus Christ — I have concluded here to give a statement of all my affairs and concerns that in the event

of my decease may be attended to particularly and scrupulously by whoever may find his name at the top of this page to whom this is addressed, there being no person specified at the present date."

Then follows an enumeration of the sums which he owes and of those that are owing to him, whose exactness may be inferred from this little item: "I owe to my sisters Lucy M. Green and Mary R. Green borrowed money on October 7, 1839, \$2.70; paid \$1.16." After the statement of his finances occurs this touching filial tribute: "To my father, who has been to me a kind and indulgent parent, I would say all that one can say: I wish him joy in this life and in the life to come, most earnestly wishing him to seek for rest in Heaven through Jesus Christ. May God reward him for his goodness to me."

The only steady employment which he found in New York in 1841 consisted of a few months of application to the somewhat exacting and highly varied duties of the auction rooms of Mr. Simeon Draper. His eyes, with which in his youth he had recurrent trouble, proved unequal to the night work at Draper's, and an introduction to Mr. William Burnley, who was interested in a sugar plantation in Trinidad, finally led to his acceptance of an offer to act as assistant overseer and to his taking ship to Barbadoes on the third of November.

On his twenty-first birthday, October 6, 1841, there occurs the following entry in his diary: "This morning at about half-past eight I was baptized by immersion, down at the Battery, by the Rev. Mr. Ogilby (Prof. at the Theological Seminary in Twenty-first Street). Mr. J. W. Mitchell, Rev. Mr. Clare and wife stood sponsors; Lucy, Julia, Clarence and some others present." The entry is accompanied by a fervent prayer that the solemn ordinance of which he had been that day the partaker might not make a light impression on him, but should ever stimulate him to earnest endeavors to advance the Kingdom of God.

It is interesting to note that before going on board the brig *Star*, bound for Barbadoes, Andrew H. Green cast his first vote in company with John Bigelow. The entry in his diary reads: "Went the Democratic ticket. I swore Mr. Bigelow through and he me." The Whig enthusiasms of his youth had evidently

evaporated, a result possibly due to his intercourse with Mr. Bigelow and Mr. Sickles, with both of whom he records frequent meetings.

The voyage lasted twenty-one days, the first fourteen being stormy and at times tempestuous, the last seven having frequent calms and occasional squalls. It illustrates the wide diffusion of the ocean trade of that period of American history that his first letters home went by the *Magnolia*, bound for New Haven.

At home, he had kept steadily aloof from the Abolitionist agitation, and from time to time had expressed some doubts in his diary about the wisdom of its methods. In his new home, on the plantation at Orange Grove, Tacarigua, he came face to face with the negro problem and thus records his first impressions of the race:

“The negroes in this land and on this estate are a peculiar people. Once in a state of abject slavery, ruled and governed by their masters, they acquired a servile submission — now, freed by the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society (to what degree beneficial, farther than exemption from cruelty, is a question) they have so great an idea of themselves that they carry their freedom of speech to the most vulgar and obscene impudence, and when desired to perform any particular labor, adhere to this course of impudence and obstinacy till they find one firm and decided with them, then perform the task with reluctance. The results of ignorance and want of ambition keep them always at the same depth below the level from which they can only be elevated by a long course of patient instruction in the necessary duties of the Christian life. Such a course it is my intention to commence with them on the next Sabbath. This should, I think, have been done some time since by the minister of the parish though it has been far from the case. I will make a trial and, with the blessing of God, hope to succeed.”

He accordingly opens a school in an unfinished house next Sunday, with six children and as many grown people. On the following Sunday an attendance of twenty-five grown persons and children is recorded. The Sunday after (Christmas) finds

the attendance reduced to fifteen, and though on one subsequent Sunday the attendance reached twenty, it had dwindled by February 6th to nothing. He perseveres, however, but although cheered by a momentary revival of interest he is compelled to record when no pupils appeared on March 20th: "The people are in fact too indolent to learn, though every means be taken to interest and amuse them; they cannot attend steadily to instruction." Still undismayed, he writes on March 27th: "My Sunday-school was not attended by any one, though I was there and am determined that it shall not be given up for lack of any exertion of mine." By April 10th, he came to the conclusion that it is best to leave the grown people and undertake more with the children by interesting them in every manner possible. Accordingly, on the 17th, he says that he made every effort to assemble as many of the children as possible, to teach them the truths of the Bible, finding it useless to attempt to instruct the grown people other than orally. He succeeds in getting a class of about fifteen together and makes a beginning which he hopes will lead to favorable results. Though he meets with but little encouragement from the local clergyman, or any of the resident planters, he does not give up, and is gratified by evidences of interest in his pupils. In June he records increased interest and attendance, but by August the school had to be abandoned, as the house it occupied was turned over to some Spaniards, and by the first week of September, 1842, he had left Trinidad for good.

At the very beginning of his stay on the plantation he addressed himself with characteristic thoroughness to the study of soils and the processes of sugar making, and when the grinding season began in January, he was ready to take the management of everything connected with the boiling-house. A recent reduction in wages from 5 bits (50 cents) per "task" to 3 bits (30 cents) produced general discontent among the laborers, and the grinding season opened most inauspiciously. Very early in his experience Mr. Green makes this comment on the labor situation in Trinidad:

"There must be much more advancement among this people in moral education and in general knowledge before a regular and

industrious population can be established, and this will take much time. That the proprietors of estates unitedly have the laborers in their own hands at present is certain, but as the people advance, ambition will be excited; each man will strive for a competency in the way in which it can most easily be acquired, and this will give a population not immediately dependent on the planters, and regular and steady in their occupations. The policy of the planters is extremely short-sighted and selfish, but decidedly for their interest for a few years."

Occasional entries in his diary like this, "at boiling-house from morning till about ten o'clock at night," indicate that he was overtaking a never very robust constitution. He comes out of the grinding season pretty well exhausted, and devotes himself with characteristic vigor to the work in the fields. Compelled to live in a little shed of a house about eight feet square, with no ceiling but the bare shingles overhead, the climate begins to tell on him, and by August he is driven to the conclusion that it is best to return home. He accordingly takes passage in a British ship, *The Humming Bird*, bound for Baltimore on September 9th and by the thirtieth of the month he is again in New York.

Early in 1843 the idea of studying law took definite hold of his mind, and on February 24th he begins reading "Blackstone." On March 7th, he saw Mr. Hallett of the Superior Court about the requirements for entering the Bar, which he finds are very rigid in the State of New York. On April 13th the following interesting entry occurs in his diary: "Got affidavits from Mr. Folsom as to my classical studies and got Mr. Bigelow to file them according to law in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court. The law in this State requires seven years' study to become an attorney, and these affidavits will take four years off my term of study. In commencing the study of law I have not yet entirely made up my mind to relinquish mercantile pursuits, but enter law while mercantile affairs look so dull. I hold it to be necessary for every man to be acquainted generally with the laws under which he lives, and it is indispensable to know on what principles they are founded and where they get their authority. These general principles, at any rate, will be highly

useful to me should I not continue to practise. I may, on further consideration, conclude to relinquish other pursuits entirely. My aim, if I do pursue the law, should be to deal fairly and candidly with all clients never urging them to maintain controversy for the sake of obtaining costs — and to make myself familiar with laws in their rise, advancement, influence, etc., taking an enlarged view of the workings of law in all ages of the world, and not confining myself to the mere pettifogging routine of court life.”

Meanwhile, in the midst of somewhat varied pursuits, he enlists his friends in procuring for him a commissionership of deeds for various States. Mr. Arnold gets him Rhode Island; Mr. Tilden and others approach the Governor of New York on his behalf, and applications are also made for him in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Illinois.

His friend Arnold's purchase of a country seat at Newport moves him to some philosophical reflections on the curious contrast between the worldly lot of two men bound by intimate friendship. He adds: “I do not deem it possible to have the free use of intellectual power unless one has a certainty of respectable provision for his daily wants. But we are so constituted that things real, things material, earthly, chain us down, and repress mental aspirations. When we would soar away, we find that the mud and dirt of this lower world soon weights us down again to tread the same beaten road that millions of the same insignificant animals have done before us.” On his twenty-third birthday he strikes a somewhat similar note, as follows: “It is well to keep the curtain drawn before the future. If we poor, weak mortals only thought what might be in store for us, 'twould only serve to embitter and poison the little pleasure that we can snatch as the hours pass away.”

He is acutely conscious of his own limitations and commits this judgment of himself to his diary on July 14th: “There is a great want of arrangement in my intellectual depository — a want of memory, or something or another there which is not right. I love to unravel some metaphysical question and settle it conclusively to myself, but when I want to use my train of argument on another occasion, though I find the conclusion, the intermediate

steps do not readily present themselves, and this troubles me. I feel a great desire to be a good writer, but do not deem myself at all competent to write even a decent paragraph. I want facts, I want a great deal of reading, a deal of knowledge of history, a knowledge of arts and sciences — all these I want and must have. And more than all I want a good system to proceed upon for reading and thinking. What a task before me! I shall want strength, energy, and perseverance, and, what is more, I don't believe I have sufficient to do what I wish to do. But if I have it not now, when young in health and vigor, when shall I have it? Now is the time for intense, steady, persevering application, and by such efforts alone can I ever hope to overcome the errors of my youthful education."

A little later he notes the discussion in the press, of the right of foreign nations to compel the States of this Confederation individually to pay their debts by suing them in the Supreme Court of the United States. He anticipates a recently applied remedy by saying that while it appears plain enough from the Constitution that States of this Union or a foreign State may sue in that court, the question occurs, can States purchase the bonds of indebted States and sue them, when those from whom they purchase have not the right?

In the beginning of 1844 he had to take a step which required some courage on his part, and was eminently characteristic of his unselfish devotion to the interests of his family. That he recognized its importance is fully attested by the care he takes to append to the entry in his journal: "This is written at the office, 23 Nassau Street, in my first year of law study, February 21, 1844." The subject was started by a letter from his father about arranging the business of the old farm, and on this he makes the following comment: "I have much to say about my unwillingness and yet my desire to take the old place, feeling as I do it may be a comfort to the family in case of any sickness, and a home for any of my brothers or sisters who in the hour of need may require it. This consideration, and the consideration that I wish to keep the old place in the family, will decide me to take it. But I can readily foresee that it will be a burden and a trouble to me, as my business will be here and much attention will be required there. I

shall find it difficult to meet the necessary expenses for repairs, etc.; difficult to procure tenants; difficult to suit all parties. Father will, good and kindly disposed as he is, be somewhat restrained, and this may make it unpleasant for him, though at all hazards he shall live comfortably. In fact, the farm, without great caution, prudence and foresight will drain every cent I can get and perplex me in my affairs here. *But for the good of the family, and nothing else*, will I take it. Present duty demands it, and I will do it at all hazards, and trust to caution and good management to clear myself and benefit the family."

His sisters Lucy and Mary had for some time conducted a school of their own for young ladies at Fifth Avenue — an institution which for over a generation played a very important part in the educational life of New York — and Andrew was only one of the men who later achieved distinction who conducted, for a time, a special course of instruction there. How seriously he took the work of his class in history in the school may be inferred from the following entry in his diary of January 10, 1844: "I am now thinking of, but rather conclude I shan't accomplish, the task of writing for my recitations at the school a set of lectures on the Constitution and jurisprudence of our country, making them rather general and simple. To do this philosophically, I shall have to commence at about the beginning of the fourteenth century and take a review of all the nations of Europe at this date, gradually bringing the features in each which bear on the formation of society in this country together, till I come to the Declaration of Independence; then the course will be clear. I fear, indeed I know, I have not the patience or perseverance to accomplish such a task. If I had, it would be most useful to me and very serviceable to my class. I am desirous to apply myself to a task of this nature to give a system and tangibility to my own reflections and acquisitions, and to place them in a way to test my own powers by exposing them to the criticism of others."

A year later, January 16, 1845, he is negotiating with Mr. Boorman for the purchase of the house at 1 Fifth Avenue for his sisters. As a contribution to the history of real estate values in New York, the following is not without interest: "He (Mr. Boorman) offers on the part of Mrs. Smith (who formerly con-

ducted a school there) to sell the house for \$12,500, but I rather preferred taking a lease of the house for three years at even a high rate, with the privilege of purchase at any time within three years at \$12,500. I think the price high, but situated as my sisters are, it seems the best arrangement that could be effected."

On April 5th, he is sworn in to the Superior Court as attorney and counsellor, though his period of studentship was so far from having expired that how to finish it under the most favorable conditions is giving him some concern. On April 19th, he expresses a desire to get into the office of James T. Brady to finish his studentship, and on the 25th he writes: "I would like very much to get into an office with some old lawyer, to do business with him and finish my course of study, but no opening as yet presents itself." By May 1st he has come to a conclusion which he records as follows: "After many negotiations, somewhat unwilling, I have taken an office for myself to go into business on my own hook next year. Mr. Bloomfield has consented to give me a certificate of studentship in his office for the remaining part of my term of study. The office is situated at 14 Wall Street, a small room with a very nice Brussels carpet, which I was by the way compelled to take with the room. This step I have taken quite unwillingly, but circumstances seem to drive me into it." While he has some qualms about his ability to make both ends meet, he still declines an appointment offered to him of Clerk of the Marine Court for five years at \$1,500 a year.

The philosophy of life as it appeared to Andrew H. Green at the age of twenty-five seems worth reproducing here. He had been reading the life of Robert Burns, and he thus moralizes on its lessons: "Burns was a man who craved fame; conscious of the position of society in which he was born, and coveting a higher or rather another, rank, he struggled unceasingly with circumstances, and generally exhibited a degree of independence and freedom of spirit which, throwing aside conventionalisms as it does, is by no means the sure way to the favor of one's contemporaries. If a man hankers after present fame, he may bid good-bye to an unshackled spirit, but if content to work on amidst the sneers and cavils of those around him, fearless and regardless of smiles or frowns, he will leave a name behind him which may

last and be revered — perhaps. And though it may not at least while he lives, he will have no labyrinthine conscience to wander about in, every time he has a moment's rest. With a mind at ease with itself, and a hand and heart always open to everybody's wrongs and wants, when the hour comes to leave this sphere of existence, he can wrap the drapery of his couch about him, conscious that there awaits him a loftier and holier field for a nobler and more elevated existence."

The vein of tenderness except in reference to his brothers and sisters, or to Samuel G. Arnold, does not often occur in his diary or letters. But here is an entry dated July 8, 1845, which reveals the depth of certain feelings of his nature whose existence he seems hardly to have acknowledged to himself. It is apropos of a visit he paid at the Astor House to a young lady, Miss Hiller, whom he had known as a former pupil of his sister's: "Of all the women I have seen, this young girl is one of the very few who have made any peculiar impression upon me. She is artless, gentle, confiding; seems to think ill of no one. She is one of the pure ones who seem to have lost their way and wandered down from their blissful abode to dwell for a time among the haunts of men. As she read over a note which I handed to her from sister Mary, tears gathered in her full black eye and she seemed to show in her face the tenderest affection. I have never before seen such a picture of feeling, divested of all art and affectation. But she is going away to-morrow morning to be married to a young gentleman up the river by the name of Tabor, this in compliance with the desire of her friends. There is one consolation about this which is one drawn from the apprehensions for the future. One may almost quench present feeling by the thought that the happiness of so lovely a being, if made dependent on his exertions and efforts, might be disturbed by the little occurrences of unkind feeling or the contingencies of fortune. Do men often marry the women that they most esteem or love? Judging from my own feelings, I should think that where a man's affection was placed on any one person, a regard for her happiness would lead him to distrust himself, and too much think of her future enjoyment to allow him to gratify his own dearest wishes. I have been unconsciously drawn into the above train of thought."

His admission to practise in the Superior Court shows a tangible result in the case of Annette Eyers vs. George Clayton in which he got a verdict for the plaintiff for \$1,000. Two days later he is engaged in another case in the Court of Sessions, in which he also gets a verdict. Though he had thus some employment, his financial prospects had a rather sombre tinge, and he makes this characteristic entry in his journal of October 25th: "My money is about running out and there seems nothing ahead, but that most of all things to be abhorred and strongly abominated — a recourse to credit. I hate it cordially — that is, I hate to use it, and won't if it can be avoided. Good Lord, deliver me from ever being overwhelmed in that sluggish dead sea of debt."

Meanwhile, his relations, personal and political, with Mr. Samuel J. Tilden had been growing more intimate, and the beginning of a lifelong business connection is thus chronicled under date of December 30, 1845: "With Mr. Tilden much of the day on business matters. I am contemplating a business connection with him, whether for better or for worse remains to be proved. He is surrounded with political hangers-on, which in my humble opinion is of no especial advantage in a business point of view, and however determined one's intentions may be to devote oneself to the strict pursuit of one's avocation exclusively, the continual influence and intercourse of others of different views on exciting and important subjects must to a great degree tend to divide the mind. Political aspirations are implanted and ambition aroused, which require the sternest determination to repress and remove from a contiguity which might prove injurious." On January 8, 1846, he moved around to 11 Pine Street, the office of Mr. Tilden, who had been elected a member of the Legislature and was accordingly bound to spend a good deal of his time in Albany that winter.

CHAPTER III

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION WITH MR. TILDEN — COMMENTS ON
CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACY — APPOINTMENT AS SCHOOL COM-
MISSIONER — SERVICE ON THE BOARD OF EDUCATION —
CRITICISM OF THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE PROCEEDS
OF THE STATE TAX

ON January 19, 1846, Andrew H. Green was sworn in as attorney and counsellor of the Supreme Court and, ten days later, of the Court of Common Pleas. His apprentice years are over, and his professional career has begun in earnest. To have graduated in a little over ten years from the position of message boy in a merchant's office to a partnership with one of the most distinguished young lawyers in New York must rank as a somewhat uncommon achievement. It is significant of the position which he already occupied in the community that he had been twice elected vestryman of the Church of the Redemption, and that this honor was conferred on him a third time on April 14, 1846.

His participation in politics had been somewhat active for two or three years preceding his association with Mr. Tilden. We have already seen, at the age of seventeen, how genuine was his satisfaction over the Whig victory of November, 1837. A year later he is frankly exultant over the still more decided triumph, and gives vent to his emotions in the following fashion: "Huzza! Huzza!! Huzza!!! The Loco Focos are rowed up Salt River, clear to its source! The Whigs are triumphant! Huzza! Huzza!! C. C. Cambreling turned out. The Whigs have the entire delegation to Congress from this district, the first time in twenty years." Before reaching man's estate his political views evidently underwent a change, and the men with whom he appears to have had the closest affiliation were all Democrats. His acquaintance with Mr. Tilden ripened into intimacy shortly after his return from Trinidad. The two men frequently met at social gatherings, at the house of his sisters and elsewhere, in

company with men like Chancellor Walworth, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, and John Bigelow. With the last named he had evidently many ties of association. On August 1, 1843, he makes this record in his journal: "Occupied very intensely at the office all day. Mr. John Bigelow left town and left me in charge of his business," an occupation which seems to have lasted for a fortnight. On August 17th occurs this entry: "This evening attended a primary political meeting to elect three delegates to Tammany Hall. Met Mr. Tilden there and after he had made a speech and the meeting broke up, we took ice-cream at Alhambra, walked up about Union Park, talking until about eleven o'clock."

On September 1st, and following dates of 1843 his full-fledged Democracy finds expression this way: "My time has been somewhat occupied for the last day or two writing for and reading newspapers; this is for my own improvement as well as for advancing Mr. Calhoun's cause." . . . "Met some Calhoun men who are now all alive and sanguine as to Mr. Calhoun's prospects. A great meeting will be held on Monday, and many of Mr. Calhoun's friends in their enthusiasm seem desirous, at least, if not anxious, that a break should occur between Calhoun and Van Buren. I think this not advisable, as Mr. Van Buren is our second best man, and if upon a fair and honorable trial Mr. Van Buren gets the nomination, I will go for him. If the Democratic party splits, the probability is that either the Whigs or some other man not Calhoun or Van Buren will get the nomination." . . . "Went up to the City Hall, where was held a meeting of the officers of the mass meeting which assembled at half-past five and was held in the Park. Mr. James T. Brady and others made speeches in favor of Mr. Calhoun and a series of resolutions were passed, about 4,000 being present. This is the first grand move in this city in favor of Mr. Calhoun. Among the officers appointed were some whose private characters are not unexceptionable, and who ought not to be brought into the ranks as leaders in a cause whose chief is eminently pure morally, and unspotted. I am sorry to see this in the beginning, but politicians seem to think that men's characters are of no account so long as they work well. I am also sorry to see a disposition on

the part of the Calhoun men to push their own views to lengths which may be the cause of a rupture in the party. I hold to every man's maintaining his own opinion, but in this case conciliation on both sides may prevent a rupture, which as things now appear there is very little hope of avoiding, and the election of the President will go to the House."

Mr. Tilden was Mr. Green's senior by only six years, having been born at New Lebanon on February 9, 1814. Both were country-bred, and both had to make their own way in the world. Differing fundamentally in temperament, they had much in common in their intellectual tastes and political convictions. Two years before Mr. Green's business association with Mr. Tilden, the older man had evidently conceived a solid respect for the judgment of the younger. On January 10, 1844, Mr. Green writes: "This evening till twelve o'clock spent with Mr. S. J. Tilden in his room. He read to me the controversy carried on some time ago in the *Evening Post* against Edward Curtis; had a good deal of other talk." One of the most interesting episodes of Mr. Tilden's early political career was his starting of a democratic newspaper — the *Morning News* — in the editing of which he had the coöperation of Mr. John L. O'Sullivan, formerly the editor of the *Democratic Review*. The *News* made its first appearance on August 21, 1844, and the reason for its existence was that the Democratic party had not the support of a single daily morning newspaper in New York of any influence or repute. Moreover, as Mr. Bigelow states: "Mr. Tilden had by his speeches and writings established such relations with the wage-earning class, from which the native American party was largely recruited, and he enjoyed their confidence to so much larger extent than any other prominent Democrat in New York City, that he was urged from all sides to meet the needs of the party by establishing a paper himself."

During its brief term of existence — it died on February 9, 1846 — Mr. Green was a frequent contributor to the columns of the *News*, from whose active management Mr. Tilden retired after the fall election of 1844. In spite of the confidence reposed in him by the wage-earning class, Mr. Tilden was evidently not a favorite with certain elements of Tammany Hall. On October

31, 1845, Mr. Green records in his journal: "Quite a rowdy meeting of Tammany Hall last night, as I see by the papers. It was moved that my friend Mr. Tilden be stricken from the Assembly ticket. This was an operation of a loafer crew." Mr. Green set at once to work to counteract the efforts of what he calls "the spawn of Tammany Hall," and he is rewarded by finding on election day that, while Mr. Tilden ran about 250 votes behind the highest in his district, he was far above some of the ticket, "in spite of misrepresentation and malignity." Mr. Green had been urged by his friends to accept also a nomination for the Assembly, but he concluded to stick to his business. About the time that he reached this resolution there occurs in his diary the following interesting series of reflections on the science of government:

"If this nuisance of a high tariff could by any possibility be abated, the agricultural interests of this country might be much advanced, relieved from their depression, and at least placed on a basis equally favorable with the other interests of the country. I am not yet able to perceive the formidable difficulties in the way of a system of direct taxation, provided a plan can be devised which shall reach all classes. The assertion, so dogmatically made, that the people will never put their hands in their pockets and pay money for the support of government, wants something else besides emphatic asseveration to support it. Either the people will pay direct taxes, or they will pay none if they know it; and if they don't know when they pay taxes, it is quite time for the prudent, economical administration of government that they did. The Treasury should just supply the moderate wants of the administration of government; an overflowing treasury brings with it corruption and fraud. It has been the curse of nations, and, profiting by the experience of the past, it becomes the present to avoid the instruments of their overthrow."

In the fall of 1847 there was another movement among Mr. Green's friends to have him nominated for the State Senate, but evidently without any encouragement on his part. In the midst of the steadily increasing demands of his profession his interest in politics, nevertheless, continued unabated. How thoroughly sincere and unselfish it was may be inferred from this entry in his journal of October 11, 1847: "Politics in this State are in a very

bad way. The Democratic party is divided, or, rather, it has been overlaid with a band of corrupt and worthless conservatives who stifle every effort for reform and progress. The radical portion of the party will not submit to the dictation of corrupt men, and the Syracuse nominations will be thrown overboard, as they ought to be, for no man having in mind his moral responsibilities can lend his aid to the elevation to office of important trust of men whose whole career shows them to be actuated but by the principle of self-interest. The party were better in a minority, and there it will for a time go."

His first active participation in public affairs begins with his appointment as School Commissioner for the Fourteenth Ward on May 13, 1848. There is no record of his earliest impressions of the working of the public-school system of New York before he became an active participant in the work of the Board of Education. That he was closely observant of most of the details of the somewhat cumbrous mechanism which directed the work of education in a city where its problems were unusually difficult becomes sufficiently obvious when he rises from the minor position of one of the school officers of his ward to be also a member of the central Board. The annual report of the Board for 1855 is chiefly Mr. Green's work, and the following extract from it is unmistakably his. It has as direct a reference to the city government of 1913 as it had to that of fifty-eight years ago, albeit the scandals of Fernando Wood's administration of the mayoralty of the City of New York differ somewhat from the abuses against which the municipal reformer has to struggle to-day:

It needs not that anything be here said on the enormous and extravagant cost of maintaining our city government. The people see and feel this at every turn. The poor man, wearied with six days' toil, thankful for even the scanty repast that is spread for himself, his companion, and their little ones, as surely counts out of his weekly wages a portion for the dishonesty and corruption that riot in our municipal affairs, as though he actually dropped his coin into the palm of their vulgar, perfumed and jewelried representative.

The laboring masses of this great city need to reflect on this. Those comforts and luxuries which result from the gains of honest industry and frugality are sanctioned by society; their possessor rightly enjoys the fruits of his own labor without envy; but the equipage guided by the same hand that has robbed the humble pedestrian of his wages is odious in his sight as it rolls along, flinging from its swift wheels the dirt of the highway upon his garment.

It is the duty of every reflecting man to examine into the public expenditures, and discriminate in his judgment upon those who preside over them. Our public affairs require the supervision and aid of experienced, able and faithful men; and it is altogether wrong that the public servant who faithfully discharges his duty should be overwhelmed with the same contempt and abuse that are heaped upon the faithless and corrupt. Indiscriminative abuse and opprobrium never will effect a remedy for these evils, and no relief will be secured until the public intelligence shall honor the officer to whom honor belongs, and disgrace the man who deserves it, and disgrace him in such a manner as that his ill-gotten gains shall be a constant reproach to him.

In the same report he urges a wise and economical expenditure of the money intrusted to the Board of Education, and a judicious administration of the school system, as the surest method of commending it to the people, and enlisting their confidence and interest in its support.

Could the taxpayers of this City [he says] be shown that the appropriations for the support of the common schools of the City are judiciously applied — that there is no wastefulness or extravagance — that every dollar expended by the Board is expended in such a manner as to make it go the farthest in doing its work; that our teachers are paid somewhat in accordance with the value of the services they render, and with some reference to competency; that locations of new schools are made with main reference to the convenience of the people, and that our school structures are well planned, and thoroughly and economically constructed; then we should hear no complaint of the cost of the schools, no charge of extravagance, and no dissatisfaction with the administration of the system.

From this time forward, the life of Andrew H. Green flows in two distinct channels — that of his professional business and family relations, and that of his public usefulness. As the record of nearly half a century of his almost uninterrupted public service is of unusual copiousness and interest, it is to this side of his activity that the remainder of this memoir will be chiefly devoted. That the qualities which Mr. Green displayed in his early public career made a strong impression outside of the circle in which he had hitherto moved may be inferred from his election as president of the Board of Education in January, 1856, and from the reception which it received from the newspapers. Mr. Green was elected a member of the Board of Education for three successive terms of two years each, the elections occurring on November 7, 1854, November 4, 1856, and December 7, 1858, and the terms

of office beginning the January following. He therefore served for six years, from January 1, 1855, to December 31, 1860, in addition to his previous service as one of the school officers of his ward, which began with 1848. The Board then consisted of forty-four members, there being two from each of the twenty-two wards. One member from each ward was elected annually to serve for two years. At the organizing meeting of the Board, January 9, 1856, there was a protracted contest over the presidency. Twenty-two ballots were taken without an election, the leading candidates being David Webb, William H. Neilson, and Nelson J. Waterbury. At the next meeting, January 16th, the contest was renewed. Seventeen more ballots, making thirty-nine in all, were taken, with no better result. Mr. Green's name appears on the twenty-eighth, thirty-second, and thirty-third ballots with one vote each, and on the thirty-fifth with three. The fortieth ballot gave Mr. Green 21 out of the 40 votes cast; and by resolution his election was made unanimous.

The *Evening Post* referred to the new president of the Board in the following terms: "Andrew H. Green, a rising member of the New York Bar was elected by a handsome majority. He has been rather distinguished during his connection with the Board of Education, which commenced a year ago, for his punctilious regard for economy in the expenditures of the Board, and in a rigorous discharge of his official duties. His election is the best possible evidence of the excellent timber of which the new Board is composed. The compliment is one which Mr. Green doubtless appreciates and of which he may well feel proud. He succeeds to a position which has been filled by men of mark in their respective spheres, and he cannot fail in any point of his official duty without detracting from the dignity of the office."

Speaking of these associates of his on the Board, a year later Mr. Green alluded to "that uniform courtesy and reasonable concession to, and regard for, the views of each other that have characterized the official intercourse of the members of this Board, which have done so much to regulate and aid the progress of its business and which have maintained for the whole body a high character for dignity and responsibility." Referring to the complimentary resolutions that had been adopted in

regard to the performance of his duties as president, he said: "In the discharge of the parliamentary duties that pertain to the office of president of this Board, I have aimed at impartiality and such dispatch of business as was consistent with its intelligent performance; in the financial department at a watchful scrutiny of all claims, the prompt discharge of those entitled to payment, and an equally prompt and decisive rejection of all those conceived in fraud or extravagance; and in all departments within my sphere of duty, I have sought to discourage ostentation and wastefulness, to enforce the rules of this Board and the laws of the land, looking for no personal advantage other than that which flows from the diligent and faithful execution of a high public trust."

The enthusiasm for New York, which is one of the best marked characteristics of Mr. Green's whole career, finds expression in the address to the Board of Education in which he bids farewell to the year 1856 and to his associates on the Board whose official term was then about to expire. He says: "Though we shall not all again assemble here, yet we are all citizens of a great city, whose glory is our pride, and as we meet hereafter in our busy streets the sympathies here implanted will kindle at the remembrance of common exertions for the diffusion of that intelligence and virtue, which, through all times will avail more for her extension, adornment and security than all the walls of masonry or gates of brass."

In the year before his election as president of the Board Mr. Green was at the head of a special committee appointed to consider the method of apportioning the tax annually levied by the State for the support of the common schools, and the method of distributing the moneys raised by such tax. The report prepared in response to this resolution was in every way a notable one, and deals with a grievance of the city taxpayer which is as substantial to-day as it was fifty-seven years ago. Mr. Green showed how by the system of laying a tax according to the valuation of property, and of distributing it according to the population, New York was compelled to pay for State education \$271,639 annually, while it received, under the rule of distribution adopted in 1851 only \$100,000, leaving the city a loser

by nearly \$172,000. The State was divided into 11,789 school districts, and by the law of 1851 one third of the school money was apportioned among these districts, so that each district should have an equal amount, without any reference to the number attending school or to the population of the district. Thus the County of St. Lawrence, with a population of 68,617, and an assessed valuation of \$14,561,665, is divided into 465 districts, and receives of the one third \$13,844, while the City of New York, with 515,547 population in 1850, and an assessed valuation of \$413,631,432, has but 218 districts and receives \$6,490. So also Delaware County is taxed \$5,403 and receives \$9,405, and Essex, which contributes only \$2,909, receives \$7,072. Mr. Green enumerated thirteen counties, with a population of 515,387, being 160 less than that of the City of New York, which received of the annual third the amount of \$102,448, while New York received only \$6,490. The distribution of the proceeds of the common school fund, which consisted of the proceeds of all lands belonging to the State on January 1, 1823, was equally unjust to this city. The amount then divided from this source was \$800,000 a year, and of this sum thirteen counties, with an aggregate population of 515,388, which raised by tax only \$80,224, received \$228,739, while New York, which raised \$257,816, received but \$132,711. During his tenure of office as president of the Board of Education, Mr. Green returned frequently to the inequality of the incidence of State taxation. In his address to the Board in 1857 — an extremely comprehensive and eminently business-like document — he had this to say on the subject of State taxes:

All these general State taxes operate unequally upon this and other localities of the State in several particulars. Where property is aggregated, as in cities, it is more easily ascertainable, and the valuation upon which the tax is based is much higher than that placed upon property in other parts of the State.

Indeed the valuations placed upon property throughout the State are unequal, and so palpably unjust, as to demand the immediate application of the simple remedy that would be furnished by the appointment by a Board of State Assessors, whose duty it should be to equalize the county valuations.

It is easy to see that where a tax to be borne equally throughout the State, is raised by a percentage, the valuation made by counties, the tendency is to reduce county values to escape the fair proportion of the burden of the State tax.

A farm of equal value with one lying in an adjoining county is valued 50 per cent. less. It may be urged that this is a remote matter, that neither

concerns the operations of this Board, nor calls for any action on its part. It is neither remote nor unimportant. In 1856 this law authorizing a percentage for educational purposes was passed; it affects this city seriously, and it is at least the right of this Board to notice legislative action for educational purposes that so palpably affects the interests of this city.

In this connection the fact may be recalled that a free-school system absolutely supported by taxation dates, in New York State, no further back than 1849. The Constitutional Convention of 1846 was urged to submit such a proposition to the people, but without success, and it was not until three years later that the approval of the act establishing free schools throughout the State was secured by popular vote. It met with bitter opposition in the rural districts, and the question of its repeal was submitted to the people, only to be negatived by a large majority, chiefly composed of the votes of the larger cities. But the opponents of the law persevered, and it had to be admitted that some method must be found of obviating the objection that the holders of property were compelled to bear the burden of educating the children of those having no taxable property.

Meanwhile, the question had been taken to the courts and the highest court of the State finally pronounced some of the essential features of the law unconstitutional. It was the working of the act of 1851, under which funds were provided for the support of the common schools of the State, which fell under the criticism of Mr. Green — a criticism which he had occasion to renew in his second annual address as president of the Board of Education. Under cover of remedying the obvious injustice done to the city by the unequal division of the school districts, the Legislature had passed a law whereby each teacher who had been employed in the schools for the space of six months should count as one district. By this method the city would return somewhere about 1,500 districts in 1857, instead of 262, as in 1856, and derive about \$45,000, instead of about \$25,000, as heretofore. But the removal of the minor grievance was accompanied by the imposition of a greater one. The annual tax to be raised on the whole property of the State for purposes of education was increased from a fixed sum of \$800,000 to a percentage of three fourths of a mill, thus increasing the sum to be raised by the

city, and at the same time retaining a rule of distribution that unjustly, in 1856, sent \$271,630 out of the city, and in 1857 raised upon the property of the city the sum of \$383,805 to be distributed in aid of schools in other parts of the State.

The address from which these figures are taken is probably the ablest and most comprehensive presentation which can be found in the entire history of the Board of matters affecting the organization and administration of the public-school system of New York. Every newspaper in the city discussed it, and whether agreeing with its conclusions or not, paid a tribute of respect to the high character of the ability it displayed and of the motives which inspired it. It must be remembered that the population of the city numbered then about 700,000, half of foreign birth, and that the problem of providing for the education of 150,000 children of school age and of extremely diverse origin was one for whose adequate solution there were no precedents to draw upon. The problem was not made any simpler by the benevolent efforts of some good people to support a number of so-called industrial schools for the accommodation of destitute children, and by the frank disapproval of the whole system by the Catholic hierarchy. The *Freeman's Journal* declared that the chief object of the supporters of the industrial schools was the proselytism of Catholics, and it defined the attitude of the Church to the public-school system as follows:

Taken as a whole, he (Mr. Green) certainly shows a disposition to make the best of the system at the head of which he is placed. If he is himself disappointed, or fails of doing anything serviceable, it is not he that is in fault, but the undemocratic, un-American scheme of taking out of the hands of the parent the responsibility of educating his children. French Jacobinism copying the despotism of Louis XV and Joseph II, sought to absorb into the State as much as possible of the rights sacred to man. American democracy is the very reverse of this, and seeks to preserve to men as much freedom as possible, and to limit the State to the smallest number of its necessary functions. Religion and education are out of the functions of the American State, by a twofold reason. In the first place, as in industrial pursuits, the State desires to leave the individual in possession of his utmost practicable liberty, and unoppressed by the competition of the Government. In the second place, religion, and education as its co-relative, belong to a sphere which the American State wisely owns itself incompetent to control, as it can control material interests. Wherever State officials step into; take out of the hands of parents their proper work — of providing and sanctioning the teachers and the instruc-

tion of their children — there we will soon find confusion, fraud, and failure written all over the educational chart.

It was Mr. Green's good fortune to command the respect of all the parties to this controversy. Commenting on the failure of the Board of Education adequately to discharge the duties of general oversight and supervision whether as relates to the expenditures of the local boards, or their management of the schools, the *Tribune* refers to the lately published address of President Green in these terms: "With every disposition to view the whole system and its administration with a favorable eye, that gentleman is too well informed, too candid, and too much a friend to the cause of education, not to point out this defect, and to call loudly for a change." The *Times* characterized the president of the Board of Education as "a gentleman in every respect fitted for and worthy of the responsible position he holds." When, in 1858, Mr. Green declined to accept a reëlection as president of the Board of Education, the *Evening Express* urged those members of the Board who had at heart the interests of the city schools to unite and if possible prevail upon Mr. Green to accept a renomination. But his thoughts were already turned in another direction, and a work with which his name was to be imperishably associated began with the appointment of the nine commissioners for the laying out of Central Park, at the head of whom stood the name of Andrew H. Green.



ANDREW HASWELL GREEN
at about the age of thirty

Reproduced by Wm. L. Koehne, Chicago, from a daguerreotype.



CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEW YORK CITY PARK SYSTEM — EARLY LEGISLATION FOR CENTRAL PARK — THE POLITICAL PERIL IN ITS RELATION TO PARK CONSTRUCTION — THE STATE COMMISSION LEGISLATION OF 1857 — THE PARK AS A PROBLEM IN LANDSCAPE GARDENING — ORGANI- ZATION OF THE FIRST PARK COMMISSION

OLD New York grew on the lines that nature had marked out for it; the prevision of man had a good deal less to do with tracing the course of its streets than “those earliest of civil engineers, the cows.” Even in the New York to which Andrew H. Green came as a boy he records that the hogs used to run about the streets, and there was no city above Houston Street. The period of rapid growth had begun, but municipal ideals remained primitive, and of public taste there was little or none. Philip Hone was one of the aristocrats of his time, and had at least as high an endowment of what passed for culture in the New York of that day as any of his fashionable friends. How slender was the appeal which the picturesque aspects of the seagirt city made to him and his class may be inferred from the naïve admission in his diary of April 10, 1835:

“The weather being fine and springlike, I walked for an hour before dinner with my wife on the Battery. Strange as it is, I do not think that either of us had done such a thing in the last seven years; and what a beautiful spot it is! The grounds are in fine order; the noble bay, with the opposite shores of New Jersey, Staten and Long Islands, vessels of every description, from the noble, well-appointed Liverpool packet to the little market craft, and steamers arriving from every point, gave life and animation to a prospect unexcelled by any city view in the world. It would be worth traveling one hundred miles out of one’s way in a foreign country to get a sight of, and yet we citizens of New

York, who have it all under our noses (his house was near the corner of Park Place and Broadway), seldom enjoy it. Like all other enjoyments, it loses its value from being too easily obtained."

According to Charles Dickens, the citizens of New York of a time seven years later were as indifferent to the objectionable things under their noses as they were to the charm of the view from the Battery. Here is a bit of Broadway — "a wide and bustling street, which from the Battery Gardens to its opposite termination in a country road, may be four miles long," as Dickens saw and described it in the summer of 1842:

"We are going to cross here. Take care of the pigs. Two portly sows are trotting up behind this carriage, and a select party of half a dozen gentleman hogs are just now turned the corner. Here is a solitary swine lounging homeward by himself. He has only one ear; having parted with the other to vagrant dogs in the course of his city rambles. . . . They are the city scavengers, these pigs. Ugly brutes they are, having for the most part, scanty, brown backs like the lids of old horsehair trunks; spotted with unwholesome black blotches. They have long, gaunt legs, too, and such peaked snouts, that if one of them could be persuaded to sit for his profile, nobody would recognize it for a pig's likeness. They are never attended upon, or fed, or driven, or caught, but are thrown upon their own resources in early life, and become preternaturally knowing in consequence. Every pig knows where he lives, much better than anybody could tell him. At this hour, just as evening is closing in, you will see them roaming toward bed by scores, eating their way to the last. Occasionally, some youth among them who has overeaten himself, or has been much worried by dogs, trots shrinkingly homeward like a prodigal son; but this is a rare case; perfect self-possession and self-reliance, and immovable composure, being their foremost attributes."

It is not too much to say that the desire to beautify the city received its first great impetus with the beginning of Central

Park, and that Andrew H. Green was one of the very few men in New York at that time who had any adequate conception of the relation of that great work to the municipal development of the future. It is true, there had been made a kind of plan on which the future city that was to occupy the upper expanse of Manhattan Island was to be laid out. That was done under the act of 1807, and Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford were the commissioners appointed by Mayor De Witt Clinton to lay out the streets and roads of the city under this law. These gentlemen had large views, for their time, and although it took much less than a century hopelessly to dwarf their conceptions of the future of New York, they found it necessary in their report to the Mayor, in 1809, to put on record the following apology: "It may be a subject of merriment that the Commissioners have provided space for a greater population than is gathered at any spot this side of China. They have, in this respect, been governed by the shape of the ground. It is not improbable that considerable numbers may be collected at Harlem before the high hills to the southward of it shall be built upon as a city, and it is improbable that for centuries to come the grounds north of Harlem Flat will be covered with houses. To have come short of the extent laid out might therefore have defeated just expectations; and to have gone further might have furnished material to the pernicious spirit of speculation." This was apropos of the location of the blocks which were to be occupied by buildings above First Street on the East Side and Thirteenth Street on the West Side, and the provision of a parade ground for the militia which was to extend from Twenty-third to Thirty-fourth Street, and from Third to Seventh Avenue.

The first city park was established in 1732, when the Corporation permitted John Chambers, Peter Bayard, and Peter Jay to rent the little area at the foot of Broadway for a Bowling Green at a rental of one peppercorn per annum. Up to 1850 the total area of the city's parks did not exceed 140 acres. The ten and one half acres of Battery Park were recovered from the sea, and it was subsequently enlarged on the water side to double that area. In colonial days City Hall Park was the common and military parade ground; Washington Square was made a Potter's

Field in 1797; laid out as a parade ground thirty years later; was used again as a burial plot for the victims of the cholera, and was finally sodded and improved as a park. Madison Square, too, began in 1794 as a Potter's Field. It was included by the commissioners of 1807 in their parade ground of three hundred acres above alluded to; was cut down to eighty acres three years later, and in 1829 all but the existing six and three fourths acres had disappeared from the map. Tompkins Square dates from 1833, and Manhattan Square and Mount Morris Square were opened in 1836. St. John's Park, known as Hudson Square, and now covered by the New York Central freight depot, was an enterprise of the Trinity Corporation to attract residence to the district. Gramercy Park, a reservation of one and one half acres, was also made for purely private use.

It is difficult to say precisely when and where the idea of Central Park originated, although the honor of broaching it has been claimed for Andrew J. Downing, who, in some letters to the *Horticulturist*, in the autumn of 1850 pointed out the lack of open public spaces and places for common recreation in New York, and urged the necessity of providing for a great park. It is certain that on May 5th of the following year Mayor Kingsland sent in a brief special message to the Common Council advocating the reservation of a large park north of the City Hall, but without mentioning any locality. "It seems obvious to me," he said, "that the entire tongue of land south of a line drawn across the (City Hall) Park is destined to be devoted entirely and solely to commercial purposes. . . . The public parks and places of New York are not in keeping with the character of the city. . . . There is no park on the island deserving of the name." The Common Council, approving the recommendation, voted to ask the Legislature for authority to acquire the land. The result was the passage of an act on July 11, 1851, making it lawful for the city to acquire for park purposes the lands lying between Avenue A, East River, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-sixth streets, and between Third Avenue, East River, Sixty-sixth and Seventy-fifth streets. This was the property known as Jones's Woods, opposite Blackwell's Island, and it took a few years to convince the Aldermen that the site was an inappropriate one.

The opposition to the Jones's Woods Park appears to have concentrated in favor of the Central Park site, and it assumed such proportions that in January, 1852, the Common Council asked the Legislature to take no further action in relation to opening the East Side park. The partisans of the latter kept up their campaign, however, and in 1853 a steamboat was chartered to enable members of the Legislature and the Chamber of Commerce and others to examine the proposed location. President Pierce was a guest of this party. The general conclusion seems to have been that the proposed site was not only not sufficiently central, but that one side of it being bounded by a deep stream, and rapid current, the facility with which persons or bodies could be projected into it might lead to the commission of crime.

There was accordingly passed by the Common Council, without much opposition, on June 9, 1853, a resolution to the following effect:

Whereas . . . certain interested parties are attempting to renew the subject without, and independent of, any action of the Common Council in favor of the same; and

Whereas, so far as ascertained, the proposed Central Park has met the general approbation of our citizens, and the project being more feasible than that of the Jones's Woods Park, on the ground that if carried into effect it will embrace within its limits the present and contemplated reservoirs, and be central to the island, where, if a park is wanted at all, would be a proper location for one; therefore,

Resolved, That application be made to the Legislature at its present session for a law authorizing the opening of a park the boundaries of which shall be southerly by Sixty-third Street, northerly by One Hundredth Street, easterly by Fifth Avenue, and westerly by Eighth Avenue.

By way of treating both sides impartially, the Legislature passed two laws, one for Central Park, and one for the East Side park. The former (Chapter 616) is entitled, "An Act to alter the map of the City of New York by laying out thereon a public place and to authorize the taking of the same," and provided that "all that piece or parcel of land situate lying and being in the Twelfth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-second wards of the City of New York, bounded southerly by Fifty-ninth Street, northerly by One Hundred and Sixth Street, easterly by Fifth Avenue, and Westerly by Eighth Avenue, is hereby declared to be a public

place in like manner as if the same had been laid out by the commissioners" of 1807. The Act authorized the appointment of five commissioners of estimate and assessment to conduct the acquisition proceedings, and the issue by the city of stock, to be called "The Central Park Fund," for the purpose of raising money to pay for the land. The Jones's Woods Act was repealed in the following year.

Proceeding under Chapter 616, the Common Council passed a resolution on August 12, 1853, authorizing an application to the Supreme Court for the appointment of commissioners of estimate and assessment. These were duly appointed in November, 1853, and their report was filed on December 14, 1855. On February 5, 1856, the court confirmed the report of these commissioners awarding \$5,169,369 for damages, and \$1,657,590 for benefits. The Common Council immediately appropriated a sum of over five millions for the expenditure necessary at that time, and on May 12 and 19, 1856, the Council and Board of Aldermen respectively enacted an ordinance which provided that the Mayor (Fernando Wood) and the Street Commissioner (Joseph S. Taylor) should be a Board of Commissioners for the management of Central Park until the further action of the Common Council or the Legislature.

Thus, at its very inception, the enterprise was threatened with the control of the lowest order of trafficking politicians. The occupation of the Mayor's chair by a man like Fernando Wood represented nothing less than the utter failure of the mode of electing the New York city government by universal Suffrage. Wood's career as Mayor and Member of Congress, taken in connection with his previous history is one of the most unsavory episodes in the political records of New York. The origin of the man is sufficiently indicated by this reference to him in Charles H. Haswell's diary of December 9, 1836:

"Fernando Wood left the employ of Mr. Secor, then Fras. Secor & Co., and opened a three-cent liquor store at the corner of Rector and Washington streets. The Secors, Peter Seeley (a stevedore), and some other employers of laborers, were in the habit of paying their men off in Wood's store, and in connection

with this, it is not amiss to note that the custom of employers on the river fronts paying their men in a grocery store was of general practice. It was charged against Wood, and never responded to, that when a man presented himself to receive his wages he was surprised at being told that there was such and such an account charged to him for drinks. There was no appeal."

To the reputation which Wood acquired in the next fourteen years we have the testimony of Philip Hone, under date of October 16, 1850:

"The Loco-Focos have nominated Fernando Wood for Mayor. There was a time when it was thought of some consequence that the incumbent of this office should be at least an honest man. Fernando Wood! Let the books of the Mechanic's Bank tell his story. There is no amount of degradation too great for the party who expects to 'rule the roost,' and probably will. Fernando Wood, instead of occupying the Mayor's seat, ought to be on the rolls of the State prison. But our blessed universal suffrage will raise a flame with this Wood to drive away Whigism, Conservatism, and good, honest Democracy as we formerly knew it. Fernando Wood, Mayor!"

Wood was first nominated for Mayor in 1850, when the Democracy was strong, vigorous and united, but he was defeated by the Whig candidate, Ambrose C. Kingsland. In 1854 Wood again secured the nomination of his party, and, in spite of a bolt of the respectable element of it, which resulted in the nomination of Wilson G. Hunt, he was elected, or, what practically amounted to the same thing, was counted in. In 1856 Wood, who had then complete control of the primary machinery of his party, renominated himself. This was a Presidential year, and the machine elected him. The character of the municipal administration which flourished under Fernando Wood was set forth with great frankness in the newspapers and the pamphlet literature of his time. Among the charges brought against him, and never disproved, was that of selling official positions to the highest bidder. Among other charges, it was specifically alleged in the public prints that

in 1857, while Mayor, Wood sold the lucrative position of Street Commissioner to Charles Devlin for \$50,000 cash, with certain reservations as to the patronage and profits of the office.

Evidently, the character of the city government of New York had sunk to the lowest level it could well reach, and decent men of all parties began to ask each other how the vulgar, rapacious and unscrupulous despotism wielded by Wood and his following was to be kept from perpetuating itself. Up to that time the general tendency alike of Royal and State grants to the City of New York had been to confirm and enlarge the legislative powers of the Board of Aldermen. Under the Montgomerie Charter, the Common Council was given "full power, authority, and license to frame, constitute, ordain, make and establish, from time to time, all such laws, statutes, rights, ordinances, and constitutions which to them, or the greater part of them, shall seem to be good, useful or necessary for the good rule and government of the body corporate." In the Common Council (of which the Mayor and Recorder were also members) was vested the sole power of establishing and regulating ferries, of making and laying out streets, highways, water courses and bridges, of appointing markets, inspecting, weighing and measuring articles of food and drink, erecting prisons and almshouses, and providing for their government, granting licenses for the sale of liquors, and exercising a variety of judicial powers as justices of the peace and associate justices of the original Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of New York.

The judicial powers of the Mayor and Aldermen were exercised for full one hundred years. At the close of that period their authority to regulate every detail of local government remained wholly unimpaired. In the words of Chancellor Kent, "We need only look over the volume of laws and ordinances of the Common Council, revised, digested and published in 1834, to be satisfied of the weight of the complicated cases and duties which are confided to the municipal legislature, and which require them to regulate such vast and such minute concerns, and to affect such a variety of interests and pursuits in this great commercial city."

But the level of ability and character in the Common Council was gradually lowered, and some years before 1857 membership

of either of the two boards of which it was composed had become an object of civic ambition mainly to petty ward politicians. Thus it happened that when the Legislature of that year set about abridging the powers of the Aldermen and Councilmen there was no disposition to protest, either on the part of the business community or the general body of taxpayers. In the estimation of most of these, New York was the worst-governed city on the continent. Some of them may have recognized the fact that it had come to be so by their own neglect, but they were so profoundly impressed with their inability to cope with the rowdies, jobbers and wire-pullers who controlled elections that they welcomed any legislation which might serve to neutralize the power of the ignorant and purchasable vote, without demanding of them any sustained exercise of vigilance or political activity. Hence the creation of semi-independent executive departments of the city government, and the transfer to a State Board of the police and excise administration of the three counties of New York, Kings, and Richmond, were regarded by the municipal reformers of the period as progress in the right direction. Fernando Wood, who had been chiefly instrumental in making the intelligent part of the New York public despair of the possibility of local self-government, did his best to demonstrate the wisdom of the policy which had dictated the enactment of the Metropolitan Police bill. In the struggle which attended the ousting of Mayor Wood's police the sympathies of law-abiding citizens were, necessarily, on the side of the new force, and quiet people breathed more freely when the rowdy element, which stood for civic rights, had at last exhausted their opportunities for rioting.

It was thus with the entire approval of all who had any stake in the peace and prosperity of the City of New York that the Legislature passed on April 17, 1857 (Chapter 771), an act for the regulation and government of the Central Park. After defining the boundaries of the Park, already quoted, the act placed it under the exclusive control of eleven persons to be known as Commissioners of Central Park. The first Board, as named in the act, was constituted as follows: Robert J. Dillon, James E. Cooley, Charles H. Russell, John F. Butterworth, John A. C. Gray, Waldo Hutchins, Thomas E. Field, Andrew H. Green,

Charles W. Elliott, William K. Strong, and James Hogg. They were to hold their offices for five years and to receive no compensation for their services, other than a nominal sum for personal expenses when engaged in visiting and superintending the Park.

The task before the commissioners was a sufficiently discouraging one. As Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall has described it: The Croton Reservoir and the Crystal Palace, then occupying the sites of the Public Library and Bryant Park between Fortieth and Forty-second streets, were on the outermost confines of civilization; and Central Park was worse than a wilderness. Its future site consisted of an apparently intractable area of about 776 acres of rocks, swamps, ponds, puddles and rills, so uneven as to render the cost of grading alone, as a contemporary report put it, "more than twice the present value of the lands." It was so thinly covered with soil that it was almost impossible to find a square rod in which a crowbar would not strike rock; so low in places as to be utterly unfit for building purposes and a menace to health on account of its offensive and unwholesome condition. It was a sort of "no man's land," preëmpted by about 5,000 squatters, disfigured by their shanties and pig-pens and befouled by their filth. A huge population of cows, horses, swine, goats, dogs, cats, geese, and chickens roamed at large within its bounds. The occupations of some of the squatters were illegal nuisances, and were carried on under cover of the night. The land was also the *omnium gatherum* for city refuse, and was diversified by heaps of cinders, brickbats, potsherds, and other rubbish. As offensive to the sense of smell as these conditions to the sense of sight, were the odors emanating from a number of swill-milk, hog-feeding, and bone-boiling establishments. Briefly, the whole aspect of the region was about as repulsive as could well be imagined.

Then, the art of landscape gardening had hardly begun here, and was, indeed, still undeveloped abroad. The laying out of Central Park was an undertaking without precedent in America — it might be said in the world — a venture upon untried ground, the more hazardous because of the unpromising nature of the field, and the discouraging obstacles it presented to any artistic treatment. The work, as Mr. Green clearly foresaw, would involve the organization of a force of architects, engineers, gardeners,

skilled and ordinary laborers, on an altogether novel plan, the constantly varying features of which would require the exercise of inventive skill and executive genius on the part of some one mind which should direct and operate the whole.

A temporary obstacle to the beginning of work was created by the financial crisis of 1857, and the consequent difficulty of marketing the bonds, but the most serious difficulty of all was to be found in the political conditions of the time. Here was a public work destined to involve the expenditure of millions of money, and it was inconceivable that the professional politicians and their heelers should relinquish without a struggle what they conceived to be their share of its patronage and profit. If there was one man on the commission, more than another, by whom this danger was clearly perceived, and who was determined to meet it at the very outset, that man was Andrew H. Green. That a majority at least of his associates were fully impressed with the necessity of keeping the work free from the influence of political jobbery, and equally so, with the designated fitness of Mr. Green to be the active instrument in this effort, their opening proceedings abundantly proved.

The commission organized on April 30, 1857, by the election of Mr. Cooley as president, Mr. Gray as vice-president, and Mr. Elliott as secretary. At this meeting Messrs. Green, Russell, and Hutchins were appointed a special committee to report as to the present conditions at the Central Park, particularly with regard to officers, plans, and employees. Mr. Green was also one of three appointed to prepare and report necessary bylaws for the use and government of the Board. On May 7th, Mr. Green presented to the Board the report of the Committee on Bylaws, and made at the same time a brief report in relation to the employees on the Park and the condition of the Park generally. The special meeting of the Board on May 9th placed Mr. Green on the standing committees of Finance, Roads and Walks; Salaries and Officers, Printing, Bylaws and Ordinances. At the meeting of June 9th Mr. Green was nominated for the office of treasurer, and was declared unanimously elected at the succeeding meeting.

Thus, from the beginning, Mr. Green took a leading part in

organizing the business of the Board, and in the general management of the affairs of the Park. Considering the hands into which these affairs had at first fallen, the significance of the resolutions he offered at the meeting of September 1st, need hardly be pointed out. They were to the effect that the engineer of the Park should be instructed to report to the Board the names, the occupation and the compensation of all persons employed at the Park, and that no more laborers be employed until further order of the Board. These resolutions were adopted, as was also another, of similar purport, presented by Mr. Green at the meeting of September 8th, for a committee to devise and report to the Board a thorough and comprehensive system of accounts, to insure a correct exhibit of monetary affairs in every department of the Park. Before its adoption, this latter resolution was amended by substituting for "committee" the word "treasurer," thus placing on Mr. Green alone the work of preparing a thorough system of accounts. Mr. Green's watchfulness over the expenditure of money was further manifested in the resolution which he offered, and which was duly adopted on October 8th, calling upon the chief engineer to report to the Board without delay a detailed statement of all claims against the Board since its organization up to the date of his report, and that the clerk of the commission report the amount of the liabilities incurred by him. This was followed by another resolution, also unanimously adopted, declaring "that all persons employed by the Board are forbidden to contract any debt or liability upon or on behalf of the Board." This vigilance to protect the treasury was accompanied by careful provision for the regular payment of the Park employees on the first of each month, and by the subsequent resolution authorizing the treasurer to pay the laborers and others employed at the Park every fortnight.

CHAPTER V

PARK CONSTRUCTION AND UPTOWN CITY DEVELOPMENT — EARLY TROUBLES OF THE PARK COMMISSION — EXTENSION OF THE POWERS OF THE BOARD — THE EDUCATIONAL FEATURES OF THE PARK SYSTEM

WHILE he was deeply impressed with the necessity of establishing, from the first, strictly business methods in the administration of Central Park, Mr. Green had probably broader and larger views than any of his colleagues of the relation of this great work to the future development of the city. We have seen how, as president of the Board of Education, he was accustomed to cast a prophetic eye on the coming greatness of New York, and his conception of the proper equipment of the metropolis of the Western World with works of public improvement grew with years of experience. For a proper understanding of the requisites for the efficient prosecution of such work as Central Park he was better equipped than any other member of the Board. That fact was not lost upon his associates, and a year after the organization of the commission Mr. Green was made its president. As the work proceeded it became increasingly evident that its effective supervision was fully sufficient for all the time and energy of any one man, and on September 15, 1859, the Board created a new office — that of Comptroller of the Park — placed Mr. Green in it, and left for the next ten years and a half the construction of Central Park to be prosecuted under his personal direction.

Mr. Green was fortunate in the men selected to do the technical work of the undertaking. On September 11, 1857, Frederick Law Olmsted, then a man of thirty-five, and better known, up to that time, as a writer, economist and philanthropist, than as a landscape gardener, was appointed superintendent. A month before the Board had voted to offer prizes of \$2,000, \$1,000, \$750, and \$500 respectively for the best four plans in order of

merit for laying out the Park. On April 28, 1858, the competitive plans were voted on, and, with only one dissenting vote, that of Mr. Olmsted and Calvert Vaux — No. 33 — received the first premium. Mr. Egbert L. Vielé, who had acted for about a year as engineer-in-chief, thereupon retired, and Mr. Olmsted became architect-in-chief, with the very efficient coöperation of Mr. Vaux. To Mr. Jacob Wrey Mould must be accorded the credit for the beautiful carvings and other decorations on the stonework, for the bridges, and most of the other early architectural structures in the Park.

The first and almost the only serious controversy that arose in the Central Park Commission was due to the persistent effort of Messrs. Robert J. Dillon and August Belmont to introduce changes into the plans of Messrs. Olmsted and Vaux. The character of these may be sufficiently indicated by quoting two of them:

“**THE DRIVE.** — According to plan 33, the entire drive below Ninety-sixth Street, embracing several miles in extent, is flanked on either side by the walk, thus assimilating the drive to the roadway of the streets and avenues, and destroying the appearance and illusion of a country road. We propose that the drive shall be devoted to its object singly and alone, cutting the sward on either side, and separate and distinct from the ride and the walk.”

“**CROSS ROADS.** — By law, the commissioners are not obliged to run any roads across the Park, and they should be made only so far as they are necessary to effect transit from one side of the island to the other. There will be little or no such business relations of one side with the other as to require vehicles of traffic to cross the Park. During the entire length of Broadway, above Canal Street, separating a compact population on either side of it, a vehicle of traffic is very seldom seen to cross it. If three blocks of land of the Park should intervene, all occasions for traffic across the Park will, in our judgment very nearly disappear. By plan 33, four transverse roads are designed, crossing the Park in a straight line, sunken eight or ten feet below the surface, and in some portions tunneled through intervening rocks. We consider these roads to be a blemish on the plan, and will, if made, be a blight and deformity to the Park, irretrievable and forever to be deplored. They will divide the Park into four different sections, and interrupt the drainage, both under and superficial, in the flow of water to the lakes. For the drive they must be crossed by four bridges, going up on one side, and four bridges coming down on the other, and where bridges are not erected for the drive, fences must be erected for the safety of ramblers, who would otherwise fall into these sunken roads. The amendments propose to abolish these roads entirely, and to substitute in their stead, three cross roads, running from each one hundred feet street in a winding way across the Park following the topography, so that passage across the Park may be made, but not with such facility in grade and level as to invite passage for purposes of trade or traffic.”

Except as evidence of the limitations of two exceptionally able men, the amendments made but little impression on the public mind. Their authors, or, rather, Mr. Dillon, returned to the attack, however, with a proposal that the work on the Park be done by public letting. That also was so demonstrably unwise that it received no support from the other members of the Board, and hardly needed what the *Courier and Enquirer* called the "Sledge-hammer argument" of the president of the Board to administer its *coup de grace*. Messrs. Dillon and Belmont were pleased to think they had been discourteously treated by their associates, and from the judgment of the latter they made an appeal to the public which was prefaced as follows: "The manner in which these amendments were received and disposed of will appear by the annexed protest, which, having been rejected by the Board, we now publish for the information of the people, whose servants we are. They own the Park, and are most interested in its success. If we are wrong, thought and discussion will prove it; if we are right, the people may possibly find some means of averting the execution of a plan which they disapprove." The comment of the *Evening Post* on this proceeding may be taken as fairly representative of the intelligent public sentiment of New York:

In conclusion, we do not feel that we should discharge our whole duty as conductors of a public press if we forebore to do what we could to arrest the effort which is making to disorganize this commission and throw it into the dirty pool of party politics. We are satisfied that the commissioners acted wisely in adopting the plan which they did adopt, and to which there was but one dissenting vote. We are satisfied that they acted wisely in the removal of Mr. Vielé, to which there was no dissenting vote. We incline to think they acted liberally in reserving the amendments of Messrs. Dillon and Belmont for future consideration, instead of rejecting them all, or such of them at least as conflicted with the adopted plan. We are further satisfied that the majority of the commission are animated by a sincere devotion to the best interests of the Park, and are discharging the trust committed to them with a degree of fidelity, zeal and success which cannot be too much admired. We believe further that the success of this noble improvement depends upon their being sustained. The time chosen for these assaults, a day or two before the adjournment of the Common Council, shows a determination on the part of Messrs. Dillon and Belmont to defeat the appropriation now pending in that body, and to suspend the work for the remainder of the summer. Independent of the detriment which the public would sustain from such a state of things, the loss of work which it would involve to some twelve hundred men

could not be regarded as anything less than a public calamity, for which Messrs. Dillon and Belmont and their abettors will be held accountable.

In compliance with the expressed wish of the Board, Mr. Green in his capacity as president, reviewed the whole subject with that rare combination of practical sense and expository and analytical ability which distinguishes all his public papers. The force and ability with which Mr. Green presented his reasons for approving of the conclusions of the majority of the Board attracted general attention, and were probably instrumental in permanently discouraging the carping criticism which, allowed to grow, might seriously have hampered the prosecution of about the only public work to which the city is able to point with unmixed pride. But, fully impressed as was Mr. Green with the excellence of the Park plan which had been adopted by the Board, and ample as was his confidence in the ability of the experts who had charge of its details, he found frequent occasion to propose amendments to it, and he held steadily to the opinion that the Board should retain in its own hands the entire control and supervision of the affairs of the park.

To one conviction he adhered with characteristic tenacity, until he finally succeeded in giving it practical effect, and that was that in its original plan the Park had not been carried to its natural termination. He first broached the subject in a resolution offered by him and adopted by the Board on January 26, 1858, to the effect that a committee of three should be appointed for the purpose of ascertaining the ownership of all the land lying between the south side of One Hundred and Sixth Street and the south side of One Hundred and Tenth Street, the west side of Fifth Avenue and the east side of Eighth Avenue, and the price at which it could be purchased. The committee was to have power to prepare a memorial to the State Legislature relative to the expediency of including this land within the limits of Central Park. In a report which he prepared for the Common Council, dated August 24, 1858, in which was outlined the progress of the work up to that date, Mr. Green stated his reasons for this proposed enlargement. He pointed out that on the north of One Hundred and Sixth Street and between that street and One Hundred and Tenth Street and Fifth and Eighth avenues is a

group of rocks which abruptly terminate at the flats of what were known as Harlem Commons. He insisted that at the foot of these rocks, lofty, picturesque, and admirably adapted for park scenery, was the natural boundary of the Park. From them, the Harlem Commons stretched away to the east and north, indicating the ultimate grade of that portion of the island. As the land rises from One Hundred and Sixth toward One Hundred and Tenth Street a line of buildings on the north side of the latter would naturally interfere with the view which is here extensive, varied, and in all respects worthy of preservation. Moreover, in regulating the cross streets, which it was proposed to take in, an excavation of rock, in some places forty feet high, would be required at an expense greater, in many cases, than the value of the lots. Should these streets be regulated under existing laws a large portion of the expense must be borne by the city. But the main reason for recommending an outlay for this plot of ground was its picturesqueness, and the fact that it would extend the Park to its obvious natural termination, besides bringing with it military reminiscences of the War of 1812 and of the Revolution that should be perpetuated. In Mr. Green's judgment, the 480 lots which he proposed to add to the Park were of comparatively small value, and he held that it would always be an occasion of regret if they were not secured to the city while it could be done without great outlay.

In estimating the value of this land, Mr. Green forgot, however, that the construction of Central Park had already added enormously, in the minds of its owners at least, to the value of surrounding property, and events proved that they were able to compel the city to pay roundly for its purchase. From first to last Mr. Green carried the Board with him in this matter, and in compliance with the suggestion which had been formally made to it the Common Council adopted resolutions approving of an application for the necessary legislation. These, however, were vetoed by Mayor Tiemann, and the Board was compelled to appeal to the Legislature on its own initiative. Early in 1859 Mr. Green was authorized to have a memorial prepared and presented to the Legislature for a law to authorize the enlargement of Central Park from One Hundred and Sixth to One Hundred and

Tenth Street, between Fifth and Eighth avenues. A bill was passed on April 2, 1859, enabling the Board to acquire title to the lands. As commissioners of estimate and assessment, Judge Clerke appointed Hawley D. Clapp, Anthony J. Bleecker, and Richard Kelly, who appraised the four blocks at \$1,499,429.50. The size of the awards naturally astounded the Park commissioners who, remembering that the original forty-seven blocks had cost only \$5,111,426.30, concluded that the four additional blocks should not cost more than \$435,000. Here was an increase in value at the rate of more than 300 per cent. and the Board naturally thought the awards excessive, while they were also compelled to stamp the amount of expenses charged by the commissioners of appraisal as grossly exorbitant. The Board accordingly voted on December 26, 1860, to discontinue the proceedings to acquire the lands. In June of the following year the Board authorized a renewal of the proceedings, whereupon Judge Ingraham appointed Samuel B. Ruggles, Luther Bradish, and Michael Ulshoeffter commissioners of estimate. The report of these gentlemen made awards to the considerably reduced amount of \$1,279,590 of which \$1,108,505 was chargeable on the city, and \$171,085 on private owners.

An improvement attended by fewer difficulties was proposed by Mr. Green in his communication to the Common Council of August 24, 1858, that, namely, of making Seventh Avenue 150 feet wide, properly paved, with broad sidewalks, to be reserved for a driveway and promenade from, and, in connection with Central Park, to the Harlem River. As Mr. Green pointed out, railroads had taken possession of Second, Third, Fourth, Sixth, Eighth, and Tenth avenues and had a grant for Ninth Avenue. He, therefore, deemed it necessary to reserve and prepare Seventh Avenue for driving, riding, and promenading, uninterrupted by any railroad. He regarded this avenue as the backbone of the upper part of the city, the natural outlet of the Park, northward, and, in a measure, a necessary part of the Park system.

No better illustration could be given of Mr. Green's devotion to the ideal of the "City Beautiful," or of the intelligent foresight which he brought to the consideration of works of public improvements, than his discussion of the reasons for this Seventh Avenue

extension. In his communication to the Common Council of August 24, 1858, he points out that though not strictly within the scope of their jurisdiction, the commissioners of the Central Park deem the subject of agreeable and convenient access to the Park one that naturally claims their attention. In their studies of the Central Park and the avenues by which it was to be approached an agreeable access to the Park and to the upper end of the Island by a road not paved with cobbles, nor occupied by a railroad, appeared to the commissioners to be an universally recognized want of the people of the city. The great distance to be traveled over pavements, before reaching a smooth, pleasant ride or drive, was one of the chief obstacles to a more general custom of riding and driving. He felt sure that the Common Council would concur with him in the belief that no city of the magnitude and extent of New York should be without the very highest facilities for a spacious, agreeable, and easily accessible ride and drive. He went on to show that Seventh Avenue afforded a most favorable opportunity to supply this great want. Broadway was already paved with the Russ and Belgian pavement to Union Square; by continuing the Belgian pavement on Broadway to its junction with Seventh Avenue at Forty-fourth Street, and macadamizing, or similarly paving this avenue from thence to the Park, an agreeable and direct access would be provided to the city's pleasure ground, without any expense that would not be worth all its cost. He held that the avenue should be planted, from its intersection with Broadway, with shade trees on either side, up to the grand entrance gate of the Park on Fifty-ninth Street. He then went on to explain in minute detail his plan for widening Seventh Avenue from the north end of the Park and arranging its width as follows: Sidewalks, twenty-two feet each; two carriage ways of thirty-eight feet each, and a horseback ride of thirty feet. Between the sidewalk and the carriage way on each side of the curbstone line, and between the carriage roads and the horseback ride, should be planted rows of trees ultimately to overshadow the whole avenue. He advised that the carriage ways should be constructed of gravel mixed with soft slate, placed upon a bed of stone, and the horseback ride of a still softer material.

By this arrangement, it seemed to Mr. Green, studying the subject fifty-five years ago, that those who ride and drive would be provided with a smoothly paved road from the Battery through Broadway and Seventh Avenue to the Park, up to which point it was not proposed to divide Seventh Avenue, nor otherwise change it than by rows of trees and by making it a road of gravel or of Belgian pavement, instead of cobbles. Entering the Park at the southerly gate, the rider or driver would follow the course of its winding roads to the north gate, leaving the Park, and again taking a stately and shaded avenue, with a separate walk on each side, with two drives, one for those going forth and one for those returning, and a horseback ride between. They would thus proceed nearly two miles to the Harlem River, to the free bridge at McComb's Dam, then constructing, over which the varied country roads of Westchester and the roads to King's Bridge would be readily accessible.

If even Mr. Green failed to take due account of the future congestion of downtown street traffic, he was easily ahead of his contemporaries in perceiving the immediate consequences of the rate at which the city was then growing. He insisted that the extent to which the roads and walks of the Park would be frequented had not yet been appreciated. The city was already crowding upon its borders. "But a year or two ago, the beautiful edifice of the Dutch Reformed Church was constructed far uptown, on the corner of Twenty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue. The Broadway Tabernacle is nearly completed on the corner of Thirty-fourth Street. The Brick Church (Doctor Spring's), on the corner of Thirty-seventh Street and Fifth Avenue, within twenty-two blocks of the Central Park, lifts its spire, conspicuous for miles. Preparations are already making for the erection of St. Patrick's Cathedral, a structure of magnificent proportions, on a most commanding site within seven blocks of the Park. The Orphan Asylum, the Hospital of St. Luke, Columbia College, all in the immediate neighborhood of the Park, indicate how very near it is to the constructed portion of the city, and the necessity of providing for the population that must soon surround them."

Mayor Tiemann's veto of the resolutions which the Common Council adopted at the suggestion of the Park Board, speaking

through its president, helped to bring into sharp relief the very limited power possessed by the Board for the prosecution of the work with which it was charged. A memorial, dated January, 1859, was accordingly prepared by the president, and approved by the Board, for submission to the Legislature, asking for certain amendments to the act of April 17, 1857. After stating what the commission had accomplished in the construction of Central Park, and the impediments that had hampered their work, the memorial went on to show what additional legislation was needed. Mr. Green's words were: "Your memorialists find that the act for the improvement of the Park not only omits provision for necessities which must arise as the Park approaches completion, but that some of its subordinate provisions are cumbrous and unnecessary."

Among the amendments desired was one providing that the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park should have the power of a corporate body, so far as to give to the Board and its successors the power to take and hold such property as may be conveyed to it for the purposes of the Park. It was pointed out as not improbable, if the management of the Park should continue such as to entitle it to confidence, that donations would be made for the formation and maintenance of zoölogical gardens, of cabinets of natural history, botanic gardens, observatories, monuments, and other ornamental structures. These donations should remain with the Commissioners of the Central Park and their successors, as a corporate body. The necessity was also insisted on of a police force sufficient, competent, and under the exclusive control of the Board, since as the act then stood the commissioners had no power to appoint the police essential to the preservation of order in the Park. In a communication to the Common Council of the early part of 1859 Mr. Green makes a significant remark bearing on this latter request: "The desire for a healthful recreation and exercise, and the taste for the natural beauties of the Park, whether in its similitude to the garden, the forest or the field, develop and increase with the opportunity for their gratification. The Board at this early period, amid the bustle and business of framing the structure, clearly perceives that the high expectation of its beauty, as well as of its beneficent influence, must be disappointed unless order

and propriety are maintained supreme over every foot of its surface, and within all its departments.”

From first to last Mr. Green was particularly insistent on making the Park subserve the purposes of public education, but he was fully conscious that there were salutary limitations on the competency of the Board to conduct or maintain institutions devoted to that end. It was at his instance that the Board adopted, on January 6, 1859, the following resolutions: “That this Board regards with interest the project of establishing an observatory in the City of New York, which should be commensurate with the magnitude of its commercial interests and the complement of its other enterprises and facilities for the advancement of science. That the Board is favorably inclined to the proposition to establish such an observatory upon the Central Park, provided that such a site can be selected and a plan of building proposed that shall harmonize entirely with the primary purposes to which the Park is devoted.” In the third annual report of the Central Park Commissioners, issued a year later, there is noted the eagerness that existed in the public mind for the establishment within the Central Park of institutions calculated to afford the means of popular cultivation and innocent recreation. Observatories, museums of natural history, zoölogical and botanical gardens, and galleries of art, found offers of substantial aid and for their foundation. But the Board doubted the propriety of appropriating the moneys placed at its disposal, for these or any kindred purposes. As Mr. Green puts the case: “Its duty is confined to the construction, maintenance, and regulation of the Park; and, while institutions of this kind are desirable, and would be fitly placed in the Park, the Board deems it proper that the means for their establishment, maintenance and arrangement, should be derived from other sources.” He intimated, however, that the Board would probably be authorized to provide a suitable structure within which donations of works of art might be deposited and protected, though it would not long be tolerated that the Board should expend the public moneys in the purchase of such works.

In November, 1861, on Mr. Green’s motion, the Board approved of the erection of a conservatory for public use and enjoyment

on Fifth Avenue and Seventy-fourth Street, similar in plan to that proposed by Messrs. Parsons & Co., and the comptroller of the Park was authorized to draft an agreement with them for the construction, supplying and management of such conservatory under the rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Board, and at the expense of Parsons & Co., who were to pay such price for its use as the Board should approve. In the report of the Board for the year ending December 31, 1861, Mr. Green returns to the question of combining the education of the people with their amusement and recreation. He remarks that the scientific and literary advantages, the great public works, the conveniences of living, and the opportunities for the cultivation and gratification of the tastes that are found in the libraries, museums, and galleries of art, botanical and zoölogical gardens, and the magnificent buildings of the populous centres of Europe, are a constant source of interest and attraction to strangers, and at the same time afford a continual revenue to the people. He adds that the attractions of New York, of a similar character, had never been relatively equal to its position among the most populous cities of the world. The Board desired to encourage, under proper organizations, the establishment within the Park of collections of art and of science, of botanical and zoölogical gardens, that combine instruction with amusement. But in giving encouragement to any such institution not only must its object be approved, but its sound organization and undoubted ability to command the means necessary to accomplish its purposes, according to a high standard of excellence, must first be demonstrated.

From the first, too, Mr. Green kept constantly in view the fitness of the Park to contribute to the interests, pleasure, and instruction of children. In a report on that subject he said that while the Park was intended to afford ample opportunity for personal relaxation and repose to all the hard-working and energetic representatives of labor, it had another class of individuals to provide for whose contributions to the prosperity of the metropolis were no less valuable, and whose claims to a loving welcome were equally deserving of illustration in the nomenclature of the entrance gates. To quote his own words: "It

aims to provide within the city limits an extensive rural playground, and a country experience generally, for the whole domestic circle, so that in future, 'The Boys,' 'The Girls,' 'The Women,' and 'The Children' may all have an opportunity to escape at intervals from the close confinement of the city streets and to spend pure and happy hours in direct communication with the beauties of nature." The Park was already, by that time — the end of 1861 — freely used, and enjoyed heartily by troops of young children, and as Mr. Green put the case, the Children's Gate would help to keep in mind the fact that, in the course of the next twenty years, the whole army of industrious workers who are vigorously laboring for the general welfare, would have received large reinforcements from the band of little ones, to-day so tender and helpless. The Boys' Gate and Girls' Gate would convey the idea that ample opportunity for physical development was considered a necessary part of the free educational system of the city, and would recognize the fact that it was not thought sufficient for the young students of either sex to be liberally supplied with schools, school teachers and school books, but that they must also be induced to study freely the works of nature.

Experience and observation taught Mr. Green, in later years, to modify considerably his views with respect to the combining of educational purposes with the development of Central Park. He came to feel that the only complete protection of the Park was to keep it absolutely free from the intrusion of any enterprise, however beneficent its general character, which did not form part of and harmoniously fit in with the original scheme of the devotion of this great area to strictly park purposes. There were schemes publicly advocated by good people during the last twenty years of Mr. Green's life, which aimed at the use of Central Park for objects entirely praiseworthy, but which he found it necessary steadfastly to resist on the ground that they detracted from the Park's essential character. It was his firm opposition to such plans, simply because of their unsuitability to the place, that enabled him to exert the greater influence when such projects as the use of a portion of the Park for a speedway came to the front, and when other still more questionable projects invited public attention and received a certain amount of public support.

CHAPTER VI

PARK CONSTRUCTION IN WAR-TIME—ENFORCEMENT OF THE MERIT
SYSTEM AND EXCLUSION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE—MR.
GREEN AS COMPTROLLER OF THE PARK—A COMPRE-
HENSIVE SCHEME OF CITY DEVELOPMENT—A
PROTEST AGAINST PRIVATE APPROPRI-
ATION OF PUBLIC THOROUGHFARES

THE stress of war-time did not in the least diminish Mr. Green's robust faith in the future of New York. On April 24, 1861, twelve days after the firing on Sumter, the Board of Supervisors of the County passed a resolution requesting the Commissioners of Central Park and other commissioners drawing money from the county treasury to suspend work, "in view of the present unsettled state of the country and the increased expenses of the county." Comptroller Green replied on May 21st, on behalf of the park Commissioners, respectfully suggesting that the discontinuance of the work on Central Park at that time, when employment was with difficulty obtained, would be peculiarly onerous, throwing out of employment more than a thousand mechanics and laboring men upon whom whole families were dependent for subsistence. He went on to show that to discontinue the work would not only be unwise and impolitic, with reference to the existing condition of affairs, but it would be expensive and uneconomical. Many structures in the Park were unfinished, and would sustain damage if not protected and completed, and engagements for carrying on portions of the work had been already entered into, which could not be abandoned. Mr. Green added that while he and his associates believed that a sound public sentiment coincided with the views as to the propriety of limiting public expenditure, yet they did not deem the time appropriate for public bodies to manifest a greater degree of timorousness and apprehension than had been shown by business men in their affairs, nor did they believe that

they would be justified in a suspension of their work. Early in the year the policy of the commissioners was made plain by their call upon the Common Council for authority to issue stock to an amount much less than that which they were authorized by law to expend. They had not yet seen any sufficient reason to change this policy, nor had they any doubt that the Board of Supervisors on being informed of the considerations which had prompted its adoption would concur with the view which the commissioners had felt it to be their duty to express "to the end that constant inquiry and uncertainty on the part of mechanics, laborers and others engaged at the Park may be promptly answered and put to rest."

In response to this communication the Board of Supervisors, on July 9th, rescinded the preamble and resolution adopted April 24th, after making the following declaration: "Whereas, a large number of workingmen of this city are now without employment, and it is important that as many of them be given work as possible, while the present stagnation of business lasts, therefore," etc. Mr. Green returned to the subject of the effect of the war on the city, in his report to the Common Council for the year ending December 31, 1861, in which he argued with a copious citation of figures and comparisons from the history of European cities that war did not necessarily check municipal growth. "In modern times, though war and pestilence temporarily retard the growth of cities, they seem, if possessed of the natural elements of growth, to advance steadily in the face of these adversities." Then, with a glance at the possibilities of New York, he applied his text by insisting that "those great works that render it the convenient abode of masses of men and attract to its shores the industry and capital that determine its metropolitan character, should, in anticipation of its brilliant future, not only not be abandoned, but should be steadily prosecuted." Among those works he enumerated libraries, museums, galleries of art, botanical and zoölogical gardens, parks, clean streets, and pure water.

Mr. Green claimed that the advantages to be supplied by Central Park would bring, in the direct enhancement of the value of property, a tenfold remuneration for all the outlay of its construction. In this connection Dr. Edward Hagan Hall pre-

sents the following figures covering a period of forty years after the date on which the above quoted claim was made: The awards for the whole of Central Park, from Fifty-ninth Street to One Hundred and Tenth Street, aggregated \$6,291,016.30. According to the Park Commissioners' report for 1903, the cost of construction and maintenance up to that date was approximately \$20,000,000. The then estimated value of the land was \$200,000,000. The taxable valuation of real estate in the Twelfth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second wards, within which the Park is situated, was, in 1856, \$21,875,230. In 1901 the valuation for the Nineteenth, Twenty-second and part of the Twelfth wards was \$946,021,221.

Long before civil service reform became a subject of popular agitation Mr. Green had reduced its principles to practical application. He was a firm believer in a civil service absolutely divorced from political influence and based solely upon individual merit. "The Commissioners of the Park," he declared in 1861, "still adhere to their purpose of excluding the exercise of any political influences over persons in their employ, of maintaining system, order and economy in every department, and of preserving the domain of the Park free from any influences to which exception could be justly taken by those who value purity in morals and manners and who appreciate the beautiful in art and nature." The Park employees were retained in office, promoted, and compensated according to merit; a classification of the police and other force was maintained, and promotions made from one grade to another; gardeners were engaged and promoted with reference to their fitness, which was ascertained by an examination as to their botanical knowledge and practical skill, and other employees were dealt with upon the same general basis. For the protection of the employees he had printed placards of which the following are the heading and first paragraph:

CENTRAL PARK

This Notice is to be Posted on
the Outside of Every Park Tool
Box, and is to be Read Aloud at
Roll call to Each Gang, Once
a Fortnight, by the Foreman.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

NOTICE TO MEN EMPLOYED

Men are employed by the Commissioners of the Park to work for their regular wages and for no other consideration whatever. The labor of each man employed, his compliance with the rules of the work, and civil behavior are all that will be required of him.

ANDREW H. GREEN,
Comptroller of the Park.

Nothing could well have been more distasteful to the men who then controlled the city politics of New York than a standard of public administration like the foregoing. In fact, the greatness of the work performed by Mr. Green and his associate commissioners cannot be fully appreciated without remembering that as the city was sinking every year deeper into the slough of political corruption, the administration of the affairs of Central Park was being conducted on the highest level of business efficiency and official honesty. It must not be supposed that this standard was maintained without a constant struggle. There are but few hints of that to be found in the minutes of the Board, but the newspapers of the day contain frequent intimations of how constant was the effort of the professional politicians to get hold of the patronage and pelf which was held beyond their reach by the Commissioners of Central Park. In the *New York Times* of December 30, 1862, reference is made to what was termed the precious scheme which was brewing "among the hungry, drunken, dishonest leaders of the Slave Democrats of this city." The particular scheme meditated was to get hold of the Central Park. As the *Times* pointed out, the entire conception of this work was at an immeasurable distance above the sensations, thoughts, and expressed wants of the class who were trying to seize it—"the men who oppose all street cleaning, fresh air, sobriety, courtesy, decency— who love dirt and impurity— seeking to assume the control of the very local centre of rural beauty, health, æsthetics, and the moral incentives which such qualities afford to a large city!"

The *Times* went on to say that if Fernando Wood was to be the standard of truth and honor— this would be parallel to admitting "this feculent mass of politicians and rabblement to the control of the nobility, grandeur, and multiform excellencies

of the Central Park." Keeping in view the entire history of its completion and development, the work on the Park had only begun. Seven hundred acres, largely of rock land, had to be put in perfect and varied order for all the necessary purposes of a great park of a great city. "Regard," said the newspaper, "the taste, the talent, the energy, the honesty, and the expenditure required for this. Ordinary works are trifles in comparison. A year or two completes them. But here is a thing for a generation's labor. It will be years and years before the laying out is thoroughly made; and then the responsibility and expense of guardianship will be correlatively enormous." It was not contended that under its present management the Central Park was not well cared for. It was not assumed that politics entered into the choice of day-laborers. It was not asserted that the most was not procured for the money. All that was conceded. A great work, "the greatest in the country, the capitol not excepted," was completely handled by the masters at the head of it. Therefore — and therefore only should they be thrust out. "In place of men in whom all have confidence, it is sought to place men in whom nobody has confidence — not even themselves one of the other — men whose integrity is that of the ex-Mayor, who on being called honest, all the crowd at Mozart Hall the other night broke out into a horse laugh."

Meanwhile, Mr. Green was laying the first courses of that great structure of educational influence for which Central Park supplied the foundation and without which the Park would have been shorn of half its usefulness. From 1859 onward Mr. Green had never ceased to insist on the necessity of incorporating in the scheme of the Park zoölogical and botanical gardens. By 1863 it had become obvious that something must be done to make adequate provision for the specimens which were accumulating on the hands of the custodians of the Park. Mr. Green pointed out in his report for 1862 that persons interested in the Park in this and other countries had tendered to the Board valuable specimens of animals to be added to its zoölogical collection. These were generally accepted and cared for in temporary structures, but it had become necessary to determine whether the charge of forming a zoölogical collection worthy of the city, and of main-

taining it satisfactorily, was to be undertaken by the Board or by other agencies. The deer in the Park, the foxes, the peacocks, the cranes, pelicans, gazelles, eagles, storks, and swans were already sources of constant interest and pleasure to very large numbers of visitors. In forming a permanent collection there was, of course, the question of expense to be determined, and whether access to it should be free or subject to a small admission fee. On one point Mr. Green was quite clear and that was that the zoölogical and botanical gardens should be made ancillary to and valuable auxiliaries of that great free public educational system which he called already the pride of the city, and should also be the source of useful practical information to agriculturists, merchants, and manufacturers throughout the land.

How far Mr. Green was ahead of his time is exemplified by his references in the report of the commission for 1862 to scientific agriculture and the waste of American woodlands. He pointed out that agriculture in some form was the chief occupation of our people; and that the products of the field and the forest formed the great volume of our exports, and were the basis of home commerce and industry. Whatever increased their value or rendered them more easily produced, preserved and formed into useful fabrics, he declared to be worthy of the encouragement of our citizens and of our city that derives such immense advantages from transportation and exchange of products. Then, "the forests of the country, with their magnificent beauties, the growth of centuries, are being swept away rapidly and wastefully, and the beasts and the birds that live in their shelter are becoming extinct for want of an intelligent appreciation of their value both to the present and coming generations."

Mr. Green went on to show that agricultural societies formed in rural districts, and farmers' clubs, where practical men can relate their experience, had been made instrumentalities of great usefulness. But these did not supply the need which is generally felt in this country for a central establishment, where information of a reliable character, the result of painstaking scientific experiments, could be obtained and reduced to a form adapted to general use. Such an establishment ought to find its location at some convenient centre of commerce and travel — that is, it

should be placed where it will be convenient to visitors and in a great city. The influence of a central establishment of this character would be felt over the whole country, and it would become the parent of a large number of lesser ones in different localities. Evidently, had Mr. Green had his way, the establishment of the Department of Agriculture at Washington would have been anticipated by the City of New York. If the larger scheme failed of development, he had at least the satisfaction of seeing the Botanical Garden and Arboretum grow up under his immediate supervision. In the report already quoted from he referred to the fact that in a former report the commissioners had discussed the mode of conducting such gardens, and had expressed the opinion that private organizations, provided with sufficient means, would best do the work. While, as a rule, the commissioners adhered to this opinion, the approval which they had thus far met with in their efforts encouraged them to hope that such steadiness and continuity in the management of the Park might be secured as to render it practicable to conduct these educational adjuncts satisfactorily.

From the time that Mr. Green accepted the office of Comptroller of the Park he devoted all his time and energies to the work and practically retired from all other business. Though this required no little sacrifice, the field which he had made his own was an entirely congenial one. Here he found opportunity for the development of those artistic tastes which had for so many years been necessarily subordinated to the practical requirements of business. The executive ability which he possessed in large measure had never until now found an adequate field. It was hardly singular, therefore, that under Mr. Green's direction the Park Commission rapidly commended itself to public favor and confidence. It was early perceived that a work undertaken mainly for the benefit of the next generation was to contribute greatly to the enjoyment of the one which witnessed its progress. Very early, too, the growth of the Park began to stimulate the development of the adjacent territory, and the Board was charged by the Legislature with various functions beyond those originally contemplated. Powers were conferred upon it to lay out the north end of the island; to survey and lay out the lower part of

Westchester County; to devise plans for the improvement of the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and for the construction of bridges over these streams; to establish and define the bulk-head lines on the North River, north of Fifty-fifth Street; and to survey and lay out that part of the island lying west of Eighth Avenue and south of One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street. On all these subjects Mr. Green made exhaustive reports to the Board, prepared with great care, after personal examination of the various districts involved. These reports became the standard authority on the whole subject, and were made the basis of all future operations by the Park Board, and its successors, the Department of Public Parks.

It is quite a prevalent delusion in New York that the city owes the entire scheme of the upper West Side improvements to the activity of the Tweed régime, and this public service has been frequently quoted as an offset against its career of wholesale robbery. Nothing could be further from the truth than the credit claimed for the Tammany Ring in developing the boulevard system of New York. Wherever they touched the plans prepared by Mr. Green it was to mar and not to improve on them. How these plans were received at the time of their publication may be inferred from the introduction with which a copious citation from Mr. Green's report of May, 1866, is prefaced in the *New York Herald* of the 28th of that month, which reads in part, as follows:

A document has just been published — the report of the Comptroller and Treasurer of the Park, Andrew H. Green — which treats of this subject with the practical ability and comprehensiveness which would naturally be expected from a mind that has had so much to do with developing and directing the entire course of the improvements realized and projected in the Park and the designs for laying out the upper portion of the city. From its pages we give some extracts of great interest. The document is not an essay, or a compilation of speculative suggestions. It embodies the practical results of a close examination and careful estimate of the real wants of this metropolis in the work of completing the city and preparing it for the proper accommodation of the vast population which must be disposed of within its borders within fifteen or twenty years hence. Mr. Green's report is made to the Park Commissioners presenting a careful review of the work to be done under the recent enactments of the Legislature transferring the jurisdiction of all the region north and west of the Park to that Board. The terms of office of the commissioners, five years, were renewed. Their principal duty hitherto — the construction work

on the Park — being nearly completed, it was assumed that their admirable executive and scientific organization would confer incalculable benefit if extended to the laying out of the entire upper part of the city. Of this work they have already filed a portion of their map of the great Drive or Boulevard, from Fifty-ninth Street to One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. This will, of course, be continued, as provided in the law, around the island, returning to the Park through the Sixth and Seventh avenues. Other improvements are alluded to, including the new St. Nicholas Avenue, on the site of Harlem Lane. Mr. Green's report is detailed, practical and exhaustive, showing that this important work has fortunately fallen into the care of the most thorough and efficient control. His full yet terse exhibit of the laying out and principal features of all the great cities, both ancient and modern, including the large American cities, is full of interest and suggestiveness.

Mr. Green very early realized the importance of the work of connecting the Park with the large improvements contemplated at the north end of the island. In the annual report for 1864, after referring to the failure of the commissioners for the opening and widening of Seventh Avenue to finish their work up to that time, Mr. Green alludes to these improvements as being certain, if carried into execution "more fully to develop the highly picturesque features of the island's scenery, give access to the magnificent public and private edifices that are located in the more rural part of the city, and render this metropolis far in advance of any city on either continent in the extent and interest of its varied suburban drives." He added that the public works which had heretofore been carried out on this island, and in the State and nation, had been conceived on too limited and narrow a scale. Wealth and population had always outstripped the progress of improvement and demonstrated its inadequacy before it was completed.

The scheme of improvement at the upper extremity of the island was one involving peculiar problems, and it is hardly possible now that the work has been done fully to realize the difficulties attending its conception and execution. The laying out of the streets on that part of the island above One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, and the construction of a drive from that street down to the intersection of Fifty-ninth Street with Eighth Avenue was a problem to which Mr. Green devoted long and serious study. He describes the part of the island in question as three and two thirds miles in length and of an average width of

about three fourths of a mile. Its greatest width is just south of Spuyten Duyvil Creek, being there one mile wide. It comprises 1,700 acres of land, and is bounded by One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street on the south, by the Hudson River on the west, the Harlem River on the east, and by Spuyten Duyvil on the north. The length of the shore line washed by tidal waters is about nine miles and three quarters. The surface of the territory was exceedingly varied, irregular and picturesque, including the level of the salt marsh and the rolling pasture, while rising at times to a high degree of craggy wildness. Much of it was covered with wood — the high lands particularly — oaks, chestnuts, walnuts, maples, hemlock, cedar, elm and other indigenous trees, forming forests and groves of great extent and beauty. There were then not far from three hundred and fifty houses on this territory, some of them country seats — spacious, elegant and costly. About one hundred and twenty of these buildings would stand in the streets and avenues if the old, rectangular plan were carried out. The attractive characteristics of this region had, during the preceding century, rendered it a favorite resort of much of the wealth and intelligence of the city, and the occupants of these beautiful retreats were naturally watching with interest, not unmixed with solicitude, the steady approach of improvements that were pushing toward and would soon surround them.

The necessity and the economy of providing a well-considered plan for the development of the upper part of the island were illustrated by the experience of the city downtown. The process of straightening and widening streets in the lower part of the city, where property had acquired immense value, had been going on for many years, and was still going on at a great cost. Mr. Green recalled the fact that more than forty years before Harman Street had been widened from forty to ninety feet and called East Broadway; thirty years ago Chapel Street, from Franklin to Chambers Street, had been widened from forty to ninety feet and called West Broadway; twenty-nine years ago Centre Street had been widened and cut through to the City Hall Park. He foresaw that this process would soon begin in the upper portions of the city, and he cited the imperial outlay which had been incurred in improving the city of Paris as another instance of the

cost of providing for the growing necessities of modern population after a city had been built. With characteristic foresight Mr. Green insisted that it would be a mistake to act in this matter of uptown improvements solely with reference to the convenience of people residing on Manhattan Island; due regard should be had to convenient access to the city for those residing elsewhere and doing business here. New York, preëminently commercial, was rapidly becoming a great manufacturing centre; population was pressing upon its territory, and with facilities for rapid transportation, would very soon wholly occupy it. For the want of adequate means of reaching the upper part of the island in the same time that points thirty miles farther off could be reached, population was compelled to seek the towns in the country. Mr. Green pointed out that Tarrytown could, by the cars, be reached from Chambers Street in less time than it required by the horse-cars to Harlem River bridge, and he insisted that something more than the accommodations then furnished by the latter should be provided.

The clear-sighted prescience of Mr. Green was well exemplified in his energetic protest against the practical reduction of the width of streets and avenues of the city by the intrusion of private structures. The bitter recrimination and tedious litigation which have attended the execution of a recent notable public improvement in New York might have been saved, had due heed been given to the following warning addressed by Mr. Green to the Board of Park Commissioners on January 11, 1866:

“In the Fifth Avenue the court-yards, steps, stoops etc., occupy thirty feet, or nearly one third of the whole width of the street, so that a public way of one hundred feet in width has been reduced to seventy feet for all classes of travel, and if other obstructions, such as lamp-posts, hydrants and trees are taken into account, it is reduced to sixty-five feet in width for walks and carriageway. Now why is so much land taken from private owners at great expense for a public thoroughfare, and then immediately allowed to be occupied by private structures that obstruct and preclude its being used as a thoroughfare? Why take and pay for one hundred feet, and immediately proceed to donate one third of it to private parties? Why not as well origi-

nally take but two thirds of the land and forbid the use of any of it by private owners? In improving this avenue, there is an opportunity to effect a reformation in this most objectionable practice that has become well-nigh universal. Assuming that the Board has power, might it not with propriety preserve the whole width of the avenue for public use? This subject should be carefully considered before deciding upon the plan of the avenue, as the conclusions of the Board in this case may be a guide for its action respecting streets and avenues to be hereafter laid out." As a matter of fact, Mr. Green did succeed in applying to upper Fifth Avenue, to Eighth Avenue between Fifty-eighth and One Hundred and Eleventh streets, and to Fifty-ninth and One Hundred and Tenth streets, between Fifth and Eighth avenues, the regulations in respect to erections or projections abutting on the thoroughfare which he desired.

In August and September, 1868, Mr. Green went abroad for the purpose of studying the park systems and other municipal features of European cities, returning with a fund of information which was the more valuable because of his well trained capacity to sift and apply it. But the time was approaching when the political cormorants who were regarding with greedy eyes the prosecution of great works of public improvement in which they had no share, were to be able to seize control of the Central Park Board with all its varied functions. As a proper understanding, however, of the change which was already preparing in 1868, requires some familiarity with antecedent political conditions, it will be necessary to undertake a brief review of the political history of New York as it affected successive changes in its municipal administration.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERSISTENCY OF MISGOVERNMENT IN NEW YORK — THE
NEW ORGANIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL FUNC-
TIONS — THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF THE TWEED RING
— THE TWEED CHARTER OF 1870

FOR the purposes of this Memoir it is fortunately not necessary to inquire at what precise point of the history of New York, jobbery and fraud became fixed elements in its public business. That would be a decidedly difficult task, and it could not be simplified by assuming, as some have done, that the degradation of the city government began when it ceased to be necessary to be a freeholder, freeman, or taxpayer to take part in the choice of Mayor and Aldermen. The charter amendments of 1849 swept away the last remnant of a property qualification for city voters, by making the laws of the State regulating elections apply to those of Charter offices also. But to assert that the operation of this act marked a beginning of flagrant misgovernment in New York argues a manifest disregard of the truth of history. Nor can it be successfully shown that the deterioration of the municipal methods of New York kept pace with the encroachments made by the State Legislature on the city's powers of self-government. In form at least, New York had never come so near being a self-governing municipality as at the time when it was most shamelessly plundered.

As Charles O'Connor declared, "The chartered City of New York had from the beginning an imperial status." The grant given in 1686 by Thomas Dongan, Lieutenant-Governor and Vice-Admiral of New York, under His Majesty James II, recognized the possession by the citizens of this "ancient city" of "sundry rights, liberties, privileges, franchises, free-customs, preëminence, advantages, jurisdictions, emoluments and immunities, as well as by prescription as by charter, letters patent, grants and confirmations," etc., beginning with the high officers of the Nether

Dutch nation and remaining intact to that time. These were confirmed and amplified under the seal of His Majesty George II in an instrument known as the Montgomerie Charter — so named after the Governor of the State in that year of grace 1730. Following the recital of preliminary grants this document makes the British Sovereign say, “We of our especial grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, have confirmed given and granted . . . that our said city of New York be, and from henceforth forever shall be and remain a free city of itself.”

When Fernando Wood made his memorable suggestion, during the Civil War, that New York City should secede from the State and Union and set up an independent sovereignty, he probably regarded it as a logical sequence of the royal grant of 1730, and there have been conservatives of higher character and purer motives than the too notorious Mayor of New York who have wished that the lines of the Montgomerie Charter had been less widely departed from. Chancellor Kent said in regard to that instrument, that it was “entitled to our respect and attachment for its venerable age, and the numerous blessings and great commercial prosperity which have accompanied the due exercise of of its power.” He added: “It remains to this day (1836) with much of its original form and spirit, after having received by statute such modifications and such a thorough enlargement in its legislative, judicial and executive branches, as were best adapted to the genius and wants of the people and to the astonishing growth and still rapidly increasing wealth and magnitude of the city.”

But the Montgomerie Charter, after “assigning, nominating, constituting and making” certain persons incumbents of the city offices from Mayor to Constable, reserved for all time to the Governor and Commander-in-chief of the province, by and with the advice of his council, the power to appoint the Mayor, Sheriff, and Coroner of the city, conceding only to the freemen of the city and the freeholders of each respective ward the power to elect Aldermen, assessors, collectors and constables. On the Mayor and Aldermen devolved the duty of appointing the Chamberlain and High Constable. The powers over the city government which, before the Revolution, had been exercised by the

representatives of the Crown, were vested by the State Constitution of 1777 in the Governor and his Council of Appointment, to be so continued till otherwise directed by the Legislature. Under the amended Constitution of 1821 the Mayor was appointed annually by the Common Council, the Sheriff and Coroner, as well as the Register and the City Clerk being elected triennially. Not until 1834 did the Legislature give the electors of the city, qualified to vote for Charter officers, power to elect the Mayor.

But we must go back very far indeed to find a time when political partisanship failed to exercise a sinister influence over the government of the City of New York. Even in 1786 when the city had but 24,000 people, a Republican pamphleteer, making a bitter attack on the rule of the Federalists, said: "It is a matter of astonishment that a city so enlightened, and which has so eminently contributed to the restoration of public liberty, should have so long submitted to the abuses of its municipal administration. When we view the men who compose the majority of the Common Council; when we consider the slenderness of their influence as individuals; when we contemplate the paucity of their talents, we are impressed with mingled emotions of surprise and indignation that men so destitute of learning should have been permitted to become the despoilers of the rights of their fellow-citizens. . . . The maladministration of our city police was unquestionably of a more general and complicated system . . . offices and emoluments were heaped upon the needy or avaricious members of the Board, and there is but too much reason to believe that they were originally created to reward the demerits of political infidelity."

Each succeeding generation echoed a similar complaint. In 1820, with a population of 124,000 and the suffrage restricted to property-owners, New York was misgoverned; in 1850, with a population of 500,000 and manhood suffrage in untrammelled operation, the city was still misgoverned. We have seen the conditions under which the revolutionary legislation of 1857 was welcomed as a relief from evils that had grown intolerable. As Governor Tilden pointed out, in his first annual message, the Legislature was often asked to pass laws for New York City under the pressure of a public opinion created by abuses and

wrongs of local administration that found no other method of redress. "When the injured taxpayer could discover no mode of removing a delinquent official, and no way of holding him to account in the courts, he assented to an appeal to the legislative power at Albany; and an act was passed whereby one functionary was expelled, and by some device the substitute elected was put in office. Differing in politics as the city and State did, and with all the temptations to individual selfishness and ambition to grasp patronage and power, the great municipal trusts soon came to be the traffic of the lobbies. It is long since the people of the City of New York have elected any Mayor who has had the appointment after his election, of the important municipal officers."

One of the most important measures of a year fertile in metropolitan legislation was the act of 1857 giving New York an elective Board of Supervisors. From the date of the first Constitution of the State, the City and the County of New York had been convertible terms. Manhattan Island constituted a civil division of the State, separate and apart, over all of which a chartered municipal corporation exercised, with more or less thoroughness, the functions of government. It ranked as a county only to contribute its quota of State taxes, but the duty of raising this quota was performed by the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen. For the purpose of avoiding circumlocution in State laws it was found convenient to give these officers, when acting as a Board for this purpose, the title of Supervisors. In like manner, the City Chamberlain, when charged with the function of receiving and paying over its demands to the State, was designated as County Treasurer. There was, moreover, this radical difference between the nominal Supervisors of New York and the real Supervisors of other counties of the State, that the former had no power to impose taxes. Where there was actual county government, the Supervisors could exercise their discretion as to the amounts which should be raised for local purposes. In New York the so-called Supervisors were empowered merely to ascertain and levy such sums of money as the law permitted the city and county to extract from its taxpayers for that year. The taxing power was reserved to the State Legislature, and a

special act had to be passed every year, allowing or disallowing the amounts asked for the support of the various departments and bureaus of the City Government. The standing title of the city tax levy passed by the Legislature was "An act to enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York to raise money by tax." The legislation of 1857 did not dispense with the necessity of passing this annual enabling act, but it gave the new elective Board of Supervisors the status of an independent governing body. With the exception of the power to impose taxes at discretion, Chapter 590 of the Laws of 1857 gave the Supervisors of New York authority commensurate with that which the Supervisors of other counties possessed under general statutes. By these, Sheriffs, Coroners, etc., were recognized as county officers, and there was imposed on Supervisors the duty of selecting jurors, canvassing the votes cast at elections, as well as other functions relating to the payment of judges and the government of jails. Before the elective Board was called into existence the practice had grown up in New York of keeping what were elsewhere county charges apart from those which were strictly municipal, and when that Board got fairly down to work, it found a field of considerable extent already prepared for the exercise of its powers. This it did, perhaps the more easily, because at the very head of the list of Supervisors elected in the fall of 1857 appeared the name of William M. Tweed.

Under the act creating the New Board, the Mayor and Recorder ceased to be Supervisors *ex officio*, and it was provided that the twelve members elected should be equally distributed between the two great political parties. That is to say, only six names could be voted for on each ticket, the six having the highest number of votes being selected, and the six having the next highest being selected for appointment by the Mayor. This scheme was improved on, a year or two later, by having the Board classified, so that two members should retire each year, a candidate to fill one of the vacant places being voted for on each of the party tickets, and being placed in office according to the system originally devised for a yearly renewal of the Board. In other words, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes was declared elected, and the one having the next highest was

held to be designated for appointment. The plan was an equally neat and effective one for securing an equal division of the spoils of the Board between Democrats and Republicans.

Perhaps Mr. O'Connor puts the case somewhat too strongly when he says that during the thirteen years of its existence the elective Board of Supervisors was "the rallying point of fraud and anarchy." It is quite within the mark, however, to say that early in the existence of the Board there was developed within it a remarkable aptitude for jobbery. Among the city commissioners created by the Legislature of 1857 was one for the purpose of building a new court-house. This body did not get readily to work, partly, it would seem, because its powers included the planning of a post-office and accommodations for United States courts. In 1861 the Supervisors obtained an act of the Legislature authorizing them to take the work of the Court-house Commission into their own hands. Under this act, the Board applied to the Supreme Court to condemn for the use of the County of New York a piece of the City Hall Park. This was to be paid for, as was the building to be erected on it, by the issue of county bonds. There upon ensued this curious financial operation: The City Comptroller was authorized to sell bonds to liquidate a debt due by the County to the City of New York, and was required to pay out of the common treasury the annual interest charge on money in regard to which New York filled the double relation of debtor and creditor. The proceeding was farcical enough, but, whether designedly or not, it furnished an admirable fulcrum for the lever of fraud. By other legislation, in 1861, the Supervisors acquired the power to hire courtrooms, armories and a jail, and with the authority to call for the issue of bonds to pay bounties and to provide for the families of soldiers engaged in the war, their opportunities for jobbery became as tempting as they were ample.

That the financial demoralization of the war period — the unheard of scale of national expenditures, the jobbery in contracts, the sudden growth of private fortunes, the development of the gambling spirit incidental to the changeful aspects of civil conflict and the fluctuation in value of an artificial currency — had much to do with promoting the official corruption in New York,

there can be no possible question. But what Mr. Tilden called "the elective power of the people" had been thoroughly debauched. If the protest in favor of local self-government was to be voiced anywhere, it might have been expected to come from the ranks of the City Democracy. But, ten years after the Legislature of 1857 had placed the government of the city in the hands of commissions, it was evident that the standard of political responsibility had not advanced beyond that of the era of Fernando Wood. The *New York Herald* will not be accused of overfastidiousness in such matters, but it was moved, before the city election in the fall of 1867, to point out that the Tammany Democrats having managed through the divisions among their opponents to secure all the patronage remaining in the hands of the city government, imagined themselves so certain of success as to be able to defy popular sentiment in the selection of their candidates. A close corporation committee, with closed doors, packs a city Tammany convention and instructs it to nominate John T. Hoffman for Mayor. They throw overboard such citizens as Andrew H. Green and others of equal character and responsibility, "and force upon the electors a tool of their own ring, under whose administration the taxation of the city has increased to the enormous sum of twenty-four million dollars. They pay no heed to the wishes of the large majority of voters who desire to reform the city government and believe that under the cry of 'regularity' they can compel the people of New York to reelect a candidate who neither possesses the confidence of the taxpayers nor the sympathy of the masses."

The *Herald* went on to say that if the choice in the mayoralty election was to lie between Fernando Wood and John T. Hoffman, the people would care very little what might be the result. "It is of little consequence whether Wood makes up his pools for hungry Democrats outside of Tammany, or Hoffman continues to work for the well-fed inside ring; the result will be the same — taxation rolled up by millions, and the cost of every article of food and apparel increased to the poor man in proportion. If the people choose to submit patiently to be made the dupes and tools of the Ring politicians, it is a matter of perfect indifference to us whether the figurehead in the City Hall, for the next two years,

may be a magnificent rascal, with a white mustache, or an oily Puritan, with a brown."

The Ring which had been steadily tightening its grasp since Fernando Wood was beaten in 1860, was approaching the zenith of its power. On the eve of the Presidential campaign of 1868, Peter B. Sweeny was County Chamberlain, John T. Hoffman was Mayor, Richard B. Connolly was Comptroller, William M. Tweed was Supervisor, Deputy Street Commissioner, etc., and A. Oakey Hall was District Attorney. To carry out the comprehensive programme on which these men were more or less agreed, it was necessary that the Democratic nominee for Governor in the fall of 1868 should be one of their tools. Sweeny and his associates feared that Horatio Seymour would be a dangerous rival of Hoffman in the State Convention. Hoffman had been defeated in 1866 by Reuben E. Fenton, and this fact, coupled with the flagrant corruption of Tammany officials, would be turned to the advantage of Seymour unless he could somehow be gotten out of the way. The first step was to secure the holding of the National Convention in Tammany Hall. This was accomplished through the agents of Tammany in the National Democratic Executive Committee. The next step was to fill the hall of the Convention with bruisers and ruffians in the pay of Tammany. This was satisfactorily accomplished, and having nominated Seymour for President of the United States, the field was clear for Hoffman, who was nominated Governor and elected by perhaps the most glaring and barefaced frauds ever perpetrated at any election before or since. The attitude of Mr. Green toward all this was necessarily one of resolute, steadfast hostility. The words in which Mr. Tilden described his position toward the Ring are strictly applicable to that of Mr. Green:

Even before the "Ring" came into organized existence, the antagonism between those who afterward became its most leading members, and myself, was sharply defined and public. It originated in no motive of a personal nature on my part; but in the incompatibility of their and my ideas of public duty. I distrusted them. They knew that they could not deceive or seduce me into any deviation from my principles of action. As early as 1863, some of them became deeply embittered, because, being summoned by Governor Seymour to a consultation about the Broadway Railroad Bill, I advised him to veto it. . . . I had seen the fearful decay of civic morals incident to

the fluctuating values of paper money and civil war. I had heard and believed that the influence of the Republican Party Organization had been habitually sold in the lobbies — sometimes in the guise of counsel fees, and sometimes without any affectation of decency. I had left the Assembly and Constitutional Convention in 1846, when corruption in the legislative bodies of this State was totally unknown, and now was convinced that it had become almost universal. I desired to save from degradation the great party whose principles and traditions were mine by inheritance and conviction; and to make it an instrument of a reaction in the community which alone could save free government. Holding wearily the end of a rope, because I feared where it might go if I dropped it, I kept the State organization in absolute independence. I never took a favor of any sort from these men, or from any man I distrusted. I had not much power in the Legislature on questions which interested private cupidity; but in a State convention, where the best in society and business would go, because it was for a day or two, those with whom I acted generally had the majority.”

As we have already seen, the Democratic National Convention was not controlled by a majority of the friends of Mr. Tilden. It needs only a superficial acquaintance with the political history of that time to realize the solitariness of this little group who were destined a few years later to play so important a part in the history of the city, the State and the nation. On the eve of the Charter elections of the fall of 1868 there is in the *New York World* of November 26th a very suggestive editorial comment on the existing condition of municipal politics. It begins with the statement that the enormous preponderance of Democratic voters in the city deprived the Charter elections of all excitement and uncertainty, unless there was some division among Democrats themselves. At that time, none such existed, a division which was threatened under the lead of Mr. John Kelly having been arrested by his impaired health. Meanwhile, Mr. Frederick A. Conkling had been nominated for Mayor by the Republicans, “partly to insure an open field to the Tammany nominees, and partly to afford to that gentleman some prominence in the eyes of General Grant’s administration.” The *World* cynically remarked that the latter purpose would be accomplished if Mr. Conkling was industrious and got out enough Republican voters to make it creditable to him to be their representative. Then, it goes on to say that, losing the advantage of Mr. Kelly’s lead, the outside Democratic organizations (excepting Mozart) felt the necessity of having as their nominee some one equally popular and holding

the highest place in the public esteem, and therefore they tendered the candidacy to Andrew H. Green, the Comptroller of the Central Park. The *World's* comment on this proffer illustrates very clearly the position which Mr. Green then occupied in a community with the dominant forces of whose politics and civic administration he had the slenderest possible sympathy. The comment is as follows:

Now, Mr. Green is more to New York than the Baron Haussmann to Paris, being in his own person the highest type of a municipal officer, and exhibiting in his work the refutation of those who charge upon municipalities an essential incapacity for Democratic self-government. For the Central Park, while itself the crowning ornament of this metropolis, comprises in itself all the essential parts of civic administration — streets, police, finance, etc.; and not merely nowhere else in this city, but nowhere else in this or any country have such rigid economy, such scrupulous integrity, so fine a taste, and so disciplined an organization been devoted to the public service as in the Central Park management, of which Mr. Green has been and is the executive arm. In this career Mr. Green, by universal consent, has no compeers and no rivals; but the Park is not yet completed, the splendid improvements in the upper part of the island which have been intrusted to the charge of the Park Commissioners they are but just entering upon, and to this work the Democrats of this city, both in Tammany and out of it, and, for that matter, Republicans of every hue too, feel that his enlightened and skilful superintendence is essential.

With the election of John T. Hoffman as Governor of the State, Tammany may be said to have reached the zenith of its power, and the Tweed Ring, with its stupendous frauds became possible. It was this combination which stood behind Fisk and Gould in the legalized brigandage by which they acquired control of the treasury of the Erie Railroad. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that Tweed and his associates had no support from the respectable element of the community. The organization of the Citizens' Association by some influential and respectable merchants for the purpose of ferreting out and exposing official corruption furnishes one of the most interesting episodes of this most eventful period of the municipal history of New York. Mr. Peter Cooper was the president of the association and he had an apparently efficient lieutenant in Nathaniel Sands, who was instant in and out of season in opposing Ring legislation at Albany. But even this apparently incorruptible association, among whose officers were also Mr. Joseph F. Daly and Mr.

John M. Henry, was won over by the installation of Sands, Daly, and Henry, with some of their relatives, in municipal offices, and by that act the only body of aggressive reformers in existence at that time, who were not merely disgruntled Democrats, was effectually disarmed. Mr. Tilden records, in the narrative of his experience with the authors of the new City Charter, that a sham was necessary to the Ring; moral support was necessary to sustain their imposture. He says that none of the Ring ever came near him, but Mr. Nathaniel Sands often called to talk over city reform, and he adds: "He sometimes brought my honored and esteemed friend, Mr. Peter Cooper. They were convinced that the Ring had become conservative — were not ambitious of more wealth — were on the side of the taxpayers. There was thought to be great peril as to who might come in, in case the Ring should be turned out." Mr. Tilden says he told Mr. Sands that he would shelter no sham and that while he would cooperate with anybody for a good charter, the light and air of heaven must be let in upon the stagnant darkness of the city administration.

It was destined, however, that a deeper darkness should fall upon the administration of the City of New York before the light and air of heaven were let in. The Democratic party of the State was bound by countless pledges to restore local government to the voting power of the people of the city. For the first time in four and twenty years, the Democrats, in 1870, had the law-making power. It is true they had in the Senate a majority of but one vote, and in the Assembly of seven votes, so that something like perfect agreement among them was necessary to pass a bill. There was nothing much further from the plans of the New York Ring than to risk their control of the city government at each recurring election. What was known as the Tweed Charter was, therefore, a thoroughly delusive substitute for the promised scheme of local self-government. As Mr. Tilden put the case in one of his arguments against the charter in Albany: "What I object to in this bill is that you have a Mayor without any executive power; you have a Legislature without legislative power; you have elections without any power in the people to affect the government for the period during which these officers

are appointed. It is not a popular government, it is not a responsible government; it is a government beyond the control and independent of the will of the people."

The bill was passed, however, after a shameless use of public money to purchase votes. The corruptionists were the more desperate and the more disposed not to haggle over the price of a vote in the State Senate because they knew that, in the secret recesses of the Supervisors, and other similar bureaus, were hid ten millions in bills largely fraudulent, and that, in the prospective, were eighteen other millions, nearly all fraudulent. It was on April 5, 1870, that the Legislature passed an act (Chapter 137) "to reorganize the local government of the City of New York." This act, to quote the language of Mr. Bigelow, practically placed "the power and wealth of the city at the mercy of a man who had been a contractor of the city government and had gradually risen to be the Coryphaeus of this combination" — the Tweed Ring. This charter placed the management of the parks above Canal Street in charge of a board of five commissioners, appointed by the Mayor. The latter, A. Oakey Hall, did not dare to challenge the criticism which would have been evoked by terminating Mr. Green's connection with the Park. As Mr. Green's associates were Peter B. Sweeny, Henry Hilton, Thomas C. Fields, and Robert J. Dillon, it was evident enough that the influence of the Ring was bound to be supreme in the new Board.

Fortunately, the work on Central Park was so far advanced in 1870 that it could not be undone, into whatever other hands its conduct should fall. During the brief term of their official existence the Ring Board distinguished themselves by several acts of vandalism, and by a habitual looseness of administration. But before much mischief was done the frauds of the Ring had been exposed, and the criminal prosecution of its chief members had begun. The last act of the old Park Board was to place in the custody of Mr. Green all the property in their possession, requesting him "to take all means in his power to protect and preserve the said properties and moneys and to transfer the same unimpaired to the Department of Public Parks or such other person or body as is lawfully entitled to receive the same; reserving only papers, vouchers of accounts and documents as the said

Comptroller may regard as necessary for the protection and justification of the Board and its members and officers."

The auditing committee of the Board reported that they had examined the accounts of Andrew H. Green, Esq., treasurer of the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park, up to and including the 20th of April, 1870, and the vouchers and payments charged in said accounts; that they find the said vouchers and accounts correct and satisfactory, and that the balance to the credit of the treasurer is \$15,244.60. On this date, the 20th of April, the Commissioners of the Central Park published, in compliance with a resolution adopted by the Board at its final meeting, an address to the people of the City and State of New York. After reviewing the work they had done during the thirteen years of the Park construction, and this address being signed by Commissioners Henry G. Stebbins, R. M. Blatchford, J. F. Butterworth, Charles H. Russell, M. H. Grinnell, Andrew H. Green, and Waldo Hutchins, the six colleagues of Mr. Green then appended to the address the following:

Having presented the above address as the official act of the Board, there remains to be performed by the undersigned an act of justice and of duty in a full recognition of the obligations of the Commissioners of the Park and of the community to Mr. Andrew H. Green, their late associate in the Commission and Comptroller of the Park, with whom their official relations are now severed. At an early day Mr. Green exhibited those characteristics that justified the Commissioners in committing to him a large discretion and important responsibilities. His calm and reliable judgment and vigorous execution, and his cultivated taste, added to a patient forbearance and singleness of purpose, rendered him an administrative officer fully adequate to the duties and responsibilities of his executive position, and it gives the retiring Commissioners unqualified pleasure to pay this parting tribute to his abilities, his efficiency and his integrity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ERA OF PLUNDER OF TWEED AND HIS CONFEDERATES — THE
EXPOSURE OF THE RING FRAUDS IN 1871 — MR. GREEN'S
APPOINTMENT AS DEPUTY COMPTROLLER OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK — HOLDING THE FORT
IN THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT

THE Tweed Ring was something more than a passing phenomenon in the politics and administration of New York City. It exercised, from first to last, a controlling influence in the politics of the State; it had its plans laid for the capture of the Presidency, and the application of its characteristic methods to the conduct of the finances of the United States. It marked the supreme triumph of the application of the boss system to the conduct of municipal business, and it furnished a very complete demonstration of how much worse than worthless is "partisan responsibility" as a defence against corruption. Six Republican Senators whose votes were needed to secure the passage of the charter which confirmed the power of the Ring were publicly declared, on the authority of Judge Noah Davis, to have received ten thousand dollars each for their vote on the charter, five thousand for the support of kindred bills during the session, and five thousand for similar services in the following year. Yet of these six Senators, five were reelected by rural Republican constituencies, with this undisproved accusation standing against them. Tweed himself was reelected to the State Senate as the nominee of his party in 1871, after he had been shown by unanswerable figures to be the master thief of modern times.

It has already been shown how the ground became prepared for the corrupt combination of Tweed. That combination became a tangible fact on the first of January, 1869, when A. Oakey Hall, for seven years District-Attorney of the county, became Mayor of the city. Richard B. Connolly had been Comptroller two years

earlier, and William M. Tweed, who had entered public life as Alderman of the Seventh Ward in 1852, and was elected to Congress a year later, had graduated through the position of School Commissioner to be the guiding spirit of the Board of Supervisors until its abolition by the Charter of 1870, and State Senator until that Charter enabled Mayor Hall to do his bidding by appointing him head of the new Department of Public Works. Under the terms of the charter, too, there emerged from behind the scenes the sinister figure of Peter B. Sweeny as president of the Department of Parks. Thus, as Mr. Tilden put the case, the Democratic party which for ten years had steadily pledged itself to give back to the people of the City of New York the rights of self-government, betrayed the pledge when it came into power. The combination of corrupt Democrats and corrupt Republicans which framed the Tweed Charter provided that the Mayor then in office should appoint all the heads of departments for a period of at least four years, and in some cases of eight years. When these heads of departments, already privately agreed upon, were once appointed, they were not amenable to any election change during their period of office; they were irremovable by the Mayor, who was the elective officer, and they could not be impeached except on his motion, and then they had to be tried by a court of six members, every one of which must be present to form a quorum. Thus, practically every legislative power and every executive power in the city government was vested in the half dozen men so installed for periods of from four to eight years in supreme dominion over the people of the city.

But the trading politicians who, in the words of Charles O'Connor, had discovered that the City of New York might be made the Golconda of fraudulent cupidity, overshot their mark. The very completeness of their triumph hastened their fall, and the ease with which they could satisfy their rapacity contributed to their speedy ruin. There was incorporated in the Charter of 1870 an apparently harmless provision to the effect that all liabilities against the County of New York, incurred previous to the passage of the Act, should be audited by the Mayor, Comptroller, and President of the Board of Supervisors, and the amounts found to be due should be provided for by the issue of revenue bonds of

the County of New York payable during the year 1871. As one of its expiring acts, the Board of Supervisors was charged to include in the ordinance levying the taxes for the year 1871 an amount sufficient to pay the bonds and the interest on them. The claims provided for were to be paid by the Comptroller to the party or parties entitled to receive them upon the certificate of Mayor Hall, Comptroller Connolly, and President Tweed of the Board of Supervisors. The three auditors met but once, and passed a resolution directing the County Auditor to collect from the committees of the Board of Supervisors all the bills and liabilities provided for and declaring that the evidence of the same should be the authorization of the said Board or its appropriate Committees on certificate of its clerk or President.

In other words, the resolution provided that all claims certified by William M. Tweed and Joseph B. Young, the president and secretary of the old Board of Supervisors, should be received as valid and should be paid. The man who filled the office of County Auditor was one James Watson, then a clerk in the Comptroller's office, whose sudden death a year later hastened the exposure of the frauds of the Ring. Watson, with the aid of certain knavish tradesmen and others, who had done some work on the new county court-house concocted a mass of claims almost wholly fraudulent, and Hall, Connolly, and Tweed separately, but without any examination, certified them. The certifications amounted to a sum slightly exceeding \$6,312,000, and the Comptroller issued bonds to the required amount, depositing their proceeds with the Broadway Bank to the credit of an account kept there by the Chamberlain of the City of New York as County Treasurer. Watson's chief aids in the concoction of these claims were Andrew J. Garvey, James H. Ingersoll, and Elbert A. Woodward, and Mr. Tilden's subsequent analysis of the Broadway Bank accounts revealed the fact that every time Garvey collected \$100,000 he paid over 66 per cent. of it to Woodward, the deputy of the clerk, Joseph B. Young, of the Board of Supervisors, and every time Woodward received 66 per cent. he paid over to Tweed 24 per cent. Ingersoll's procedure seems to have been a little more complicated. On the two millions of warrants whose proceeds he collected and paid over, Tweed's share appears to have

been 42 per cent. Briefly, to borrow the compact statement of Charles O'Connor: "The accounts of claims so audited were all false, fictitious, and fraudulent; they were made up by fraud and collusion between James Watson and Andrew J. Garvey, James H. Ingersoll, and Elbert A. Woodward; and the payments on such warrants respectively by the bank were, pursuant to a corrupt, fraudulent, and unlawful combination and conspiracy to that end by and between all the defendants, agreed to be divided, and were divided accordingly between Ingersoll, Garvey, Tweed, and others, unknown, their confederates."

The proofs that there had been an organized conspiracy carried on for years, to defraud the taxpayers of New York, was known to every newspaper reader by the end of July, 1871. The public had become suddenly aware that the misgovernment of the local authorities had far exceeded what had been charged by the most violent of their opponents, while the extent to which they had plundered the public treasury appeared, even in the light of partial revelations, to be without any parallel in the annals of political infamy. For two years the taxpayers had been furnished with no report of the financial condition of the city. Nobody, save the men in power, and those in their immediate confidence, knew at what figure city bonds were being negotiated, at what rate the debt was increasing, or whether the expenditures of the various municipal departments were being kept within proper limits. With few exceptions, all classes of society had been stricken with a sort of blind confidence in things as they were. Respectable men lent their names to bolster the reputations of the chiefs of the city government, and became associated with them in enterprises involving millions of expenditure, and demanding the highest qualities of administration capacity and personal probity. When the *New York Times* published its startling series of excerpts from the records of the Department of Finance, the spell which had been woven with such infinite cunning, and which had served so well the purposes of its authors, was rudely broken. The revulsion of feeling was all the more powerful because of the implicit character of the misplaced confidence which had preceded it. The secret history of three years of local government seemed to have been touched on the surface merely, and yet there was the moral

certainty that millions of public money had been stolen or squandered. People stood aghast at the facts which were revealed, but felt, probably, still greater alarm at the vague possibilities of what was still to be learned. From one end of the continent to the other there was nothing talked of, nothing printed in the newspapers, to compare in interest with the subject of the New York City frauds. The story traveled to the confines of civilization, and the press of the old world took up its parable against Republican institutions, and reminded us that the corruption of personal despotism and the corruption of Democracy had a marvelous analogy. The country at large looked to the people of New York to do something, and that speedily, to show that a government by the people had vigor enough to correct the abuses which had been allowed, under a gross perversion of Democratic institutions, to attain such extraordinary proportions.

The chief actors in the conspiracy were the men whom the law had invested with the power of issuing bonds, pledging to a practically unlimited extent the credit of the city. From the day on which it was made clear that these men had grossly betrayed the public trust confided to them, no banker would touch, unless at a ruinous discount, any proposal for a loan which came from the dishonored custodians of the revenues of New York. Thus, the credit of the corporation had, for the time being, suffered shipwreck. It was well known that the city was perfectly capable of meeting all its liabilities however vast, after careful investigation, they might prove to be. But the financial community, to whom the city had to look for assistance to tide over its difficulties, not only demanded a definite statement of the outstanding obligations of New York, but they refused to trust the spending of another dollar of borrowed money to the officials who had brought affairs to such a pass. For weeks, therefore, there was a deadlock in city business. The salaries of thousands of laborers, of policemen, of school teachers, of clerks, court attendants, etc., were running on, and there was no money with which to pay them. The men who had been the cause of all this would not get out, and they had framed legislation so cunningly that there was no legal means of putting them out. Thousands of poor families had a hard fight in August and September of that

memorable year to keep the wolf from the door, all because the men who had dishonored the credit of New York City stood defiantly at their posts in spite of the storm of public indignation that assailed them, and the suffering which their knavish practices had brought upon the thousands who looked to the City Treasury for daily bread.

Matters were brought to a crisis on September 14, 1871, by the granting of an injunction, at the suit of John Foley, acting as a taxpayer, to enjoin Comptroller Connolly from paying any more claims against the city. From the situation thus created there was no possible escape save in a change of the personnel of the local government. The four members of the Board of Apportionment against whom the injunction was aimed might, indeed, have defied public sentiment for some time longer. Three of them did, in fact, seem disposed to try the hazardous experiment of doggedly waiting until the storm should blow over. Another fortnight of this would, unquestionably, have brought New York under mob law, and to the very brink of social chaos. Already the presence of angry crowds of laborers, whose pay was many weeks in arrears, was a spectacle of daily occurrence around the City Hall. By and by the police would have grown mutinous, and would probably have left their posts altogether, in sheer despair of ever being paid. There was imminent danger of the city being compelled to face the sinister problem of an army of ten to fifteen thousand laboring men turned adrift from their work at parks, streets and boulevards, conscious only that somebody had cheated them out of their hard-earned money, and that there was money enough in the city to pay them if they could only get at it. Behind that lay the danger of the entire criminal class of the city being left without its accustomed restraint, and having only to contend here and there against hastily organized patrols for private protection. A vigilance committee could doubtless have arrested the progress of riot, incendiarism, wholesale plunder and all the nameless horrors of a city in which law and order were dethroned. But the cost of such a remedy would have been appalling, and the good name and credit of the city would have received a shock from which they would have required at least a generation to recover.

Yet this was what the City of New York seemed to be steadily and helplessly drifting into about the early part of September, 1871. What helped still further to inflame the public mind was the well-grounded fear lest by the time the quartette who ruled the city were got rid of, it would be found that all the legal evidences of their misdeeds were either concealed or destroyed, and thus the people would be cheated both out of their misappropriated money and the punishment due to the betrayal of their trust. Toward the destruction of this evidence very considerable progress had already been made in that celebrated and very transparent ruse known as the "voucher robbery." The men who were implicated in the raid upon the public treasury were also the custodians of the records which alone could convict them, and there seemed nothing to prevent the destruction of the chief portion of the archives of the city unless the taxpayers intervened for the protection of their own property. Thus, in the second week of September, 1871, New York stood facing the future with an empty treasury, a dishonored and distrusted city government, with thousands of poor men clamoring for the money that had been shamefully embezzled, and with other thousands of rowdies, thieves, and murderers waiting and thirsting for the time of license and pillage which seemed so near at hand.

Up to this time the Ring had remained apparently unbroken; the four members of the Board of Apportionment had apparently resolved to stand or fall together, with the scornful query of their leader upon their lips: "Well, what are you going to do about it?" But it afterward proved that Hall, Tweed, Sweeny, and Connolly were by no means so united in purpose as their attitude toward the public seemed to suggest. It had become obvious that somebody had to serve as a scapegoat to satisfy the demands of law and public sentiment. Connolly was pitched upon for this purpose, and his three associates appeared to imagine that the head of the Finance Department would make no violent resistance to their plan of making him serve the purpose of a tub to be thrown to the whale of public indignation which threatened to make an end of them all. Naturally enough, Connolly and his friends did not regard the matter in this light, and, in a fortunate hour for the welfare of the city, the Comptroller sought the ad-

vice of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden as to what he ought to do under the circumstances.

Mr. Tilden met him on the morning of September 15th, and began by telling him that he could not be his counsel or assume any fiduciary relations toward him, and that he and all the others must surrender office and all local party leadership, and recognize the fact that their careers were ended. Quoting Mr. Tilden's own narrative: "To this he assented, but still wanted my advice. I counselled him that he had no right to resign his office into the hands of his confederates; that such an act would be a new wrong against the public. To his inquiry whether, if he remained, he could get money to carry on the government, I told him that I would consult Mr. Havemeyer, and we would meet him again that evening." Connolly, however, did not return until the following morning — the 16th — when he came accompanied by his counsel, and a conference ensued in which Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Green took part. Mr. Tilden pressed Connolly to surrender his office into the hands of Mr. Green by deputing to him, as he could under a law which Mr. Tilden had discovered, all his official powers. It was represented to Connolly that if he threw himself upon the mercy of the public and assisted the reformers, he would have less to fear than he would from his confederates. Connolly yielded to this advice. The papers were executed on the spot, and at the end of this memorable interview they left Mr. Tilden's house to go to the Comptroller's office and put Mr. Green in possession.

The documents exchanged as a preliminary to this installation are historic, and may be here reproduced. Mr. Havemeyer's letter to the Comptroller ran as follows:

To surrender your office into the hands of a confederate would be a fresh betrayal of your trust, and while it might damage yourself would fail of doing justice to the community. The man you give place to ought not to be a tool of those implicated in the transactions which excite the public distrust and alarm. He should be the nominee of the citizens now seeking to protect the people. In that way alone can he have the confidence of the public or improve the credit of the city.

Fortunately the law affords a perfect solution of the case. By Section 3 of Chapter 574 of the Laws of 1871 you are authorized to appoint a deputy-comptroller who shall in addition to his other powers possess every power and shall perform every duty belonging to the office of the Comptroller,

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whenever the said comptroller shall by written authority, and during a period to be specified in such authority, designate and authorize the said deputy-comptroller to possess the power and perform the duty aforesaid.

My advice to you is to forthwith appoint Andrew H. Green as such deputy-comptroller; to leave him to exercise the full powers of your office, without conditions and without interference, with complete custody of all books and papers belonging to your office; with the appointment of all persons whom he may think necessary to protect the public property and interests, and to enable him to carry out the most searching investigation, and to aid the committee appointed for that purpose.

I have carefully considered the selection I recommend. Mr. Green has knowledge and experience in the affairs of the city; has the most reliable character for integrity; has no relations which could mislead him by bad influences, and is strong in the public confidence. If you adopt my advice, I shall insist on his accepting the disagreeable duty for the sake of the public interest.

Yours respectfully,
W. F. HAVEMEYER.

Connolly's reply was as follows:

COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
September 16, 1871.

Hon. William F. Havemeyer:

SIR.—Acknowledging the kindness which dictated your note to me of this date, and yielding to the force of its suggestions, I have determined to accept and favor the advice it offers. In thus acting, I am governed by a warm desire to restore the city department over which I preside to the confidence of the community, and to secure such an examination of the affairs of the city as will satisfy the just demands of the public. I have therefore appointed Mr. Andrew H. Green to the office of deputy-comptroller, believing his known character for ability and integrity, fortified by your approbation, will furnish abundant assurance that the financial situation of the city will be satisfactory, and will enable the department to command the necessary funds at once to discharge the obligations to the laborers on our public works, forming as they do the most meritorious class of the city's creditors.

Very respectfully yours,
RICHARD B. CONNOLLY,
Comptroller.

Connolly wrote to Mr. Green as follows:

COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
September 16, 1871.

Mr. Andrew H. Green:

MY DEAR SIR.—The office of deputy-comptroller of this city having become vacant by the removal of Mr. Richard A. Storrs, I hereby designate and appoint you, Andrew H. Green, deputy-comptroller of the City of New York.

I earnestly press upon you the acceptance of this office. The critical juncture in the affairs of the city and the condition of public sentiment seem to demand

that the important transactions of my department should be conducted by one possessing the unlimited confidence of the public. In determining upon the action required by the present exigency, I have been guided by the advice of gentlemen whose respectability and prominence elevate them above all suspicion of unfair or interested motive. I am endeavoring to act with sincere regard for the public interest; and to insure it against possible sacrifices and pursuing the authority and phraseology of the statute, I hereby designate and authorize you to possess the power and perform all and every duty belonging to the office of comptroller of the City of New York from the time of this appointment to the first day of February, 1872.

Very respectfully,

RICHARD B. CONNOLLY,
Comptroller of the City of New York.

The appointment lifted a load of anxiety from the mind of every reflective observer of the critical position into which the affairs of the city had been allowed to drift. Every honest and law-abiding citizen now breathed more freely since there had been placed in the very centre of the stronghold of the Ring a public servant whose executive ability was as well tried as his inflexible resolution and incorruptible character. As Mr. Tilden, writing some years later, put the case: "The possession of the comptrollership by the reformers was a fatal embarrassment to the Ring. It involved a publicity of all the expenditures of the departments, and was a restraint on those expenditures. It created doubt and dismay in all their action. It was an obstacle to such modes of raising money as had brought the charter through in 1870, and to the hope of reimbursing advances for such purposes. It protected the records, on which all civil and criminal actions must be founded, from such destruction as was attempted in the burning of the vouchers. Every investigation, including that of Mr. Booth's committee, was the fruit of that possession. So also was the discovery of judicial proofs in the Broadway Bank, and the collection of such proofs, which continued for eight months afterward, with important results which have not even yet become public. It divided the influence of the city government in the elections and broke the prestige of the Ring."

It was on Saturday, September 16, 1871, at 5 P. M., that Mr. Green, as deputy-comptroller, took virtual possession of the Finance Department of New York City. The announcement was made in the Sunday morning papers, and the city was

stirred by the intelligence from one end to the other. Remembering the defiance of public opinion which had been manifested under Ring rule, the insolent refusal to the people of all information about their own affairs and the dull, despairing fear of impending municipal bankruptcy which had lately taken hold of the public mind, the dawn of the new era, as announced in the following sentences from the *New York Tribune*, September 19th, was very bright indeed: "His first official act was to submit all the papers asked for by the committee of citizens in furtherance of the investigation of the frauds now going on. His second act, made in the interest of public credit, was to announce that the interest on the bonds due November 1, would be promptly paid by the City Chamberlain." To the public looking at things from the outside, the day was indeed one of promise and good augury for the future of New York City and of the Republican institutions which were being put to so rude a test. But to the resolute and upright man who had been suddenly placed in possession of, and left to hold, almost single-handed, the very key of a position fortified through long years of misgovernment and fraud, the prospect must have been sufficiently discouraging. Every department of the city government, and every leading official in it, from the Mayor downward, bristled with hostility against the man who suddenly confronted them as the honest representative of an outraged public sentiment, and with whose force of character they were too well acquainted to have the slightest doubt of his intentions. Those among them who knew that proofs of their complicity in frauds upon the city treasury existed among the records of the Comptroller's office, felt that it was a question of life or death with them to oust Mr. Green from his position. Every one who had an interest in the payment of payrolls filled with sinecures, of bills increased ten, twenty, and a hundred fold beyond their actual value, or of contracts which had been illegally made and fraudulently administered — all such, and many more outwardly respectable participants in the abuses of local government, were at once arrayed in active hostility against Deputy-Comptroller Green.

Mayor Hall refused to accept Mr. Green's oath of office, and sent round a circular to the various departments announcing that

he did not recognize the official status of either the Comptroller or his newly appointed deputy. It was found necessary to place a posse of armed men in charge of the Comptroller's office, night and day, so as to guard against any attempt which might be made on behalf of the Mayor and the other members of the Ring to take forcible possession of it. Meanwhile, redoubled efforts were used to induce some man who possessed the confidence of the Ring to accept the comptrollership, which it was held had become vacant by the virtual abdication of Connolly. As Mr. Tilden narrates, on the 18th of September, the Mayor treated Connolly's deputation of Mr. Green as a resignation; and then, with singular inconsistency, assumed to remove Connolly, though he had lately declared he had no power of removal. The opinion of Charles O'Connor was sought, so that the validity of Mr. Green's possession might have the moral support of his great legal name. He examined the statutes, and found no reason for doubt, meanwhile reducing his opinion to writing. An attempt, under color of judicial process, forcibly to eject Mr. Green was anticipated, and, finally, Mr. O'Connor's opinion saved the day. The Corporation Counsel, evading the legal question, advised the Mayor, as a matter of expediency, to acquiesce in Mr. O'Connor's opinion. Legal tactics failing, a system of active annoyance was employed with the purpose of bullying and harassing Mr. Green, so as to drive him to throw up in disgust the great public trust which he had undertaken. Departments that had quietly submitted to months of steadily increasing arrears suddenly discovered that they were most urgently in want of the money which had been withheld from them. Departments that had greatly exceeded their legal appropriations by extravagance or fraud, or both, told the laborers who remained, through their fault, unpaid, that they had better go and demand their money at the Comptroller's office. Then, behind the more noisy claimants, there was the mass of honest employees of the city who had before them the terrors of approaching starvation, because the city treasury had been emptied for the benefit of political sinecurists, swindling contractors, and dishonest heads of departments and their parasites.

CHAPTER IX

SUPPLYING THE NEEDS OF A BANKRUPT CITY TREASURY — ONE MAN AGAINST A LEGION OF ADVERSARIES — THE ARDUOUS TASK OF THE REFORMER—THE MOMENTOUS CITY ELECTION OF 1871 — THE MENACE OF RIOT AND DISORDER

THE financial situation at the date of Mr. Green's entrance upon the duties of acting-comptroller was briefly as follows: On September 14th the cash in the treasury amounted to \$2,564,306, and as the first and most pressing necessity was to sustain the credit of the city, this sum had to be set aside to meet the \$2,700,000 of interest on the funded debt which was shortly to fall due. Any failure to be prepared for this would have cost the community millions of dollars in the depreciation of municipal securities, and in the difficulty of negotiating them which would have resulted from it. The problem to be faced was something like this: The city was running into debt on account of its police, school-teachers, laborers, clerks, etc., at the rate of forty or fifty thousand dollars a day, and had already incurred obligations to these public servants to the extent of several millions of dollars. Leaving out of sight all other claims on behalf of contractors, tradesmen and others which might be allowed to stand over until the meeting of the Legislature, how was the city labor, which could not wait, to be paid in the interim? The existing Board of Apportionment had forfeited all title to public confidence, and its hands were tied from pledging the city to another cent of indebtedness by the Foley injunction. The taxes had not begun to come in, as the Mayor had not even taken the trouble to convene the Board of Supervisors to give the legal authority for raising the taxation of the year. Even after the tax papers were issued and their proceeds had begun to flow into the public treasury, there were, approaching maturity, revenue bonds, issued in anticipation of these taxes, which every dollar received would be required to meet. The day of settlement could not be deferred, as it had been before,

by the issue of new bonds, nor even by taking advantage of the legalized swindle which authorized the conversion of this kind of temporary indebtedness into a portion of the permanent debt. Both the courts and public sentiment had imposed upon all branches of the local government the observance of the maxim, "pay as you go."

So, upon the acting-comptroller, presiding over an empty treasury and waiting for taxation which had not yet been authorized, was forced the task of keeping the schools open, the police at their posts, and the laborers at work, by means of his personal credit reënforced by the patriotism and liberality of the wealthy citizens of New York. And here comes in a forcible illustration of the value of a good name — the actual power in the money market, as well as elsewhere, of the unassisted weight of an unblemished reputation. What Tweed with his millions could not do, what Sweeny with all his pinchbeck reputation as a "master mind" and a "great organizer" would have been laughed at for attempting, what would have been peremptorily refused to the chief magistrate of the city, was found possible by the unostentatious public servant who bore the title of deputy-comptroller. He borrowed from his personal friends and he borrowed from financial institutions the money which was to keep the city from chaos and mob rule, and he did this without being able to give anything like legal security on behalf of the city that the money would be repaid. The following paragraph from the *New York Tribune*, of September 23d, may stand as a sample of many similar transactions: "Acting-Comptroller Green visited the Clearing-House Association yesterday and requested a loan of \$500,000, to enable him to meet payments now pressing. It was readily granted, although no legal obligation can be issued by the city while Judge Barnard's injunction remains in force."

Considering the circumstances under which they were raised, the sums were not large; compared with the indebtedness which they were intended to meet, they were merely drops in the bucket. It was impossible to satisfy any but a small part of the demands of all the 15,000 or so of city employees, whose pay had fallen weeks, and in many cases months, in arrears. All the honest creditors of the city soon became satisfied, however, that the

best was being done for them which could be done. The Department of Public Works, still in the hands of Tweed, and the Department of Parks, still controlled by Sweeny, were foremost in inciting the laborers under their orders to make persistent and violent demonstrations around the Comptroller's office, so as to get payment of wages which never would have been overdue but for the misdeeds of Tweed and Sweeny themselves. By and by even these demonstrations were rendered impossible by the quiet and resolute energy displayed by Mr. Green in the gradual liquidation of payrolls. Then the crowd of sinecurists who had been paid fat salaries for being simply at the call of their master, Tweed, were brought into requisition, and were instructed day after day, to hang around the Finance Department and give the acting-comptroller all the annoyance which they possibly could. Meanwhile, the men who had everything to fear from the possession of the Comptroller's office being in the hands of an honest man, had not abated one jot of their hostility against Mr. Green. The Mayor had, indeed, receded from his resolution to ignore Mr. Green's official status, but nearly four weeks after his appointment as deputy-comptroller, determined efforts were made to force him out. The latest phase of this plot was a demand for the impeachment of Comptroller Connolly. Had this been successful it would of course have been followed by his suspension from office, and the consequent removal of his deputy. The authors of this, as of other maneuvers during the last days of the Ring, rather underrated the power of public opinion.

Mr. Green showed no sign of hesitation or of faltering in the work to which he had put his hand, in spite of the dogged and sullen opposition which met him in his contact with every department of the city government. Relying upon the moral support of the honest majority of the public, he quietly and resolutely continued his task of bringing order out of the chaos into which municipal business had fallen; of seeing that the most necessitous of the public creditors were duly paid, and of providing against further misapplication of the public money. These efforts were not confined to a strict and businesslike auditing of claims against the city (a process unknown in the Finance Department for several years), but extended to the cutting down of all

sinecure appointments which came within the jurisdiction of the Comptroller's office. During the month of October, paragraphs like the following were of frequent occurrence in the daily press: "Deputy-Comptroller Green discharged yesterday eighteen useless attendants on the Supreme Court whose yearly salaries were \$1,200 each." In the department under his immediate supervision, Mr. Green set about the task of weeding out incompetent and useless appointments with equal energy. The Bureau of Markets was a perfect nest of sinecurists, frequently of the most disreputable character. Under the title of inspectors, clerks, or sweepers, there were scores of the lowest class of ward politicians, who never professed to perform any other duty to the city than drawing their pay once a month. For all of this the Comptroller was directly responsible, and very short work was made of it under the administration of Mr. Green. In the clerical force of both city and county bureaus of the Finance Department, the changes were equally dictated by considerations drawn from the necessities of the public service and the claims of the public purse. One side of this work is capable of being expressed by its pecuniary equivalent. Every useless or incompetent servant, cut off from the municipal payroll, represented an annual saving to the taxpayers of so many hundreds or thousands of dollars. But this was only a part of the benefit which sprang from a consistent and unflinching course of civil service reform. In this, as in other departments of his work, Acting-Comptroller Green not only afforded substantial and immediate relief to the overburdened taxpayers but he erected and maintained a higher standard of executive purity and administrative ability than had been known in the office he occupied for years before.

While other people were vaguely talking about reform, were trading upon their professions of reform, and were doing about as much actual service in the struggle as if they had been beating Chinese gongs during a battle, this resolute and conscientious public servant was showing what could be done, without fuss or pretentious display, but with a concentrated energy and fixed determination which the enemies of reform very well understood. Between his time and ours a good many attempts have been made to formulate an intelligible and practical civil-service-reform

platform. But in all the literature of the subject it would be difficult to find anything which strikes at the corruption underlying all our politics more directly and vigorously than the following circular of Deputy-Comptroller Green to the heads of bureaus in his department:

October 10, 1871.

To the Heads of Bureau Department of Finance:

Referring to my circular of the 19th ult., relative to the hours of attendance of employees in this department, and for the better ordering and efficient conduct of its affairs, you are hereby further informed that every employee of this department is to understand that his services are engaged for the legitimate, prompt, and regular attention to the duties of the position to which he is appointed, and for no other purpose. His salary is supposed to be fixed as an adequate compensation for his services, and no person employed in this department will be allowed to accept or receive any fee, reward or compensation whatever, except his salary, for any service connected with the department, except where the fees are fixed and established by law; any infraction of this rule will be deemed sufficient cause for removal. No employee of this department will be required by any person in authority in this department to pay any portion of his salary as a political assessment, or for political purposes; that matter, as well as his political action, is left to the free choice of each individual. Salaries, in some instances now excessive, duplicate and immoderate, will, as far as is in my power, be fixed and regulated so as to provide, as near as may be, a fair compensation for the responsibility and character of the services rendered. An effort will be made to equalize salaries, by reduction and modification, to render them equitable and justly proportioned, so that one performing but light duties shall not be paid equally with another bearing a heavy burden of labor and responsibility.

Neither persons holding sinecures nor incompetent will be retained in the department.

Promotions will be made systematically and in regular order, and the earnest effort will be to deal fairly and justly with all, at the same time requiring diligent and faithful attention to the public wants. If stationery or printing, or any article or thing, is required in any bureau of this department, a written requisition, signed by the head of the bureau, is to be made upon the undersigned therefor, and all orders for these, or any other articles or work, will be properly recorded before they leave the office. During office hours, 9 to 4 o'clock, employees of the department are expected to be at their respective places, to attend with courtesy, civility and alacrity, to those seeking information or transacting business with the department. The community, whom we are all here to serve, reasonably look for a change in the conduct of the affairs of the city government, and I expect from all connected with this department honest and faithful coöperation in the discharge of their proper duties to meet this just expectation.

Very truly,
ANDREW H. GREEN,
Deputy-Comptroller.

It will be admitted that the man who wrote this was not afflicted with a tendency to vagueness, either in thought or expression, and those to whom it was addressed knew very well that there was no possible question that its words would be translated into acts.

We have seen how the so-called Tweed Charter removed the Central Park Commissioners from office, but that in creating the new Board Mr. Green was still retained as a member. When the new Board was organized on May 3, 1870, Peter B. Sweeny was elected president, and Mr. Green was appointed treasurer, a position which he however resigned a month later. Under Sweeny's presidency the business of the Board consisted chiefly of registering his orders. From June 21st to September 13, 1870, there was no quorum present at the meetings. From September 13th to December 27th only the wishes of the president were formally confirmed. From the first, therefore, Mr. Green was rendered powerless by the hostile attitude of his associates, and a new régime of politicians, compactly organized and under one head, was found to have taken the place of the old Park Commission. Still Mr. Green did not resign, believing it to be his duty to remain in a position where he could do something at last to preserve Central Park from the vandalism that was constantly trying to invade it. Matters continued on this basis until 1871, when, with the fall of the Tweed Ring, Sweeny and Hilton resigned and Henry G. Stebbins and Frederick E. Church were appointed in their places. On November 23, 1871, a meeting was held and the commission reorganized. Mr. Green had already been appointed acting-comptroller, and was thus compelled to decline his election as treasurer of the Park Department. He continued to serve as Park Commissioner, however, until May 1, 1873, giving to the duties of the office his sympathetic attention.

In a personal communication addressed to William A. Booth and others, Mr. Green gives a brief review of his connection as Comptroller with the city improvements which as executive officer of the old Park Commission he had planned and directed. He says that when he took office as virtual head of the Finance Department, the schemes of plunder which had been grafted on the works planned by the Park Commissioners were just about ripen-

ing and it fell to his lot to provide the funds to pay for what were originally beneficial projects, but which in the hands of the Ring had been made the occasion of extravagance and jobbery. Thus it became necessary to take measures to oppose the illegal and wasteful methods of carrying out these uptown improvements which had been developed during a period of gross administrative corruption, and which became a source of constant complaint on the part of property owners who were called upon to pay, in the form of assessments, a large part of their cost, long before the property benefited could either be used or sold for use. The course of action which circumstances forced upon Mr. Green furnished people who were looking for methods of attacking him with a plausible ground for the assertion that the Comptroller was opposed to all improvements. Later, the enemies of economy changed their ground of attack, and, in order to neutralize Mr. Green's opposition to the premature and costly construction of avenues and boulevards, they pointed out his responsibility for all the more important improvements in the upper part of the island. To quote from an official communication to the Board of Aldermen: "The laying out, opening, and improvement of the Boulevard, the Sixth and Seventh avenues, Avenue St. Nicholas, One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, and other streets, avenues, parks, and public places in the district bounded by Fifty-ninth Street, Eighth Avenue, One Hundred and Tenth Street, Sixth Avenue, Harlem River and Hudson River, were begun and prosecuted by Andrew H. Green, when in control of the Central Park administration."

To be charged with being opposed to all uptown improvements, and yet with being responsible for most of them, struck Mr. Green as being mutually destructive accusations, but he took occasion to state his position on this very important question at some length. He pointed out that it was only after it became apparent that the development of the upper part of the island would be seriously hampered and hindered by a slavish adherence to the plan of 1811, that it was found necessary as a measure of economy to ask from the Legislature power to modify and adopt this plan to suit the peculiar topographical features of that section of the city. In pursuance of legislative power, granted in 1865 and subsequent

years, the Commissioners of the Central Park proceeded to devise the plans which formed the basis of the entire system of streets, avenues, boulevards, and drives, between the Park and the Hudson River and west of Sixth Avenue to the Harlem River. Mr. Green avowed that with the formation of these plans he had the most intimate personal connection, and that he should never cease to regard their development with special interest and solicitude. He was as willing then to accept a fair share of responsibility for them as he was when they were first conceived, but he emphatically dissented from classing the operations of the original Park Commissioners in the same category with those of "the reckless, wasteful, and ignorant authorities who are chiefly responsible for the later conduct and development of the works outside of the Central Park initiated by those Commissioners." He pointed out that it was no more the intention of the authors of the plans of 1866 than it was of those of the plans of 1811 that their execution should be forced upon the city in advance of all the necessities of growth and population. The premature multiplication of parallel routes of travel at great cost, and without public necessity, which had recently been witnessed, was, in his opinion, entirely at variance with the public requirements.

The scale of expenditure upon which uptown improvements were originally planned had been largely exceeded; partly because the business of supervision and inspection had been allowed to fall into corrupt or incompetent hands, partly because the tax and assessment payers did not receive an average of four hours of honest labor for the honest full day's wages they paid; partly because the contract system had been gradually replaced by a method of doing work which, by treating mechanics and laborers as mere vassals and dependents, offered greater facilities for the direct exercise of political influence; and partly because, during the reign of the thievish oligarchy which had ruled the city, public officials and their friends were allowed to make fortunes out of the purchase of land, which was afterward overvalued for acquisition for public use by confederates and appointees of the same set. As an example of this latter abuse Mr. Green cited the case of Riverside Park. The original estimate of the value of the land of that Park was not more than \$1,400,000. But because under

improper influence opportunity was afforded to buy up the ground for the purpose of making a huge profit on the transaction, before it was valued and transferred for the public use, the amount paid for the land was not less than \$6,000,000.

Meanwhile, in spite of exposure and the resultant storm of public indignation, Tweed remained doggedly at the head of the Department of Public Works — kept on issuing requisitions for public money with a profusion quite regardless of the fact that the legal appropriation for his department had been long ago exhausted, and continued with unremitting energy to send gangs of his sinecurists to pay their daily visit of bullying annoyance to the office of the acting-comptroller. Sweeny, also, kept his hold over the Department of Parks, and did his best, in his covert, insidious way, to defeat every step of the process of investigation and reform. Mayor Hall had reminded the public, in his airy fashion, at an early period of the struggle, that he was elected till January 1, 1873, and that he intended to serve out his term. But the time for the November election drew near and its result was awaited both by the respectable section of the community and the leaders and followers of the Ring with considerable anxiety. The latter felt that defeat for their candidates at the election meant a Legislature pledged to carry out the work of reform, and involved for them the swift approach of the day of doom. The people, on the other hand, had been so long accustomed to see elections decided without reference to the enlightened sentiment of the community and had been compelled to recognize so abjectly the omnipotence of unscrupulous party organization, that they felt doubtful whether the spontaneous but imperfectly systematized movement of the honest masses of the city would carry everything before it.

Even the Comptroller's office, the vital point of the enemy's stronghold, which had been held for the people against enormous odds, would surely be lost again if the polls spoke with an uncertain voice on November 7th. At the end of this first brief term of trial and difficulty from which the work of reform was either to take a higher departure, or with which it was to be brought to an abrupt end, Mr. Green was found, as at its beginning, struggling to maintain the city credit and to pay the city creditors whose

necessities were greatest. The following item from the *Commercial Advertiser* of November 2, 1871, fairly indicates the way in which Mr. Green met the responsibilities of an extremely difficult position: "The deputy-comptroller is applying the current receipts from taxes to the redemption of revenue bonds; \$2,000,000 having been paid out for this purpose yesterday. By keeping strictly to this regulation, Mr. Green is helping, as far as practicable, to redeem the credit of the city. . . . Through personal solicitation and on his own responsibility Mr. Green has obtained advances from Wall Street bankers — the proceeds of which are devoted to the payment of clerks in the departments of the city and county government and to meet other daily expenses. Mr. Green is the busiest man in the city government. He is pestered daily by demands for money, and is consulted almost hourly by those who are engaged in municipal investigations — but he is a model of patience as well as of executive capacity. There will be no more leaks in the treasury if it is in his power to stop them."

The November election demonstrated that there could be no mistake about the popular endorsement of the cause of which Mr. Green was the sole representative in the city government. To the abiding disgrace of New York, however, a constituency was found ready to reëlect Tweed to the State Senate, and to the great detriment of reform, the chief of the gang who had plundered the local treasury was allowed to remain at the head of the great Department of Public Works. Between such a man and the occupant of the Comptroller's office there could be no parley, albeit the statement has been made that Mr. Green's ability and honesty had always commanded Tweed's respect. A perfectly regular certificate, drawn in strictly legal form and testifying to the correctness of the accompanying voucher or payroll, would have been regarded as worthless by any honest man in the community had it borne the signature of William M. Tweed. Day after day, after the election as before it, the acting-comptroller was required to deal with just such demands for public money. There was a moral certainty that the payrolls covered a perfect multitude of sinecures, and the question was how to refuse payment to the rascals who took pay for doing nothing, without in-

flicting injustice on the men who had actually earned their wages. Duty to the public evidently demanded that every possible precaution should be taken to separate fraudulent from just claims. By demanding sworn affidavits from Tweed's "inspectors," "clerks," etc., by insisting that their place of residence should be stated and some evidence brought that they really were employed as stated on the payrolls — by such means at least gross cases of fraud were checked, though it was obviously impossible, without the power of reorganizing the department from top to bottom, to preserve the public from being cheated. Of course, all this concern for the public welfare was repaid by Tweed with an increased measure of bullying and personal annoyance through the agency of the numerous crowd of idle loafers whose services were always at his disposal. Threats of personal violence were very frequently received from this quarter by Mr. Green and his chief assistants, and it was made sufficiently manifest that the real battle-ground of reform was to be found in the Department of Finance.

It was not generally appreciated at the time, and has certainly not been since, how much tact and self-restraint on Mr. Green's part was required to avoid anything which might have given an excuse for organized rioting and disorder, while at the same time maintaining an attitude of steadfast opposition to the corrupt elements in the local government. Had the acting-comptroller allowed himself to be dragged into acrimonious controversy, had he ever paused in his work to reply to or retaliate for the attacks which were in a multitude of ways of daily occurrence, it is certain that enough of the forces of disorder were ready to be let loose seriously to disturb the peace and safety of the city. In short, for this and many other dangers which Mr. Green managed to avert, at this period of his public life, he is entitled to as much credit as for the more obvious and better known portions of his work. The very essence of that work was recognized by the public and the press to be to put a final stop to robbery in the government of New York City. But, as the city government was still constituted, this was a task beyond the ability of any one man, however honest and able. It is true that the Comptroller was invested with something like an absolute veto power over the

larger operations of all the departments, but under dishonest or incompetent management, there were a hundred minor leaks of public money which he had no power, under existing circumstances, of stopping. This absence of the direct control over all expenditures which belongs to a Department of Finance had been an abuse of gradual growth, and was certainly contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of all the laws regulating the office of Comptroller. The growth of this abuse had been greatly assisted by the practice of giving to each local department a Treasurer. These Treasurers and their subordinates claimed an independence of the central financial authority, equally at variance with law and the public interest. In most cases they claimed and exercised the right of making requisitions for the amount of their payrolls without stating them in detail. Being compelled to give some intelligible reason for their existence, they claimed the right of auditing their own accounts and of making their certificate of correctness final. All this manifestly tended to promote a system of petty stealing, and was besides a cumbrous, expensive and illegal method of doing the work which the Comptroller's office was created to do. A very large portion of Mr. Green's time and energy during his first year's occupancy of the Comptroller's office was devoted to breaking up the abuses of financial supervision which long use and wont had invested with quasi-legal authority. It may be questioned whether this side of his work was fairly appreciated by the general public. It is very certain that the Ring officials, who clung to what they considered to be their vested right to spend money as they pleased, very soon saw the drift of the policy of the Comptroller, and on this account, as well as on others, he was followed with an ever increasing volume of misrepresentation and abuse from the members or representatives of the old régime and their sympathizers.

CHAPTER X

APPOINTMENT AS COMPTROLLER OF THE CITY AND COUNTY — THE
ANALYSIS OF RING SPECULATIONS — HALF-HEARTED CO-
OPERATION OF THE LEGISLATURE — THE WORK
OF AUDITING OUTSTANDING CLAIMS AGAINST
THE CITY — AN HONEST EFFORT TO
COMBINE ECONOMY WITH
EFFICIENCY

ON November 18, 1871 Mr. Green became by right, what he had been for two months in fact, the head of the Department of Finance. The official appointment, though signed by Mayor Hall, cannot be said to have emanated from him. Connolly had offered to resign as early as October 2d, provided that Mr. Green should be designated as his successor. This Mayor Hall at first promised to do — a promise from which he afterward receded when a partial gleam of sunshine seemed to have fallen on the prospects of the Ring. On October 3d, Comptroller Connolly's resignation was placed in the hands of Mr. William F. Havemeyer. That stalwart reformer acknowledged receipt of the resignation, with the following assurance: "I will not part with your resignation till it shall secure the appointment of Andrew H. Green as your successor." Nor did he, until the result of the November election had convinced Mayor Hall that the Ring was broken forever, and had induced that shifty politician to accept the inevitable. To whom the real credit of Mr. Green's appointment was due, is sufficiently well expressed in the following quotation from the *New York Times* of November 21st: "If the citizens wish to know who really appointed Mr. Green, we can tell them in a few words. You did it yourselves. When you hit a Tammany head wherever you saw it, on the 7th inst., you made Mr. Green Comptroller, and put a final stop to robbery. Had you absented yourselves from the polls that day, Mr. Green would very soon have been overboard, and very little

mercy would have been shown you by the Tammany Ring. Thank yourselves for the safety of your property."

Fully to realize the significance of Mr. Green's appointment as Comptroller of the City and County of New York, it is necessary to keep in mind how apparently impregnable was the position occupied by Tweed and his associates before the partial exposure of the Ring frauds in the *New York Times* at the end of July, 1871. The Ring controlled the machinery of justice, and what the Ring judges were capable of had been amply demonstrated in the course of the Erie litigation. During the ten months of continuous warfare against the Ring by the *New York Times* which preceded its publication of the crushing array of figures the business of the newspaper suffered because there were large advertisers, as there were large property owners, in New York who did not care to be noted as unfriendly to the ruling powers by giving support to their relentless assailant. The certificate signed by a committee of which John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, and Marshall O. Roberts were members, setting forth the correctness of Comptroller Connolly's accounts, was only one of the many evidences of how successfully the Ring had hoodwinked some of the best men in New York. The limitation of the rate of taxation in 1871 to 2 per cent. had also its share in making people believe in the good intentions of the Ring, though it was afterward found that while the total amount necessary to be raised by tax in 1871 was \$35,730,843, only \$23,362,527 was provided. The acceptance by Henry Hilton, A. T. Stewart's man of affairs, of a place on the Park Board, where his influence was cast for the support of Peter B. Sweeny, was another proof of how skilfully the Ring had disarmed the opposition of citizens who apparently had the largest stake in the preservation of good government. If further proof were needed, an inspection of the names recorded as co-incorporators with Tweed in the Arcade Railway scheme, and of those who subscribed money to erect a statue in his honor should be sufficient.

After the publication of the excerpts from the Comptroller's books in the *Times*, Mayor Hall feigned surprise at the gravity of the charges with which the city and county government had been assailed. He sent a message to the Board of Aldermen and Super-

visors suggesting, among other things, that a non-partisan committee of taxpayers should be associated with the committees appointed by the Board to examine the public accounts. In naming the citizens' committee which was to act with them the Aldermen and Supervisors drafted a circular in which the disclosures of the *Times* were characterized as "the gross attacks of a partisan journal upon the credit of the city," and in which the necessity was referred to of answering them "by a full report of a committee of citizens in whom the committee have the greatest confidence, as the good name of our city, its prosperity, and every interest dear to its people must suffer from libels so gross and attacks so false and exaggerated."

This was toward the end of August, and it was nearly two months later before the committee, having meanwhile received invaluable aid from Acting-Comptroller Green, finished its work. In its final report the committee summarizes its conclusions as follows: 1. The debt of our city is doubling every two years. 2. Three million two hundred thousand dollars have been paid for repairs on armories and drill rooms, the actual cost of which was less than \$250,000. 3. Over \$11,000,000 have been charged for outlays on an unfinished Court-house for which building, completed, an honest estimate of real cost would be less than \$3,000,000. 4. Safes, carpets, furniture, cabinet work, painting, plumbing, gas, and plastering have cost \$7,289,466, which are valued by competent persons after a careful examination at \$624,180. 5. Four hundred and sixty thousand dollars have been paid for \$48,000 worth of lumber. 6. The printing, advertising, stationery, etc., of the city and county have cost in two years and eight months \$7,168,212. 7. A large number of persons are on the payrolls of the city whose services are neither rendered nor required. 8. Figures upon warrants and vouchers have been fraudulently altered and payments have repeatedly been made on forged indorsements.

With these facts before it, the committee was naturally compelled to report that, in its judgment, frauds and robberies of the most infamous character had been committed with the connivance and coöperation of some of the officials who were appointed to guard the interests of the people. It declared that the condi-

tion of the city and county finances, as shown by these investigations, had served to destroy all confidence in the management of the present city officials. After recapitulating the demands upon the city treasury which would necessitate the borrowing of large sums of money at an early day, the committee felt constrained to say that it regarded as futile any attempt to borrow these sums of money while the city was controlled by its present management.

Obviously, the great problem of Comptroller Green's financial administration, in its earliest stages, was how to pull the city through its difficulties till the meeting of the Legislature should give him and the mass of city creditors a much-needed relief. Nobody knew better than Mr. Green how much innocent suffering had been occasioned by the reckless prodigality, or worse, of the heads of Ring Departments. He had strained every nerve to allow the honest workers of all grades to get their pay, to sustain the shattered credit of the city by paying off revenue bonds as they fell due, and to give all possible assistance to contractors who had undertaken city work in good faith but had been cheated out of their regular payments because the money appropriated for them had been applied to other purposes. The Department of Finance reached the end of the year with its resources pretty well exhausted. Prompt legislative authority to raise money was not only much needed, it was absolutely imperative. There were about six and a half millions of revenue bonds to be provided for during the first fortnight in January. Money for these had to be found after the passage of the required legislation. Had the bill providing for this indebtedness been passed within forty-eight hours after the meeting of the Legislature, the task of raising so large an amount in the course of a few days would have been sufficiently arduous. As it was, the Governor's signature had hardly been affixed to the bill before the money had to be forthcoming.

The majority of the "Reform" Legislature had not, unfortunately the singleness of devotion to the public interest which characterized the occupant of the Comptroller's office. Various heads of city departments became alarmed at the prospect of the summary abolition of sinecures and the strict supervision over their expenditures which would have followed the entrusting to Mr. Green of the work of financial apportionment. Their

influence soon became felt at Albany, and with the many weak and inexperienced men, and the fairly strong contingent of corrupt men who had been elected to the Legislature of 1872, their "arguments" were not entirely unsuccessful. It would be tedious to follow the doublings and windings of slow-footed city legislation during the month of January. Briefly, the relief which had been so urgently demanded by the Comptroller on the first day of the year was not forthcoming until the year was five weeks old. Even then it was found that the powers of the new Board of Apportionment and of Audit — whose constitution was the net result of a month's wrangling — were very imperfectly defined; and that, moreover, in inventing this clumsy machine for the disposal of old claims against the city, the power had been virtually taken from the Finance Department to perform any business without the consent of this Board. Both these imperfections of the original bill had to be remedied in a supplementary act, and hence came fresh delay and fresh hardship to the creditors of the city. The bill which was first introduced, in pursuance of the Comptroller's memorial, had been drafted by several leading reformers of both political parties, and was of a perfectly simple, effective and comprehensive character. The patchwork legislation which was substituted for it fulfilled none of these requisites, and helped, besides, to perpetuate sundry vicious administrative precedents. It was very significant of the low ideal of administrative efficiency which was then accepted in New York, that the absurdity of placing the heads of two Executive Departments upon a Board before which their own accounts would come for approval was not made a matter of adverse comment. The character of the men so placed obviously did not affect the principle involved.

The members of the Board of Audit were also invested by the Legislature with the functions of a Board of Apportionment. Acting in this capacity they had to be guided by the provisions of the 2 per cent. act of 1871 — that is, they had the power to appropriate for the current expenditures of the first four months of the year one third of the total amount accruing from a 2 per cent. rate of taxation, after the deduction of the amounts required for State taxes and interest charges. But the expendi-

tures of 1871 had turned out to be 50 per cent. in excess of the amount which was authorized under the 2 per cent. act. The old Board of Apportionment had deprived many charitable institutions of the grants to which they were legally entitled and had allotted sums to the various departments in utter disregard of what they claimed to be their real necessities. The heads of departments had reciprocated by paying no attention to the legal limit which had been placed upon their expenditures, incurring in some cases obligations requiring four times the amount of money to which they were entitled by law. Hence the dire confusion of local finances with which Comptroller Green was compelled to struggle from the first day he took office; a confusion for which the men who had produced it tried to persuade city employees that the Comptroller was responsible.

The enormous increase in the permanent debt of the city during 1871, the still further increase which was rendered necessary by the issue of bonds for the payment of the outstanding obligations of that year, and the imperative necessity that the revenues and expenditures of 1872 should be made to balance each other — all combined to render inevitable an increase in the rate of local taxation. Under the 2 per cent. act only 76 per cent. of the money required for the year's expenditures could be raised. It was thus absolutely necessary either that there should be retrenchment in local expenditures or an advance in the rate of taxation. The Legislature refused to give the Comptroller the power of cutting down the expenses of the departments, which could have been done without the slightest injury to public business. It was therefore inevitable that in order to cover the departmental estimates the rate of taxation should be higher. The Comptroller addressed on February 28th another memorial to the Legislature which contained the following significant passage:

“As government is now constituted there are thirteen departments, besides numerous offices and other bodies, all spending money without feeling the responsibility of raising it. Either economy must be practised or a higher rate of taxation must inevitably follow from which there is no escape. The methods of the previous year were to delude the public by a low rate of

taxation and by adding to permanent debt to provide other means to meet deficient revenue. Legislation which will compel a rigid economy of expenditure that is entirely practicable without diminishing the efficiency of the service, and public comfort and convenience, is much needed."

Comptroller Green's remark about "thirteen departments besides numerous offices and other bodies" struck at the true root of half the administrative corruption of the city. At that time the sum of seventeen millions and a quarter was a demonstrably extravagant estimate for the cost of supporting the city and county government of New York for one year. And yet this was the lowest estimate to which the demands of the various departments could be reduced, simply because there was no supervisory authority capable of compelling a rigid economy in local expenditures. No one man was better qualified than Comptroller Green to state, with perfect confidence, that such economy was perfectly practicable without detriment either to the efficiency of the service, or public comfort and convenience. The legislation which should provide for the retrenchment so urgently demanded by the needs of the taxpayers was not, however, forthcoming, for the simple reason that the survivors of the old political régime had a good deal more power with the people's representatives at Albany than had the people themselves.

Meanwhile, the work of auditing the enormous mass of claims against the city, which kept pouring in upon the Finance Department, was being steadily and faithfully prosecuted. There are many ways of pretending to "audit" a bill, and but one honest and final way of doing it. There is, for example, the method of auditing by summary resolution similar to that practised by Mayor Hall and his colleagues of the Interim Board of Audit, of unsavory memory. Then there is the method, hardly less unsatisfactory, of getting three gentlemen to meet once or twice a week, and hear read over the titles of certain claims, before allowing them. This appears to have been the method contemplated by the Legislature of 1872, in creating the new Board of Audit. The actual process of examination and verification had, however, to be gone through in the Comptroller's office, by a well-disciplined

force of clerks and professional experts, acting under the orders of a man who remained steadfast in his resolve that, so far as he could help it, not a dollar of public money should be paid out which had not been honestly earned. Among other claims, there were scores of payrolls to be audited as required by law, and this involved in all cases the summoning of each individual who appeared on such rolls to make affidavit that the services with which he was credited had been actually performed, and in some cases the calling of witnesses to testify regarding the true character of sinecure employees.

Then there were hundreds of claims for supplies furnished or work done, ranging from five dollars to five hundred thousand dollars. Each of these had to be gone over, item by item, not only as a check on clerical accuracy, but with an eye to the fact as to whether the supplies or the work in question had actually been delivered or performed, and what were their true amount and value. It needs very little reflection to realize how enormous were the difficulties of putting in practice such a method of audit after years of wasteful and dishonest government had equally demoralized city employees and city tradesmen. It is impossible to estimate, with any approach to accuracy, how much was directly saved to the city treasury by this honest system of examining bills and payrolls. When it is remembered that the claims against the city which could pass through this ordeal without being considerably reduced were the infrequent exception, and that a very large number were thrown out altogether, it is obvious that the direct saving to the taxpayer, in dollars and cents, must have been a sum of impressive proportions. Even this, however, was trifling compared with the value of the advantage gained by setting up as a precedent for the future a sample of businesslike methods and honest work.

Some people who would greatly have preferred the perfunctory method of auditing, practised by Mayor Hall and his colleagues, to the rigorous examination instituted under the supervision of Comptroller Green tried to discredit his honest work by representing that he confounded parsimony with economy, and that under such administration public improvements would languish and public spirit be discouraged. A sufficient answer to this

may be found in the following words addressed to a large meeting of the stall owners in Washington Market on the occasion of a visit of inspection made by Comptroller Green in March 1872: "Reform did not mean the stopping of the wheels of progress, but, on the contrary, it meant general improvement and progress. It meant a faithful appropriation of public funds for the purposes for which they were designed by law. It did not mean the robbery of nine dollars and the spending of only one on public works out of every ten appropriated by the Legislature. It meant good schools, clean streets, faithful performance of official duty, proper facilities for rapid transit, beautiful parks for the recreation and health of all classes of citizens, adequate accommodation for commerce along our docks, and everything, in fine, to render our city worthy of its career as the metropolis of the western world."

Comptroller Green's second memorial to the Legislature was dated February 28th, but two months later he was obliged to send a still more urgent request for attention to the financial necessities of the city. The Legislature had failed to amend the charter under which New York was governed; had failed to remove any of the remaining representatives of Ring rule from their positions in the local government; had failed to make a single alteration in the status quo of municipal affairs. It barely contrived to establish some claim to the title of a Reform Legislature by taking measures for the impeachment and removal of certain notoriously corrupt judges. In regard to the reorganization of city affairs, it had, however, utterly and shamefully failed to accomplish anything. The abortive result of the session at Albany had a most depressing influence on the friends of reform, and served in a proportionate degree to revive the spirits of those who were working and waiting for a renewal of the reign of corruption. Reflecting on what had been accomplished in six months, the most ardent reformers were obliged to confess that the single advantage they had gained in the conduct of city business was the retention of Mr. Green in the Comptroller's office, together with all the energy, efficiency, and honesty of administration which he represented. As the *New York Times* put the case: "There have been failures, but when we are told that nothing

has been done we must demur to the statement. It is a great thing to have Mr. Green in the Comptroller's office. . . . Think what Tweed & Co. might have taken out of our pockets since November, at the rate they had been robbing us during the last few years! No better off? Well, we have at least put a stop to the further pillaging of our property, and that is an advantage which honest taxpayers will not be slow to appreciate."

In the first year of his term as Comptroller, the work thrown upon Mr. Green during the session of the Legislature, in addition to the usual business at his office, taxed to the utmost his powers of endurance. The measures for the financial relief of the city, for the legalizing of contracts rendered invalid by the neglect of statutory formalities, besides bills calculated to relieve the taxpayers of needless expense incurred for the support of superfluous bureaus — all such legislation, whether actually passed or merely discussed, necessarily demanded the close attention and supervision of the Comptroller. Meanwhile, other reforms were not neglected. Among such was the revival of a practice which had long fallen into desuetude of putting up the leases of the city's property to open competition. For years it had been the practice to lease ferries, market privileges, etc., to the political partisans and friends of the men in power, at a much lower price than could have been obtained for them by open bidding. The pecuniary value of a return to the old custom was very quickly demonstrated, as was also that of the application of the system of open competition to the sale of city stocks and bonds. It had become the custom to negotiate these latter through some private banker, or favored broker or negotiator. In this way millions of dollars of city indebtedness had been contracted for on terms by no means favorable to the public interest. One celebrated transaction, to the amount of fifteen millions, had been concluded without the public receiving the slightest intimation of the rates at which the bonds which represented it had been sold. It was only after the investigations of the Reform Committees, supplied with data from the Comptroller's office, began to shed light upon the secret places of city administration, that it was found that the portion of the fifteen millions issued before the appointment of Comptroller Green had been credited to the city at par only, while

there was no record of the disposal of the 4 or 5 per cent. premium which had been obtained on the sale. Comptroller Green took the earliest opportunity of inviting public bids for city bonds and stocks, equally to the improvement of public credit and the benefit of the public purse.

The vast sums which were due to the city on account of arrearages of taxation, assessments and leases, also received the unremitting attention of the Comptroller. Investigation revealed the fact that numbers of citizens, claiming to be respectable, had indulged the habit of allowing the payment of their taxes to stand over for years, and then obtaining the good offices of the Comptroller to secure the remission of accrued interest for which they had rendered themselves liable to the city. Many large taxpayers had thus secured for themselves the free use of capital at the expense of the honest part of the community. Their influence was, of course, exerted in favor of the men to whom they owed the remission of interest which was equivalent to presenting them with a modest yearly income. It is facts like these which go far to explain the long apathy of the respectable portion of the New York community in regard to the misgovernment of the Tammany Ring.

All through his incumbency of the Comptroller's office, Mr. Green was a rigid adherent of the doctrine that extensive retrenchment of local expenditures was quite consistent with increased efficiency of administration, and that all branches of the public service ought to keep strictly within the laws which had been laid down for their guidance. Time and again the courts sustained the Comptroller in his interpretation of statutes which had theretofore been systematically ignored or set at defiance. It must have been a work of enormous difficulty to discover, amid the confused and often contradictory mass of Ring legislation, what was the proper course to pursue in a given case. The supremacy of Tweed and Sweeny at Albany had been marked by a course of legislation intended to facilitate fraud by being susceptible of a double interpretation, and the effort to base honest procedure upon this class of statutes must in the nature of things, have been extremely arduous. Mr. Green was held responsible both for the interpretation of existing laws and for the

failure of his predecessor to observe them. The Ring legacy of corrupt legislation and loose administration made Mr. Green's first year of office a time of perpetual toil and struggle, just as its legacy of financial anarchy made it also a time of wearing anxiety and exhausting labor. From first to last, of this early period in which he was practically alone in the work of Reform administration, Mr. Green neither courted public applause, nor professed to be indifferent to the value of the support of an intelligent public opinion. Personal attack failed to turn him one inch aside from the strict line of duty, or to provoke him into undignified controversy. He answered the expectations of friends and replied to assaults of foes by achieving solid results on the side of efficient, economical and honest city government. He struck at jobbery and corruption wherever he found them, regardless of the strength of the influence by which they were sustained, and remembering only that he was custodian of the public money with the duty of guarding its expenditure more carefully than if it were his own.

CHAPTER XI

THE ANIMUS OF NEWSPAPER ATTACKS — SHORTCOMINGS OF THE
LEGISLATURE OF 1872 — EMPHATIC SUPPORT FROM GERMAN-
AMERICANS — ELECTION OF MAYOR HAVEMEYER — A
CAMPAIGN OF NEWSPAPER CALUMNY — THE
TRIALS OF AN HONEST PUBLIC SERVANT

THE exposure of the frauds of Tweed and his associates was the work of a single newspaper which had made a determined onslaught on the methods of the Ring with but little support from its contemporaries. In the restoration of order out of the administrative chaos in which the Ring had reduced the business of the city, Comptroller Green had from the beginning but little aid from the press of New York and, as time went on, not the least of his difficulties came from the unconcealed ill-will of most of the newspapers. The historic accuracy of the following statement made in the Jubilee Number of the *New York Times* is not open to question: "Mr. Green's refusal to pay any of the claims of the Tweed régime about which there could be the slightest question earned for him the hostility of nearly every newspaper in the city except the *Times*. Most of them had claims of their own on which the requirements of the new Comptroller had a somewhat destructive effect."

The whole business of corporation advertising had been one of the grossest swindles perpetrated by the Ring and its tools in the Legislature. Among his other powers Mayor Hall had that of awarding at his pleasure \$1,000,000 worth of corporation advertising a year, and this was effectually used for the corruption of the press. Nor did the process end here. Sinecures on the city payrolls were distributed among the regular reporters, and even the hangers-on of the city newspapers, and it has been asserted that this practice was carried to such an extent that it was scarcely necessary for a person to do more than pretend to have some connection with the press in order to secure himself a more or less

comfortable situation in some department of the city government. The Ring distributed its advertisements among twenty-six daily and fifty-four weekly newspapers. A good many of these were, of course, merely agencies by which some of the henchmen of the master thieves were allowed to share in the plunder of the city. No sooner were supplies stopped, than twenty-seven of them — seven daily and twenty weekly — suspended publication. Among the latter were the *Official Railway News*, the *New York Argus*, and the *Home Gazette* — three sheets which left a legacy of unpaid claims for advertising amounting to \$437,300.

But the most outrageous swindle in the journalistic line was the *Transcript* — a publication issued by the Transcript Association, which, together with its affiliated New York Printing Company, and the Manufacturing Stationers' Association, was owned for the most part by members of the Ring. From comparatively small beginnings the printing establishment of this concern grew to be a colossal one, containing more presses and controlling more material than any two similar establishments in the country. Its proprietors, among whom Tweed was prominent, aimed at nothing less than doing all the printing and supplying all the stationery first for the New York city government, and afterward for the State Government and Legislature, with the prospect of a future field of enterprise in the National Capital itself. In the years 1869, 1870, and part of 1871, there was paid to the printing company, the stationers' company, and the *Transcript* over \$3,500,000, and the Board of Audit which had to dispose of the unpaid newspaper bills of the Ring was presented with a claim from the *Transcript* amounting to \$168,000.

On the creation of the Board of Audit there came pouring in to the Finance Department an enormous mass of outstanding claims for advertising. It was found that the law which furnished the authority for the proceedings of the Board did not permit it to pass upon the bills of the newspapers. A supplementary act had accordingly to be passed for this purpose. The language of the bill was made to suit the wishes of the lobby of newspaper claimants who had carried it through at Albany. Many of these persons had inserted city advertisements without proper legal authority, and they expended all their ingenuity in having the

statute providing for the payment of their claims loosely enough framed to admit of the mere proof of insertion being held sufficient to establish their validity. The gentlemen who thus endeavored to save what they doubtless considered needless trouble were doomed to be disappointed in their amiable designs upon the public treasury. Even the Legislature of 1872 could not pass such a bill without the general requirement that the claim should be "audited."

To Comptroller Green that word had but one significance — an honest and thorough examination. A supple and aspiring politician in his position would have hesitated before adopting a course of action which was certain to secure for him the active and implacable hostility of at least a dozen newspapers. Most men would have been glad to take advantage of the ambiguous language of the act, in order to avoid conflict, and would have made a compromise between a sense of public duty and a disinclination to be made the target of persistent abuse, by giving the newspaper proprietors the full benefit of their tricky legislation. Comptroller Green was not, however, the man to hesitate in following out the strict line of duty at whatever cost of personal inconvenience or public misrepresentation. He audited the newspaper claims with the same strict impartiality which he displayed in dealing with the bills of any tradesman who could not bolster up his claim by the possession of weapons of public abuse. A Board of Examiners, composed, for the most part, of men having a professional familiarity with the subject matter of these claims, was appointed to test every item which went to make up the two or three millions of dollars which were claimed from the city for past due advertising. It only requires a casual comparison of the amounts awarded to the newspaper claimants with the amounts claimed to be able to form an idea of how large an element of fraud entered into these bills and how signal was the saving effected for the public treasury by the strict audit to which they were subjected. There were, of course, many cases in which the want of proper authority invalidated part of a newspaper bill without there being necessarily any downright injustice in it. There is probably no act of Comptroller Green's administration for which he is entitled to a greater amount of credit than for his

rigidly just dealing between the newspaper claimants and the public.

Among the other sins of omission of the Legislature of 1872 was its failure to repeal the law creating an "official journal" in which had to be inserted all the advertising of New York city and county. Under the law, the *Transcript*, owned by Tweed, Sweeny, and a few others, had taken half a million of dollars out of the public treasury in the course of two years. The continuance of such a swindle during an era of presumed reform in city affairs would have been at once disgraceful and ridiculous. The difficulty was how to fulfil the requirements of the law and yet prevent the taxpayers from being openly robbed for the benefit of men who ought to have been in State's prison. It rested with the Mayor and Comptroller to designate the "official journal," and as the consent of both was necessary to the choice of this vehicle of public advertising, there was considerable danger that in the very probable event of Mr. Green and Mayor Hall having different preferences in the matter, the *Transcript* would be allowed to continue in existence at the public expense. The Comptroller met the difficulty by inviting the Mayor to concur with him in asking proposals for the work. The result was that the contract was awarded to the *Daily Register*, at \$9,500 for the year between June, 1872, and June, 1873, while, had the *Transcript* remained undisturbed, the same work would have cost the city a quarter of a million of dollars.

The German element in New York furnished some of the most intelligent and steadfast supporters of Mr. Green's administration, throughout the whole stormy term of his incumbency of the Comptroller's office. On July 18, 1872, a delegation representing the German-American Reform Associations of the City of New York, headed by Mr. Oswald Ottendorfer, the editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, presented the Comptroller with a memorial recalling the "profound satisfaction and the deep sense of relief experienced by the whole community" when it became known that he had been placed in charge of the Finance Department. The memorialists went on to say that the appointment was hailed as the beginning of a much needed reform, and there was hope that this reform would be effectively carried out. But they recognized

the fact that with almost every other department of the city and county government under control of the corrupt elements which had so long reigned supreme, it was but too evident that every possible obstacle would be thrown in the way of practical results; that Comptroller Green would be made the subject of misrepresentation, denunciation and abuse "by the legions whose plans would certainly be interfered with and their dishonest emoluments cut off." In all this they had not been disappointed, and they had seen moreover a Legislature chosen for the purpose of carrying out the demands of the people for reform, utterly failing to do more than show how not to do it. Not only had there been visible and almost entire lack of disposition in the various departments to coöperate with the Comptroller in securing a more economical administration of the city, but even in the courts of justice there had been shown persistent obstruction to the efforts to reduce the army of attendants and officers. Further, in the words of the memorial: "We have seen a portion of the press exerting sufficient influence with the Legislature to compel the payment of enormous doubtful claims for work illegally performed and charged for at exorbitant rates, and this same press is now using its power to coerce or intimidate you into the auditing and payment of these exorbitant claims." The memorialists recognized the fact that with almost any other man than Mr. Green the opposition which he had encountered would have been sufficiently discouraging to have compelled his resignation, which they thought was evidently the purpose of those who were so persistently dogging and harassing him. With the enemies of an honest administration of the Finance Department so untiring and so unscrupulous in their efforts to break it down, it was obviously necessary that those who trusted in Mr. Green and had found him thoroughly faithful and true should show themselves equally vigilant and active in sustaining him in the battle which, almost single-handed, he was fighting for the people.

Mr. Green was profoundly touched by these expressions of earnest sympathy and hearty support from men so thoroughly representative of the best citizenship of New York. He said that everything which had been done or attempted in the direction of

municipal reform had met with so warm an encouragement from the German press that he could scarcely be surprised at their visit. He added that he had gladly availed himself of many valuable suggestions made by them and notably by Mr. Ottendorfer, and he went on to make this significant statement: "You have ever been earnest in the cause of reform; you have worked faithfully with such men as Havemeyer, Schultz, Samuel J. Tilden, and Charles O'Connor, who are sustained by thousands and tens of thousands of inhabitants of this city and this State. So long as you and they see the necessity of reform, I do not think there can be any fear of failure. Amid all the danger of a presidential election, the issue of electing honest city officials is going to be the dominant one. The great majority of the citizens feel it to be so. The necessity is so potential as to command the support and the hard efforts of every honest man. I do firmly believe that the citizens will never under any pretext permit the affairs of the city to return to the condition of last fall."

The peril that the issues of the presidential election of 1872 might interfere with the election of a non-partisan city ticket, pledged to a radical and uncompromising policy of reform was a very real one. The coalition between the Democracy and the so-called Liberal Republican party had brought about the nomination of Mr. Greeley as its candidate for President. The candidate for Mayor of the combination was an eminently respectable man, Mr. Abraham R. Lawrence, and the Democrats formerly opposed to Tammany Hall had nominated a candidate of their own. The candidate of the Reformers, without distinction of party, was William H. Havemeyer, a Democrat of the old school who had been largely instrumental in placing Mr. Green in the Comptroller's office, and whose support of the policy of the Comptroller was fully assured. Fortunately, in spite of all the efforts made to obscure the main issue, Mr. Havemeyer was elected by a majority of eight thousand, and for his term at least Mr. Green could confidently count on the unswerving support of the Mayor. Mr. Havemeyer's first annual message left no doubt in anybody's mind as to where the new Mayor stood in regard to the occupant of the Comptroller's office, as the following passage sufficiently attests:

With a united administration sustaining and strengthening the Finance Department, much can be done in the interest of economy and good government. I regret, however, to say that instead of a desire to sustain this department, the successful management of which has been principally instrumental in securing all the beneficial results that have thus far been obtained, this success has led to the formation of combinations expressly designed to defeat and supersede it. The politicians who, for political purposes, think it necessary that they should control, or at all events, influence the administration of the treasury, are clamorous for a change. And they are supported by that large class of holders of fraudulent claims, who are willing, in order to secure a percentage of the nominal amount of their corrupt demands, to pay over the balance in furtherance of any measure whatever which will open to them the treasury and also by those who, fearing that under the present administration a day of reckoning will come, when they will be called upon to make good to the treasury the sums they have fraudulently received therefrom are ready to contribute a large proportion of what they have thus obtained to save the remainder.

We want no political instrument at the head of our Finance Department: no one who can be influenced by any other consideration than fidelity to the trust he undertakes. This department should have the exclusive control of all the financial concerns of the corporation. Through it, all claims against the city should be paid, after they have been duly audited and adjusted. I shall support the Comptroller in his efforts to have such an administration carried into practical operation.

In his support of Mr. Green's policy of insisting on a legal examination of every doubtful claim that came before him, Mayor Havemeyer never wavered. But the claimants whose raid on the city treasury was thus defeated were equally unswerving in their determination to oust Mr. Green and to place a more pliant incumbent in the Comptroller's office. In this endeavor they had the aid of most of the New York newspapers. It was not alone the journals of little character and feeble circulation which swelled the chorus of misrepresentation and abuse that followed Mr. Green throughout his entire term of office and which was especially loud during the first two years. The newspaper lobby at Albany, to whose activity in 1872 reference has already been made, resumed its activity in 1873 and encountered at every step the opposition of Comptroller Green. Being asked by resolution of the State Senate to communicate to them a statement showing the amounts claimed and the amounts paid to the various newspapers of the city during the preceding five years, and also of the claims presented and amounts paid by the Comptroller since his accession to office, Mr. Green replied to the following effect:

The amounts actually paid for advertising for the City and

County of New York from 1867 to 1871 reached the sum of \$3,569,676, which with the addition of further claims presented since 1871 made a total for five years of \$5,180,995. The amount of unpaid claims presented to the Board of Audit under the law of 1872 was \$2,112,236, on which there was allowed the sum of \$500,917. An amount of \$819,684 remained without final settlement, but most of this was set down as lacking authority or being wholly spurious. The Comptroller set forth that in the examination of these claims there was found a great diversity in prices charged, and in the method of computation adopted by the various journals. Enormous demands were made for advertisements which were set up in a larger sized type, and charged for as having been printed in type two or three sizes smaller, the result being that an advertisement would occupy twice or thrice the space to which it was legitimately entitled, thus more than doubling the amount of the bill. One phase of the advertising swindle was to buy from a job printer at so much per thousand, copies of voluminous public documents like the Mayor's message of 1871, with reports of all the departments in full, and the official canvass of the election, covering sometimes from ten to twenty-six large newspaper pages, or from sixty to one hundred and fifty newspaper columns, issue these as part of the newspaper and charge for them the full advertising rates. Demands for this service were made of amounts ranging from \$8,000 to \$12,000 for which there was merely to show sheets bought of a job printer for less than \$500. One leading journal which was distinguished for the virulence of its attacks on Comptroller Green had published the voluminous message of Mayor Hall with the accompanying documents, and while its readers supposed they were being furnished with these public papers as part of the news of the day, they were actually reading it at the expense of a dollar a line. The rates for ordinary advertising in the same paper were forty cents a line, and in this particular case the difference between one dollar and forty cents represented a sum of \$11,000. As Mr. Green put the case, the claim of newspapers seemed theretofore to have been paid, when paid, at pretty much whatever they chose to ask, without much examination or question. He added that the great bulk of the pending claims was for a class of advertising matter of no interest

or utility to one in one hundred of the community, and much of it of no use to anybody.

From first to last, the sordid struggle conducted by the newspaper lobby at Albany to procure legislation which would override the Comptroller's audit of the advertising claims against the city, is one of the most disgraceful chapters in the history of the New York press. But it is one which must be well understood, if the historical investigator is to guard himself against a thoroughly false impression of the kind of work which Comptroller Green did for the City of New York when he was bringing order out of the chaos of its finances and reëstablishing its shattered credit. With the final defeat of the Newspaper Claims Bill by the veto of Governor Dix, in September, 1873 the attacks on Mr. Green, who had furnished the Governor with reasons for his refusal to sign the bill, waxed fast and furious. Hardly a day passed without the invention of some new charge against the Comptroller; without some new device being called into requisition to harass and annoy him. The whole amazing mass of innuendo, objurgation and slanderous suggestion stands to-day as one of the most striking examples in all journalistic records of the deliberate prostitution for the basest personal ends of the functions of public guidance. It was a favorite form of accusation against the Comptroller that he resisted on the most frivolous pretexts the payment of just claims against the city, and spent the public money in legal costs incurred in resisting such claims in the courts. In reply to a resolution of the State Senate in March, 1873, Mr. Green was able to show that since his accession to the Comptroller's office all the costs, fees, and expenses paid on judgments and orders of court, other than vacation of assessments, amounted to \$674.56. But this did not prevent the ceaseless iteration of the charge that Mr. Green was needlessly, capriciously, and expensively litigious.

Let one example out of many of such attacks suffice to illustrate the recklessness of Mr. Green's assailants and the invulnerable strength of his own position. On September 16, 1873, the day after Governor Dix's veto of the Newspaper Claims Bill, there appeared in the New York *Herald* an editorial article beginning in this wise:

While Comptroller Green has been rolling up the city debt by twenty millions at a time, and increasing the amount of interest paid by the taxpayers from two millions in 1870 to over five and a quarter millions in 1873, he has been vigilant in scrutinizing the accounts of the sweepers and scrub women who are employed in cleaning the public buildings, and unyielding in his determination to dock them their two or three dollars whenever they might be detained from their work by sickness or accident. We have a specimen of this watch-dog policy in the case of a poor scrub woman who has recently been driven to appeal to the courts to recover six months' pay due to her from the city for scrubbing at the new court-house. This poor woman met with a serious accident which prevented her for that period from performing the labor assigned to her, but the work was done for her by her daughter, assisted by friends. The city had the benefit of the labor of these volunteers, but Comptroller Green refused to pay the woman's bill and drove her into the courts. Judge Fancher issued a mandamus to compel the payment of the amount; hence, even in this scrub-woman economy, the Comptroller manages to saddle the city in the end with the additional burden of costs and interest.

Four days before the publication of this effusion the Auditor of Accounts, Mr. Abraham L. Earle, addressed the following communication to the Comptroller:

In placing before you the claim of Ellen Hanley for \$345.56, which I have audited to-day in obedience to an order of the Supreme Court issued by Judge Fancher, I deem it my duty to call your special attention to the probable consequences of this summary method of enforcing the payment of claims against the treasury, contrary to conclusions respecting their justness reached after careful examination by officers in the Finance Department whose duty it is under the law to examine, audit, and approve them before payment, I confess I am greatly embarrassed by these proceedings in what I understand to be my duty.

The claim originated before you took office, and is one of the relics of a past rule of disorder. Its amount is small, but its character is significant as a specimen of an enormous mass, the aggregate of which no one knows and no one can ascertain, but believed to be millions of dollars, which have for a long time been kept out of sight by those who hold them or by their advisers, in the hope that another administration, more to their liking and less scrutinizing would pass upon them. In this hope they have been disappointed, and they are now, under advisement, making a combined and concerted onslaught by flooding the courts and Finance Department with suits and writs of mandamus in order that, by creating confusion in the courts and misleading the public mind, possibly they may be forced through.

The claim of Ellen Hanley has been before me for a long time, and after most careful personal inquiry during most of the months included in the claim, I became entirely satisfied that it should not be paid. The services alleged to have been performed were not performed by her, nor by her daughter, nor by any other person in her behalf. The injury which she pretended unfitted her for work occurred, as she informed me, the previous winter, and, as I am otherwise informed, on the occasion of a sleigh-riding party, so that for a period of more than six months prior to September 1, 1871, she had been

paid for work she had not performed. The claim was once, more than a year ago, as you may remember, before the examiners of the Board of Audit, whose examination was entirely independent of mine, yet their conclusions were precisely the same.

My reasons for refusing to audit the claim were duly presented to the Supreme Court three months ago, and it was supposed the claim had been abandoned. . . . To audit and allow claims of this character where no service has been performed is not only wrong in itself, but it does great injustice to a large number of worthy persons in the service of the city and county who honestly earn their wages.

Two years ago, on your accession to office, the payrolls were cumbered and loaded with the names of a large number of persons who like Ellen Hanley had been receiving pay without doing any work, and whom it was the duty of the Finance Department, as far as possible, to sift out and cut off. In this process of discriminating, between the worthy and unworthy it was unavoidable that there was inconvenience to many innocent persons by being associated on the payrolls with the hangers-on; but this work has been so far accomplished that now, as for months past, the promptness with which payments are made after the rolls are received in the Finance Department challenges comparison with any department of industry anywhere, either public or private, and this, too, without any of those abatements or commissions to which, under the former administration, they were almost uniformly subjected. If, however, the efforts of this department to repel and reject claims which have no honest foundation, cannot be sustained, if the services of well-known and influential lawyers can easily be obtained to prosecute such claims; if the rule is to be that under a mere technical form of appointment, those who perform no service can obtain pay as readily as those who do honest work, it cannot be otherwise than that appropriations ample for the purpose at the beginning will be exhausted before the work is done, efforts to protect and defend the Treasury will be paralyzed, and the public service again lapse into that complete and utter demoralization in which you found it, and from the depths of which you have so persistently and so successfully sought to lift it.

Mr. Green's idea of his duty in dealing with the vast and complicated mass of indebtedness bequeathed by the Tweed administration to its successors, was a very simple one. He pointed out the difficulties of presenting these claims for proper adjudication in the courts were enormous. Most of them appeared duly certified by the heads of departments and their subordinates. But, as he asked with unanswerable force, would any one be disposed to accept the signature of Tweed, Sweeny, or Connolly as sufficient evidence of the validity of a claim against the city; would a bill certified by men like Coman, Ingersoll, or Norton be regarded by the honest administrator of any trust as a legal obligation against the estate under his care? Those charged with the administration of the affairs of the city were simply in the position of trustees

in regard to claims which matured under the fraudulent rule of the Ring. He held that there was a moral and legal obligation to call in the aid of the courts to determine the precise standing of bills about which there was either a strong suspicion or certainty of fraud. Judges were elected and paid for performing, among other things, just that kind of work, and the taxpayers looked to them to extend all the aid which the nature of their office allowed to those who were engaged in protecting the public treasury against spoliation. There are a great many points of judicial procedure which are left to the discretion of the occupant of the Bench, and which are not covered by any explicit rule of law. In such a time as the city was then passing through, the Comptroller held that the taxpayers had a right to expect that the indulgence of the court should, at least, not be used to their prejudice. But the record of some recent cases went to show that even this modest expectation was being disappointed. The view of all fair-minded men in regard to the position of the Comptroller at the time when newspaper attacks on him were most venomous and most persistent, was fairly expressed on October 10, 1873, by the Brooklyn *Eagle*, whose position of detachment enabled it to take a saner and juster view of New York affairs than most of the journals published nearer the City Hall. An editorial article on "Comptroller Green and his Difficulties" contains the following passages:

Mr. Green took the helm when Connolly's knavish fingers had been forced to surrender it. He was selected for the hazardous post by no less keen and honest a gentleman than Samuel Tilden, who knew the sterling character of the man when he enlisted him as his lieutenant in the only genuine reform movement that ever occurred in New York. Mr. Green was no blatant politician. On the contrary, he was a plain citizen of excellent repute, unquestioned integrity and religiously faithful to every public trust that he had been induced to undertake. The crisis in which he was persuaded to take so grave a step would have dazed a less thoughtful and less patient character. The city treasury was in a state of complete chaos. The accounts were a maze of irregularities and obscurities. A hundred thievish hands had been engaged in effecting burglarious entry at a hundred different points. It was a task that would have driven a skilful accountant to desperation, aside from all its other deplorable contingencies, which Mr. Green heroically undertook in behalf of the public at the instance of Mr. Tilden and the few honest men who came forward in the hour of distress to set the vexed and battered vessel once more on its even keel.

At first the newspapers of New York supported Mr. Green with an ominous enthusiasm. They pronounced him the savior of the civic credit, and assigned to him a high place among the worthies who had sacrificed themselves in behalf of their public duty. But in an unfortunate moment, if Mr. Green belie his character enough to consider any moment of an absolutely honest career, unfortunate, he discovered among the greedy cormorants, most of the press of New York. Mr. Tweed had fed them so fat on superfluous plunder that they had grown to look upon their share of the booty as an absolute right, and when the Comptroller, measuring every account with the same compass of rigid honesty, applied the test to their "claims" scarcely less infamous in their rapacity than the more naked impudence of Tweed's mercenaries and accomplices in theft, a general alliance was effected, and the howl of the rejected sinecurist was echoed at once by the abuse of the very newspapers which had strewn compliment and praise in the early footsteps of Mr. Green.

Since then, encouraged by the savage antipathy to Mr. Green of the local press, there has been hardly an intending swindler of the city who has not ostentatiously paraded his fraudulent "claims" in court and prayed for mandamus against the Comptroller, being confident that whatever were the merits or demerits of his case, the New York papers, with some admirable exceptions, were still smarting enough from amputation of their own "claims" to join in denunciation of Mr. Green's niggardly policy.

CHAPTER XII

CITY FINANCES IN THE PANIC YEAR — THE MARKET VALUE OF CHARACTER AND THE DEFENCE OF THE CITY'S CREDIT — RESUMPTION OF THE DEMAND FOR CITY AND COUNTY SECURITIES — A DASTARDLY ATTEMPT AT ASSASSINATION — THE CITY BUDGET OF 1874 AND ITS HIGH RATE OF TAXATION — LITIGATION BY DISAPPOINTED CITY CLAIMANTS

THE financial panic of 1873 made a substantial addition to the difficulties and perplexities of Comptroller Green's position. For one thing, it closed the usual market for city bonds, and afforded to a hostile press a new pretext for the charge that the credit of the city was being seriously impaired by the policy of the head of the Finance Department. When the city administration was traveling fast on the road to ruin in 1871, the journalistic organs of the Ring tried to arrest the process of exposure by proclaiming that the city's credit was in danger. By 1873, when the amount of the penalty which had to be paid for Ring plunder was fairly manifest, newspapers of which better things might have been expected, took a malicious pleasure in making it appear that the municipal debt of New York was increasing at a perfectly ruinous rate, and that, moreover, all the increase of the debt since September, 1871, had been due to the extravagance of a Reform Administration. The favorite line for Tammany advocates in these days was to try to make it appear that the peculations of Tweed were a very old story and that all the expenditures incurred since Connolly went out of office were justly chargeable to the administration of his successor. The fact was that hardly a week had elapsed since the fall of the Ring in which the Finance Department had not been compelled to deal with some of the results of the bad legacy of Tweed and his confederate swindlers. Four fifths of all the mandamuses which

were so copiously applied for at that time in the courts against the city were based upon claims for materials and services furnished previous to September, 1871.

The facts in regard to the city debt were sufficiently simple and were easily within the reach of the envenomed assailants of the Comptroller. They were briefly these: The Joint Investigating Committee, of which Mr. William A. Booth was chairman, declared the net amount of the city and county debt, on September 16, 1871, to be \$97,287,525. As compared with the statement in the Mayor's message of January 1, 1871, this showed an increase of \$24,000,000 in eight months; as compared with the same statement on January 1, 1869, the increase amounted to \$61,000,000. The statement of Mr. Booth's committee was made before the taxes of the year had begun to come in, and when the revenue bonds issued in anticipation of these taxes had, therefore, touched their maximum. Had Tammany remained in power, these bonds, payable within the year, would simply have been transformed under the operation of the Debt Consolidation Act, into part of the funded debt of the city and county. As it was, Comptroller Green found, on assuming office, that the Ring had not only mortgaged, by the issue of short bonds, every dollar of the taxation of the year, but had also anticipated the ready conversion of these bonds by allowing nearly every department of the local government to expend in less than two thirds of the year the entire appropriation allowed for the twelve months. The taxes of 1871 were intended, like those of preceding years, to furnish a fund for fresh plunder, and the debt would have been allowed, as usual, to take care of itself.

On September 30, 1873, the net amount of all classes of city indebtedness was \$115,237,390. The gross increase, therefore, in two years was \$17,949,865. This was readily accounted for under the following heads: (1) As part of the penalty of the Tweed period of misrule, the city treasury had to issue bonds on account of old claims to the amount of \$9,692,397. (2) Under the head of permanent additions to the city's wealth there had been expended for the purchase of land for Riverside Park, the widening of Broadway from Thirty-fourth to Fifty-ninth Street, and the extension of Madison Avenue, the sum of \$11,434,913.

(3) For the construction of Croton mains and other improvements effected by the Department of Public Works, bonds had been issued to the amount of \$7,358,500. Thus, apart altogether from the payment of old debts, the city was able to show a solid equivalent for the \$17,949,865 which had been added to its indebtedness during the two years in which Mr. Green had been at the head of the Finance Department.

Meanwhile, it was obvious, toward the end of September, that it would need a good deal of financial ingenuity to pull the city through the two following months. Had the administration of local finances not enjoyed the fullest confidence of New York capitalists, it would have been impossible to carry on the business of the city in anything like its entirety. Had a crash such as occurred in 1873 come about the time of the Ring exposures in 1871 nothing could have saved the city's notes from going to protest, because it would have been equally impossible to renew them or to get in taxes enough during the three months following to meet them at maturity. Even as things were, the dangers attending the system of tax collection long after expenditures based on the taxes of the year had begun to run, was forcibly demonstrated. The expenses of the city departments began with the first of January each year, and the taxes to meet these expenses did not begin to come in until nine or ten months afterward. Hence arose the necessity of mortgaging the taxes of the year before they were collected; of issuing certificates of indebtedness under the name of revenue bonds, to be liquidated as the taxes were received. Considering that the current expenses of the various city and county departments were about two millions a month, it was greatly to the credit of the financial administration that the amount of revenue bonds issued up to the third week in September 1873, did not exceed \$10,000,000. When the Tweed and Connolly régime closed, about two years before, the amount of revenue bonds outstanding was \$22,700,000.

When toward the end of November an advertisement for proposals for city bonds to the amount of \$2,717,000 elicited only two bids for a fraction of the amount, the newspaper assailants of the Comptroller loudly proclaimed that his financial management of municipal affairs had brought the city credit to a very low ebb.

Mr. Green met these attacks with the ridicule they deserved. He said that within the last fortnight, at a time when the panic was almost at its height, and when a general feeling of insecurity prevailed among capitalists generally, he had gone to Wall Street to raise two and one half millions of dollars. He found great readiness on the part of bankers and capitalists to aid him. In that one afternoon he was able to procure all the money that was needed. He attached very little importance to the fact that the bidders for city stock were less eager than they had been on some previous occasions. They were so many different uses to which money could be put just at that time, and it was quite possible, nay, very probable, that men with a large amount of ready money at their command should have a choice as to the best means of investment. It was easy enough for any one to say that \$105 ought to have been paid for bonds sold at \$103, but the fact that the bonds were sold at all was sufficient to prove that the policy adopted by the Comptroller's office was the policy which had the confidence of the taxpayers.

Comptroller Green was very prompt to recognize however, that the city's credit had been pledged for street improvements which were chargeable to property owners with entirely unnecessary liberality. At that time, say December, 1873, the city and county debt of New York was equivalent to a burden of \$112 on every man, woman, and child in the city, while the debt of the nation, large as it was, merely represented a per capita burden of \$51. The markets of the world were open to the bonds of the United States, but for the bonds of the City of New York, thanks to their bewildering variety and the utter lack of system in their classification, the market was very limited indeed. The savings banks had always been the chief purchasers of our municipal securities, but as the savings banks had, in 1873, been subjected to a steady drain on their resources, these institutions, by the close of the year, were selling instead of buying New York bonds. The time was highly opportune, therefore, to make an appeal to the Legislature to relieve the community from the burden of carrying assessment bonds for the benefit of property owners who were always ready to employ lawyers to find some technical reason for vacating assessments. The lower part of the city had

been laid out on the principle that when property owners wanted a street opened or improved, they should first pay their assessment and get the work done afterward. The Comptroller maintained that the upper part of the city could be laid out under a similar rule, if the Legislature had only sufficient pluck and honesty to prefer public interests to the clamor of the combined lobby of contractors and assessment lawyers. Assessment bonds already appeared as part of the city debt to the somewhat formidable amount of \$21,500,000. This item was called part of the temporary debt, but it had become, in reality, a permanent charge against the city. In fact, the increase of these bonds went on much faster than their liquidation; their increase between January and December, 1873, having been over \$5,000,000. The Citizens' Investigating Committee of 1871 had appealed to the Legislature to aid the corporation in curing errors in street opening proceedings, "to recover advances made in good faith for the execution of works petitioned for and designed for the benefit of local property owners." A similar appeal had been made to every succeeding Legislature, but the lobby had been too strong for the people in every case, although the vacation of assessments was costing the city \$1,000,000 a year, of which \$250,000 went into the pockets of speculative lawyers.

By the beginning of 1874 the Comptroller was relieved of at least one source of anxiety, by the resumption of the normal demand for the city securities. In the first week of January, the entire amount of city and county stock offered by the Comptroller was promptly taken up, and from that time forward no difficulty was experienced in having all the bond offerings fully subscribed. That fact did not in the least deter the disgruntled newspapers from keeping up the chorus of "Bankruptcy in Sight" for the overburdened city, and even of making disparaging comparisons between the condition of the public finances under Comptroller Green and under his predecessor Connolly. As a matter of fact, it took a long time for Mr. Green to receive the same measure of justice from the local press that he commanded in newspapers at a distance. Even from so unlikely a quarter as Augsburg in Germany, there came from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in the latter part of 1873 the following just appreciation of the situation in New

York: "As a general thing, it may be considered in Europe an unimportant matter whether an isolated city in America is governed by honest men or thieves. But it cannot be so with New York. She, as a city, has asked the confidence of foreign countries, and her commercial people are in constant intercourse with the people of other countries. And it is of the first consequence that these foreign countries should have confidence in the government of the city in which so much and many of their interests are constantly being deposited. The great danger of seeing the government of the City of New York again in the keeping of dishonest people is by no means over. If we correctly read the signs, a new ring is being formed from the remnants, mainly, of the old, and only needs the removal of the present Comptroller to be speedily completed. . . . The former corruption in many of the departments is by no means eradicated. It is deep-rooted, and, we fear, alive, although it may not now appear above ground."

With Mr. Green standing as the most active and aggressive representative of an honest administration of the affairs of the City of New York — a target for the attack of every disappointed claim-hunter, every disgruntled politician, every expropriated sinecurist, and every indicted plunderer of the treasury — it would, perhaps, have been strange if no attempt had been made on his life. He knew, throughout the whole term of his incumbency of the Comptroller's office that he was the object of the virulent hatred of the gang he had helped to discomfit. His life was frequently threatened, he was followed menacingly on the streets, and although he never gave any indication of fear himself, his associates were constantly on the alert for acts of violence to his person. On Thanksgiving Day, 1873, Mr. Green's messenger took from the postoffice with other mail a package which immediately aroused his suspicion. It was a box about ten inches long, six inches wide and two inches thick, wrapped in paper, prepaid at letter rates, and addressed by means of printed letters cut from newspapers. When the messenger laid the package on Mr. Green's desk he warned the Comptroller that it looked suspicious. Mr. Green agreed with him, and it was submerged in a pail of water for three hours. It was then cautiously opened, and was

found to be filled with powder and a dozen or more metallic cartridges. Inside of one end of the box matches were inserted standing on end, their heads in contact with a piece of sandpaper attached to the under side of the sliding cover. There was an extreme probability that had Mr. Green opened this infernal machine, as intended, he would have been killed on the spot.

From quarters less obviously criminal there continued to emanate in 1874 newspaper attacks on the head of the Department of Finance. When the tax rate of that year was fixed at the unusually high figure of 3.40 per cent., there arose an outcry that the Comptroller was responsible for the burden which was being laid on the taxpayers. The budget of 1874 with its accompanying rate was compared unfavorably with the 2 per cent. levy of the last year of Ring domination. The fact was forgotten, or deliberately suppressed, that the rate necessary to cover the actual expenditures of 1871 was not 2 per cent. but $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As the fruit of a device adopted to facilitate their schemes of plunder, the Ring thieves left about \$12,000,000 of just debts unpaid in 1871. These the city had to pay, principal and interest, later. Moreover, as a consequence of Tammany tactics in the dealings with the State Treasury, the County of New York had to pay, in 1874, \$1,000,000 more of State tax than it did in 1871. As the result of the additions made by the Ring to the city and county debt, there had to be provided \$3,000,000 more for the payment of interest than in 1871. From the taxation of 1874 there had to be met \$2,000,000 of long bonds then matured, no such charge having been incurred in 1871. Moreover, the city had to raise as its share of the cost of what was known as the Fourth Avenue improvement — namely, the sinking of the tracks of the New York Central Railroad, \$1,500,000 in 1874, a charge unknown in 1871. Street cleaning cost \$500,000 more in the former than in the latter year; the Police Department consumed another \$500,000 for additional patrolmen, etc., while for new buildings and other departmental works there had to be paid in 1874 at least \$500,000 which in 1871 would have gone to swell the permanent debt. Briefly, the new expenditure, due either to the growing necessities of the city or to the legacy of unliquidated debts left by the Ring, amounted to one fourth of the entire tax levy, and but for the

existence of these charges the rate of taxation for the year would have been, instead of 3.40 a little over 2.50 per cent. In other words, the same items of current expenditure which in 1871 called for a rate of nearly 3.50 per cent. could have been met in 1874 by a rate of 2.50 per cent.

These were figures which the newspaper assailants of the Comptroller persistently ignored, as well as the figures relating to another favorite point of attack, the expenses of his own department. The facts were that the actual expenses of the Finance Department for which warrants were drawn on the Chamberlain in the year 1871 amounted to \$520,390, while those for the year 1873 were only \$459,594. Here was a demonstrated saving of \$60,796, but this was by no means all. For the salaries of the department, the amount expended in 1871 was \$361,496, while for 1873 it was \$290,027. But the Bureau for the Collection of Assessments, which was in 1871 an office in the Department of Public Works, was by the charter of 1873 transferred to the Department of Finance. After adding the eight months' expenses of this bureau to the saving effected in salaries under Comptroller Green, there is shown an actual economy of over \$86,000 or about 30 per cent. less than the salary account under Connolly. Meanwhile the current business of the Finance Department had been increased at least fourfold by the provisions of the new charter. With the single exception of the police, all salaries, claims and wages had to be paid by the Finance Department, and outside of the city departments all other charges against the city and county had to be there adjusted. Formerly every department, with one exception, had a separate treasurer, and there was no revision or audit of claims by the Finance Department. In 1871 there were 9,975 warrants drawn; in 1873 there were 49,779, showing, as far as any conclusion can be drawn from this class of work, that the amount of business had increased fivefold. Then, there was the further fact that the enormous arrears of old claims involved an amount of laborious and detailed examination which was as foreign to Connolly's administration as the unearthing of evidence to convict swindlers in the past or the ceaseless vigilance to defeat them in the present, which were no slight part of the labors of the department under Mr. Green.

It will not sound superfluous to those familiar with the newspaper literature of this period to repeat that, under Comptroller Green the work of the Finance Department was not only done infinitely better than in 1871, but four times as much of it was done, and that at an expense 30 per cent. below its former cost.

When every other line of attack failed, there was the unfailing resource of malignant assailants that Mr. Green had too many lawsuits on hand. It was forgotten or ignored that the Legislature though appealed to year after year to pass some act under which the mass of indebtedness incurred previous to 1871 could be regularly disposed of, had year after year failed to comply with the request. The newspaper proprietors were the only class of municipal creditors whose bills, accruing previous to 1871, had been paid off under the statute provided for the purpose. Then the culpably loose system of keeping books and accounts, and the swindling methods of entering into contracts practised during the rule of the Ring, left the Comptroller no choice but to test old claims by the ordeal of the courts. The expense of defending these suits had not amounted to one hundredth part of the sum saved to the city. Over three million dollars worth of claims had been rejected by the courts up to the close of 1874. Many suits for small amounts, which were decided against the city, were instituted because Mr. Green acted on the principle that it was his duty to refuse the claims of sinecurists — the class that was loudest in traducing him. The first suit of this kind was brought by a clerk in the Comptroller's office. He had been there throughout Connolly's term at a salary of \$2,000. His services consisted of going to the office once a month to draw his pay. Mr. Green discharged this member of the barnacle family, and withheld his last month's salary, but the city was compelled to pay it. Another illustration of the multitudinous petty claims with which Mr. Green had to deal was a suit for payment of a month's labor as sweeper in the markets, which the claimant pretended to have performed in the summer of 1869. Mr. Green disputed the bill, because he knew nothing about it and could find no one who did, and an action was brought. The plaintiff testified to his services, as specified, and recovered. This verdict opened the floodgates, and hundreds of suits followed for similar

services, until the excessive greed of one lawyer exposed the system. His list of clients consisting of bogus claimants contained the name of an honest man, who incidentally learned of the proceedings to which he had unwittingly been made a party. This man turned up in court, to the surprise of his volunteer counsel, and testified that he never swept the market, never had a claim against the city, and never authorized anybody to sue on his behalf on such a claim.

This disposed of the market-sweeping suits, but the oppressed scrub women still found vociferous and tireless defenders. The newspapers of the period continued for months to publish abuse of the Comptroller, largely based on the following state of facts: When Mr. Green entered upon the duties of his office, he found that his predecessor had been paying nearly three hundred women \$75 per month for services as scrubbers. One claimant being refused payment, admitted that she had been absent for a month, but added that the alderman who was her patron had told her she could draw her pay all the same. Some little experience of this method of robbing the city brought about an investigation on the part of the Comptroller, which resulted in reducing the scrub-list to forty and the pay to \$30 per month.

All through the most strenuous part of Mr. Green's struggle with municipal misrule, nothing is more remarkable than the ease with which men holding responsible business positions in New York were induced to lend their names to memorials and movements intended to embarrass and obstruct the work of the Comptroller. One specially malignant and mischievous busybody, whose efforts to drive Comptroller Green out of office lasted as long as a sympathetic press would furnish space for his wordy lucubrations, supplied a conspicuous example of the heedlessness with which men who ought to have known better were accustomed to affix their signatures to public petitions. The one in question bore date of March 10, 1874, and purported to be a memorial emanating from a Reform Association of which its author was almost the sole promoter. It contained charges against Mr. Green of "gross mismanagement and culpable incompetency to administer the affairs of the department of which he is the head." The memorial was signed by some eight or ten obscure persons repre-

senting the so-called association, but there was cunningly appended to it a supplementary petition respectfully asking of the Legislature that a thorough investigation should be made at once as to the several matters set forth in the memorial. To this was procured the signatures of some of the leading bankers and presidents of insurance companies in New York. When these gentlemen found the character of the document to which their names were appended, they began with one accord to disclaim all desire to place themselves in the attitude of critics of Mr. Green's administration. They had supposed, from the representations of the person who presented the paper, that it was a petition to the Legislature asking for an investigation of the financial condition of the city. But the significant fact was that the signers of an utterly false and misleading series of charges had to plead that they neither read nor examined the contents of the paper submitted to them. The exposure of the trick which had been played upon these overtrustful representatives of the financial interests of New York had at least the merit of exposing the animus of the attacks which had been so persistently made on the Comptroller, and the utter lack of character of the men who were behind them.

Mayor Havemeyer transmitted to the Legislature an exhaustive reply to the charges made by the bogus Reform Association against Comptroller Green, in which he pronounced all the charges to be pure fabrications, appending to his communication letters from a number of the capitalists who signed the memorial without reading its contents. All through the legislative session of 1874 there continued, however, the persistent effort to legislate Mr. Green out of office, and, by making it elective, to insure its control by Tammany Hall. The political conditions of the time happened to be entirely favorable to a revival of Ring methods, probably in a form less crude than that which prevailed in 1869 and 1871, but a revival of substantially the same influences and the same standards of administration. The course of the fall election of 1874 for municipal offices was destined to illustrate the fact, and a brief explanation of the conditions which had brought about the virtual exhaustion of the strength of the reform movement will be required to render the remaining phases of Mr. Green's struggle to defend the city treasury entirely intelligible.

CHAPTER XIII

DISAPPOINTING RESULTS OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT — DISTURBING EFFECTS OF PARTY POLITICS ON THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION OF 1874 — EFFORTS TO LEGISLATE THE COMPTROLLER OUT OF OFFICE — A COMPREHENSIVE REPORT TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CITY — A MOVEMENT TO NOMINATE MR. GREEN AS MAYOR — END OF HIS TERM AS COMPTROLLER

A DISPASSIONATE and impartial observer, taking stock of the results of the Reform movement up to the second half of the year 1874, said that the people of New York had cause for thankfulness "that the banditti who stole with mathematical precision and shared the spoils by a minutely accurate division — who subsidized the newspapers, corrupted Legislatures, bought and sold judges, tampered with the ballot, and gave impunity to crime, have been scattered and rendered incapable of further mischief." But he insisted that the benefit had fallen so far short of what might have been, and what was promised, that the general feeling was one of disappointment, and the spirit which made the reform successful, had grown languid and apathetic. There was a disposition to lay the blame on Mayor Havemeyer for the lack of vitality in the sentiment of reform only three years after the organized movement against the Ring was started by the formation of the Committee of Seventy. Undoubtedly, the Mayor had taken a somewhat childish delight in surprising the public by acts of wrongheadedness, and some of his appointments, in addition to being manifestly unfit, were calculated to provoke ridicule. His steadfast loyalty to Comptroller Green was the strongest point of his administration, and presented a most effectual bar to a reversion to the old corrupt methods under a change of form. But the Mayor's influence was a disorganizing, rather than a constructive one, so

far as the continuance of business methods in the city government of New York was concerned. He had no conception of municipal government freed from the domination of party politics, and men who were honestly striving to have the conduct of city affairs subject to the same standards that would apply to those of a great industrial or financial corporation, found frequent occasion to take exception to the course of Mayor Havemeyer.

The professional politicians of both parties were, of course, active, and watchful for the opportunity to undo the work of non-partisan reform. At the very outset of Mayor Havemeyer's administration, complaints began to be heard that an attempt was being made to cheat the Republicans out of the fruits of a victory which was legitimately theirs. The spokesmen of the party whose organization had endorsed Mr. Havemeyer said that if a party victory were to be claimed, they must claim it on behalf of the Republicans. As a matter of fact, nobody had been claiming a partisan victory, but neither side cared to understand the meaning of non-partisan government as applied to city business, and public sentiment on that point was a good deal less educated than it is to-day. Though the idea that the City of New York could be treated by contending sets of political partisans like a conquered province, had been emphatically negatived by the people, it still retained a powerful hold over the minds of politicians great and small. The fight for non-partisanship in city government had really only begun, and it was becoming obvious that its first victory had been very far from complete, and was not destined to be lasting.

The only effort made at the fall election of 1874 to take the choice of the chief magistrate of the city out of the hands of the professional politicians, was by a body calling themselves Independent Democrats. While endorsing the nominees of their party for State offices, the platform of these reformers declared: "That, while in our general political action we give effect to the views we entertain by supporting candidates of like sentiments, we deem it to be our duty as citizens to support local candidates whose election will aid to relieve our city from the disgraceful rule of two unworthy and incompetent men (John Kelly and John Morrissey), and that we invite all good citizens, irrespective of

party, to unite with us in the accomplishment of that object." There was a further resolution beginning thus: "That, at the present crisis in our municipal affairs, all good men should unite in an effort to secure an honest and economical administration of our city government." On this platform Mr. Oswald Ottendorfer was nominated for Mayor.

On the Republican side, the appearance of Mr. Tilden as the candidate of his party for Governor of the State was skilfully used to reinforce the argument for hard and fast party nominations for all elective offices. It was the services rendered by Mr. Tilden in purifying the judiciary and sending to prison or exile the chief members of the gang who had looted the city treasury which made him the most available candidate for Governor that his party could provide in 1874. But Mr. Tilden was also one of the most trenchant assailants of Republican administration of the affairs of the nation. In the brief speech he made after his nomination by the Democratic State Convention he said: "The Federal Government is drifting into greater dangers and greater evils. It is rushing onward in a career of centralism, absorbing all governmental powers and assuming to manage all the affairs of human society. It undertakes to direct the business of individuals by tariffs not intended for legitimate taxation, by granting special privileges, and by fostering monopolies at the expense of the people. . . . These tendencies must be stopped, or before we know it, the whole character of our Government will be changed; the simple and free institutions of our fathers will not only have become the worst government that has ever ruled a civilized people, but it will also be the most ignorant." This and the "bad ambition of a third term" which President Grant was believed to cherish, were favorite themes with Mr. Tilden, and it was recognized that his election as Governor of the State of New York would make him the foremost candidate of his party for President of the United States.

With indifference and division in the ranks of the municipal reformers, and with the Republican party machine ready to resume its old bargaining with Tammany for a share of municipal patronage, in return for running its own candidate for Mayor, the result of the city election was hardly doubtful. As a matter of

fact the Tammany candidate, Mr. William H. Wickham, polled more votes than those cast for Mr. Ottendorfer and the Republican candidate, Mr. Salem H. Wales, combined, and the danger of making it possible to confuse municipal issues with those of State and national politics was once more demonstrated. The bitter comment of the New York *Times* on the result, fairly expressed the conviction of the thoughtful portion of the New York public: "If anybody had said in the fall of 1871 when the public indignation against the Tammany Ring was at its height, that in three years the same political organization, with but a slight change of leaders, would be able to control the affairs of this city, that person would have been laughed to scorn. Yet, with but one important exception (the Register) every Tammany Hall nominee for local office was elected yesterday."

It was not long before it became evident that the forces which had gone to the making of the old Ring were again in the ascendant. The cohorts whose favorite occupation was "fighting Green," found a ready ally in the newly elected Mayor of the city, and the President of the Board of Aldermen. Finding it the readiest avenue to publicity and approving comment in the columns of the city press, the associates of Mr. Green on the Board of Apportionment indulged in continuous nagging of the man who had presumed to disregard every claim against the city of whose legal validity there could be any question. The men who employed this cheap way of making political capital are forgotten; the fame of the man whom they tried to injure is secure. But for a time, the ordeal was a sufficiently irritating one, all the more so as the evident purpose of the Mayor and his coworkers was to drive Mr. Green from the office which there was more compelling reason than ever that he should continue to hold in the interests of the city.

The politicians, whose creature the Mayor was, prepared a bill which was introduced by Assemblyman Costigan shortly after the meeting of the Legislature of 1875, conferring on the Mayor the power to remove the heads of city departments without first obtaining the approval of the Governor of the State. This bill was avowedly aimed at Comptroller Green, and within a month after its introduction had been already ordered to a third reading

in the Assembly and awaited its final passage there. Tammany Hall had issued peremptory orders that the bill should be put through and in the Democratic Assembly there was no disposition to dispute the fiat of the city organization. The Senate, being Republican, was somewhat less docile, but the one insurmountable obstacle to the passage of the Costigan bill was the opposition of Governor Tilden. The newspaper assailants of Mr. Green were, of course, furious with the Governor, and taunted him with being recreant to his own declared principles of home rule. The *Times*, which in spite of its opposition to Mr. Tilden, continued to be the staunchest supporter of Mr. Green, contributed this trenchant argument to the discussion of the Costigan bill:

It may safely be said that it would be impossible to find a more outrageous piece of legislation in the whole category of jobs which have been fastened upon the city. Even the Tweed Charter left the city less obviously at the mercy of a gang of greedy politicians than does this amendment to the charter of 1873. Were Mayor Wickham as independent of Tammany Hall as he has been lately proved to be slavishly subject to it, the unrestricted power of removing heads of departments as caprice, partiality, or prejudice may dictate, is too absolute authority to intrust to any man. In the hands of the most judicious and most perfectly informed executive, it would be liable to abuse, and even if such an one refrained from abusing it, his successor probably would not. We cannot afford to continue to alter the charter to suit the views or the character of each succeeding Mayor. Above all, we cannot afford to stake on the character of any one man the vast interests confided to the government of a city like this. To vest the power of dismissing heads of departments, for any reason whatever, in the local Executive is simply to reduce the whole administrative organization of the government to a simple appanage of the Mayor's office. If the difficulties are great now in finding men of high character and ability to accept responsible positions under the City Government, the difficulties would increase tenfold under the operation of such a bill. No man of any social position whatever could be induced to accept office on the understanding that he could be sent about his business whenever the Mayor thought fit to yield to pique or political pressure against him. As a device for forming a compact Ring of city officials, the bill is perfect; as a preliminary to another combined assault upon the City Treasury, nothing could be more appropriate.

Even the *Sun*, which could hardly be classed as friendly to the Comptroller, was moved to say:

We sincerely hope that this bill will be defeated, and that if it is not voted down in the Legislature, the Governor will smash it with his veto. It is contrary to good policy to put the control of political authority and of the

public money into the same hands. The chief financial officer of the city should be independent of the Mayor; and great abuses are likely to arise from practically making one man master of the two offices.

Meanwhile, in response to a series of resolutions passed with hostile intent by the new Board of Aldermen, at its meeting on January 14, 1875, the Comptroller had prepared a report which threw confusion into the camp of his enemies. He had been asked to report within thirty days on the following subject: (1) The amount of the indebtedness of the city. (2) The amount of receipts from all sources during the past year, including the unexpended balances of former years; the interest on unpaid taxes and assessments; and the interest, if any, paid upon the deposits of the city. (3) The expenditures for the past year. (4) The claims in his office against the city, unadjusted. (5) The amount of the judgments obtained against the city during his term of office, with the costs taxed upon the city. (6) The amount saved to the city by litigation during the same period by decisions in its favor. (7) The amount of the bonds and stocks of the city, created by the authority of the State Legislature, and not asked for or approved by the Common Council or the Board of Supervisors, and the amount approved or asked for by the corporate authorities of this city and the late County authorities respectively. (8) The amount of unpaid taxes and assessments up to December 31, 1874, and the amount of assessment bonds outstanding at the same date; and (9) A balance sheet showing the financial position of the city at the close of the past year.

Under the first head of the inquiry, the Comptroller reported that the bonded debt of the city as it existed December 31, 1874, was, without deducting securities held by the sinking fund, \$141,803,758. This showed a gross increase in three years of \$33,252,049. In the three years preceding 1871, the bonded debt had grown from \$52,205,430 to \$108,551,708, being an increase of \$56,346,278. Mr. Green pointed out that the old claims and liabilities existing when he took office, the extraordinary demand on account of the deficiency of the State sinking fund, and the money paid by him for boulevards and other uptown improvements, all of which had been met by the issue of bonds, aggregated more than the whole increase of the bonded debt of the city

during the present administration of the Finance Department. In dealing with the unadjusted claims in the Comptroller's office, Mr. Green made a summary which he pointed out had no reference to the legality of the claims and which included unsettled accounts and demands accumulated for years. He insisted that these old unliquidated claims had been improperly spoken of as so much city debt, whereas many of them were exorbitant or fraudulent, or wholly fictitious, and not to be considered as indebtedness of the city except to a possibly limited amount. The Comptroller would not recognize many of them, even by stating them, were it not that the Mayor and the Board of Aldermen seemed to desire that they should be recapitulated and stated in detail. He recognized that the effect of the schedule which he submitted might be to stimulate and incite claimants to renewed attacks upon the treasury, and more strenuous efforts on behalf of their schemes, and he protested against this recital of them being tortured or twisted into any, even the faintest, recognition of their validity.

Mr. Green illustrated the general character of hundreds of claims with which the Finance Department had to deal, by a brief reference to a few examples. Among these was the claim amounting with interest to \$1,000,000, for water-meters, not used, but alleged to have been furnished to the city under a special contract with William M. Tweed, Commissioner of Public Works, at most exorbitant rates; claims for printing and stationery said to have been furnished between 1868 and 1871 amounting to \$1,125,610, although during the same period the same parties had been paid nearly one million dollars for the same kind of supplies, and a claim for unearned or prospective profits on the old Hackley street-cleaning contract, amounting to \$800,000. Another class of claims, though small in amount, was the cause of infinite trouble to the Comptroller. They consisted of the demands of political partisans and strikers, claiming to have been employed as attendants and officers of the courts, and incumbents of various sinecure places invented to reward inferior political ward-workers. Mr. Green instanced the fact that there were at the date of his report three janitors in one court building, each claiming his appointment from a different source, and each claiming his pay

from the city, although one person was entirely sufficient for the service. Mr. Green had very little patience with the toleration exhibited by the courts for this class of claimants. The English precedents in virtue of which they frequently secured a judgment against the city, were founded on the practice of the British Government of creating offices, not necessarily involving any actual work, as a reward for distinguished civil or military service. When questions arose in the courts as to the right of the descendants of the original beneficiaries to these emoluments, the principle was laid down that the holder of an office of this character need not render any contemporaneous service whatever. He had already rendered the service and was entitled to the reward. It was somewhat of a novelty to have this judicial ruling quoted in support of the principle that a city officer or placeholder is entitled to the salary while he holds the place, whether he renders any service or not. Most people must have sympathized with the difficulty experienced by jurors in seeing why they should, at the direction of a court, give a verdict against the city to a scavenger, or janitor, or court attendant, or record translator, who had done no service, simply because some pensioner, a century or more since, could hold a sinecure under the British Crown, as a reward for high services rendered.

In the unadjusted claims against the city, there were taxed costs in street-opening cases amounting to \$602,503, flagrantly and grossly disproportionate to the services said to have been rendered; there were claims for Ring advertising amounting to \$896,458, of which one claim for advertising in three obscure papers reached the sum of \$365,000; there were seventy-four claims of Mayor Fernando Wood's municipal policemen for a term of three years during which though doing nothing, they claimed the right to draw their salaries; and there were claims for awards in street-opening proceedings amounting to \$1,746,400, demonstrably extravagant in amount, but which, having been confirmed by the Supreme Court, had to be paid. Referring to the clamor against the Finance Department, gotten up by holders of fraudulent claims, and fostered by unprincipled newspapers, on the charge of delay in the adjustment and payment of bills, the Comptroller showed that the average time during 1874, for passing

through the department from the date of receipt to the date of payment, including all classes of claims and liabilities for contracts and supplies, was less than four days. Mr. Green was able to state, with all possible emphasis, that the current claims for which value had been given to the city, were and had been recognized and promptly liquidated. The other class of claims for which no value had been given, were, in Mr. Green's own words, "conceived in the lobby and are held and promoted by that disreputable class who are enabled by craft and cunning to live without labor, out of the earnings of honest and industrious men, have no foundation either in justice or in equity. The courts ought to find some ground for discrimination against them, and every agency of the government should be prompt to intercept their progress to the door of the treasury and to defeat and frustrate them."

There was a sensible weakening of the journalistic attacks upon the Comptroller, after he had made this very thorough presentation of his case to the people of New York. But throughout the whole course of the Legislative session of 1875, the efforts to neutralize the work of the Comptroller continued unabated. It was at the instance of the new "boss" of Tammany Hall, John Kelly, that the Costigan bill had been introduced in the Assembly. When the Senate refused to endorse that measure, Mr. Kelly put through the Assembly a series of bills designed to furnish employment for Tammany henchmen without any effective supervision from the Finance Department. While nobody impeached Mr. Kelly's personal honesty, there was undoubted justice in the comment of the *Times* on the work of the "boss legislator": "Had the Kelly bills passed by the last Assembly been allowed to become law, the government of this city would have been transformed into a kind of commune, in which the supporters of John Kelly would have been quartered upon the public treasury, and by which the ruin of half the property owners in the city would have been very speedily effected."

In the election of November, 1875, the Tammany ticket for Recorder, District-Attorney, and other officers met with signal defeat. It is hardly open to question that one of the causes of the rejection of Mr. Kelly's nominees was the attitude of opposi-

tion which he assumed toward Governor Tilden, and the tactics which his representative in the Mayor's chair employed to harass and annoy Comptroller Green. In any case the election had the good result of showing the political futility of such tactics, and Mr. Green was allowed to serve out the remainder of his term in comparative freedom from the nagging and obstruction to which he had become accustomed from his associates in the city government. Even the bitterest assailant of Mr. Green in the reputable portion of the press, the *New York Herald*, was constrained to admit that he had kept the thieves at bay, and had saved the city hundreds of thousands of dollars by his policy of fighting every unjust claim. In nominating Mr. Green for Mayor in 1876 the *Herald* declared that he would not be the slave of Kelly, nor of any one else. In the latter part of July, and in August, 1876, several newspapers urged Mr. Green to become a candidate for Governor of the State or for Mayor of New York. The *New York Herald* said editorially: "There is a movement in certain Democratic circles to nominate Mr. Green for Governor. It is said that Mr. Tilden, who was formerly in business with Mr. Green, is anxious to have him on the ticket. We have a high esteem for Mr. Green, and would like him to succeed Mr. Wickham as Mayor. His place is in the government of the city. We are more interested in that than in the State or Nation. To take a man like Andrew H. Green, who knows the city well, who has been standing at the doors of the treasury fighting the thieves for years, and transplant him to Albany or Washington is to make a serious blunder. It is much better to keep Mr. Green in the city where he has been useful for many years, and where he may be useful in the future. Let the friends of Green support him for Mayor." Another journal observed: "Comptroller Green's name is mentioned, as he represents with Governor Tilden himself the very issues upon which the Democratic party expects to sweep the country for retrenchment and reform. The friends of Mr. Green, therefore, claim that he would be the best man to place on the ticket with the Presidential candidate who sails right into the sea of political corruption with the motto: 'Let no guilty man escape!'" Mr. Green was earnestly urged for Mayor by many leading and substantial citizens, as well as by represen-

tative workmen, and had he been willing to accept the nominations offered he would probably have stood a fair chance of election, notwithstanding John Kelly's opposition. Mr. Green, however, did not desire to be a candidate while Mr. Tilden was in the field for President, as he apprehended that hostility to himself might possibly cause the loss of some votes to Mr. Tilden.

Mr. Green's term as Comptroller ended in November, 1876, but he held over until Mr. John Kelly was appointed to the office in December 7, 1876, following. On the same day he issued a statement addressed to several prominent citizens, setting forth in brief what had been accomplished while he controlled the Finance Department. The statement is reproduced in full in the appendix, and the following is a condensed summary of the figures it contains: On September 16, 1871, when Mr. Green entered the Comptroller's office, the funded debt of the city (less the sinking fund applicable to its payment) and the floating debt together amounted to \$83,735,476. On November, 20, 1876, the funded and floating debts aggregated \$93,602,375. The increase had been only \$9,866,899, although within that period the city had added to its permanent assets land and improvements costing \$29,223,868. During the same five years the sinking fund had been increased by the amount of \$9,863,404. The amount expended annually for printing and stationery had been reduced from \$1,018,958 in 1871 to \$157,741 in 1876; the amount for city and county advertising was reduced from \$1,093,369 to \$48,510, and the amount paid for gas from over \$1,000,000 to \$620,466.

To the persistent accusation of his enemies that Mr. Green's policy involved the city in costly litigation, there was made a most conclusive reply, and the document ends with this very characteristic statement:

“I found the city like a great field, in which ranging herds, tossing the golden sheaves, have left their bestial hoofmarks upon every rood of its fertile glebe. I found the city like an estate which its easy-going owner had left to the neglect of heedless bailiffs and stewards; its mansions dilapidated, its gardens overgrown, its orchards exhausted, its forests dismantled, its rents

uncollected, its crops ungarnered, and riot and ruin wasting its every feature and every interest. It may, in moderation, be asserted that something has been effected to restore order and system in its financial affairs, to economize expenditures, and to lift its administration out of the utter degradation into which it had fallen.”

CHAPTER XIV

REVIEW OF FIVE YEARS OF ARDUOUS PUBLIC SERVICE — COM-
PLICITY OF REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS IN THE CITY'S
MISGOVERNMENT — A REFORM OF EXORBITANT GAS
BILLS — SYSTEMATIC AND FRAUDULENT VACATION
OF ASSESSMENTS — THE FIGHT AGAINST THE
LOBBYISTS AND THEIR ALLIES AT ALBANY
— A LUMINOUS PRESENTATION OF
MUNICIPAL NEEDS OF NEW YORK

THE five years' incumbency of the office of Comptroller by Andrew H. Green marked a turning point in the history of the New York city government. It is true that the awakening of public conscience which followed the exposure of the Ring frauds in the fall of 1871 seemed to lack enduring vitality, and that the municipal administration showed a stubborn tendency to settle back into the old ruts of incompetency and corruption. The base alliance between the professional politicians of the two great parties for the division of the spoils of the city was renewed almost as soon as it was broken, and venal, or merely subservient, legislators were ready to give effect to the bargains which were struck between Tammany Hall and the Republican machine. But the political traders were less shameless, less openly defiant of all moral restraints than they had been. They showed a disposition to shelter themselves behind pretences of administrative co-ordination; of a desire to give equitable recognition to claims which lacked only technical regularity, and of the expediency of removing obstacles to the prosecution of public improvements. The nomination of Mr. Tilden as Governor, in the fall of 1874, was a tribute to the strength of the new forces that were making themselves felt in party politics, and his election was a proof that the moral sense of the community had acquired a vigor unknown for years. It was to this sense that Mr. Tilden made

his appeal in his successful attack on the powerfully entrenched Canal Ring in 1875, and the result of the presidential election of 1876 showed how keen was the appreciation among the mass of voters of his work of administrative reform.

That Mr. Green should have been able during four years of his term to withstand the envenomed and unscrupulous misrepresentation of a large portion of the New York press, the bitter and persistent hostility of the politicians of both parties, and the swelling chorus of strident and angry protest from the horde of disappointed claimants argued the existence of a public opinion behind him that had a fairly just appreciation of the value of what he was doing for the city. Even his indomitable resolution, his superb patience, and his clear-sighted intelligence would not of themselves have kept him where he was, but for the public conscience which had been stimulated to new activity and of which he was the one consistent and faithful vehicle of expression.

The Tweed Ring was the natural result of a process of evolution of political methods that had been steadily going from bad to worse. In the city government, as Mr. Green left it, there were at least the beginnings of new standards of public responsibility, and new conceptions of civic virtue, that in spite of manifold disappointments and reverses have, in the last thirty-seven years, grown from more to more. No sharper contrast can be found in all the history of New York than that which existed between the five years preceding Mr. Green's accession to the head of the Finance Department and those in which it was under his control. Nobody will dispute the contemporary statement that "the history of New York during the years 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, and down to the middle of 1871, ought to suffuse the cheek of every American citizen with the blush of shame." Convincing demonstration had been obtained of the cohesive power of public plunder, and the Ring was maintained by the open conversion of public revenues to private or partisan uses. Thus, though its rascality was but slightly concealed from external view, the Ring soon became absolute master of the city; it named the incumbents of municipal offices from the highest to the lowest, and left to the public

voice merely the empty form of ratifying its nominations. It was able to use its undisputed ability to extend and perpetuate its power by debauching the public conscience. Men who had been ushers at minstrel shows were made State Senators, and the keepers of disreputable saloons were made into legislators for the great State of New York. Some of the meanest political tricksters which the system had produced sat on the bench of the police courts, and a man who had been brought from a distant State to answer for a felony was made auditor of the public accounts.

But perhaps the most deplorable fact of all was that there was scarcely a protest against all this organized iniquity, in spite of the general conviction that the government was based upon robbery. Prominent citizens of all shades of political opinion took office under the Ring, and there were apparently men of good repute whom ten thousand dollars a year could induce to become the apologists or defenders of a notorious combination of thieves. The general public had at least this excuse for their passive toleration of the methods of the Ring, that, however strong might be the presumption that their rulers were criminals, no absolute proof of their guilt was forthcoming. The local authorities were either members of the Ring or its abject tools, and at Albany the Ring was as firmly entrenched as in New York. The Fourth of July, 1870, saw the features of Boss Tweed delineated in a magnificent piece of pyrotechnics against the evening sky. He was hailed as the coming Governor, and flatterers even ventured to hint that his transcendent abilities could find a fitting place for their exercise only at the head of the government of the nation. Opposition within the Democratic party was generally disarmed by an offer to share the spoils, and when public distrust and suspicion could no longer be safely met with indifference and defiance, the Ring was ready with an invitation to some of the leading financiers of the city to examine the books of the Finance Department. From a bookkeeping point of view, the records were correctly enough kept, and, obviously, without testing the character of the claims whose payments they recorded, there could be deduced from their contents no evidence of fraud. The eminent

business men who undertook the work of examination fell into the trap prepared for them, and gave Comptroller Connolly, and incidentally his associates of the Ring, the following certificate:

We certify that, at the request of the Hon. Richard B. Connolly, Comptroller of the City of New York, we have made an examination of the affairs of the Finance Department and Sinking Fund of said city; that the entire office was thrown open to us, and all the account books, securities and records of the said department and Sinking Fund were submitted to our inspection and examination. . . . And we further certify that the account books of the department are faithfully kept; that we have personally examined the securities of the department and Sinking Fund, and find them correct. We have come to the conclusion and certify that the financial affairs of the city, under the charge of the Comptroller, are administered in a correct and faithful manner.

Dated New York, November 1, 1870.

(Signed)

MOSES TAYLOR,
E. D. BROWN,
J. J. ASTOR,
GEORGE K. SISTARE,
EDWARD SCHELL,
MARSHALL O. ROBERTS.

These names represent the foremost financial interests of their time, and no group of men could have been selected more likely to command the confidence of the people of New York. Yet, at the very time they certified to the correctness of the Comptroller's books, those records contained the evidence of direct thefts amounting to about twelve millions of dollars, while the testimony they bore to indirect stealing was equivalent to many millions more.

Entering the Comptroller's office without pledge or obligation, save to his own conscience, and to the Constitution and laws he bound himself to maintain, Mr. Green found, as has been already noted, that the tax levy of 1871 was entirely exhausted, the accounts overdrawn, and that no provision had been made to meet either the revenue bonds of the city, then rapidly maturing, or the salaries of thousands of employees on the city payrolls. Every dollar had been extracted from the treasury before the collapse; the city had virtually suspended payment; its credit had been fatally weakened, and, had no change of adminis-

tration been effected, municipal business must necessarily have been brought to a standstill.

The work of investigation, which brought down on the head of Comptroller Green the wrath of every dishonest creditor of the city, necessarily went hand in hand with the work of reconstruction. Of course, the practices which were brought to light did not all partake of the character of downright robbery, but there were long sanctioned abuses of public confidence which were only less open to censure and hardly less costly. For example, it had become a conviction that the lighting of the public streets was to be paid for at higher rates than those which the gas companies exacted from private customers. The companies, it appeared, charged for the lighting of 18,397 street lamps, burning during ten months of 1871, \$841,036.41. The Comptroller directed that the city be divided into districts, and every lamp counted from Kingsbridge to the Battery. The result was that a difference of 235 was found between the number existing and the number charged. It was also reported that 339 private lamps lighted at public expense were found decorating the house fronts of prominent politicians, adorning the entrance to political clubs, hotels, saloons, and oyster houses, while others were used to advertise quack medicines and places of amusement. Mr. Green contended that the lighting of these lamps was a fraud upon the city, and that, although the authority to use them for private purposes was in most cases derived from the action of the Common Council, the gas companies themselves had a responsibility in the matter which they should not have shirked. The examiners also ascertained the quantity of gas consumed by each street lamp. Taking the rate at which the several companies charged their private consumers as a standard for the city's consumption, a reduction was effected on the bills for lighting the streets and parks of \$237,234.44.

All the gas companies except one — the Manhattan — accepted Mr. Green's terms, and this latter brought suit to obtain through the courts the amount originally claimed. On trial of the case the court allowed the company \$45 per lamp, instead of \$53, and the sum of \$63,000 was thus saved to the city. Mr. Green made the following reference to this subject in the report which

he made in response to the resolutions of the Board of Aldermen on February 18, 1875: "It is quite natural that the shareholders in these gas companies who have been in the habit of receiving from 30 to 50 per cent. per annum in dividends should consider the Comptroller an obstructionist. I presume, however, taxpayers will not object to the sort of obstruction which has effected a reduction in the cost of lighting the streets of the city, as shown by the following comparison of prices charged per lamp as between 1871 and 1874:

Company	1871	1874
Manhattan Gaslight Co.	\$53	\$33
New York	45	33
Metropolitan	53	39
Harlem	53	39
N. Y. Mutual	35

In 1871 the cost of gas to the city was about one million dollars; in 1874 it was less than two thirds of that amount.

Nor should it be forgotten that the struggle in Albany against the forces of misgovernment, extravagance, and corruption was quite as strenuous as it was in New York. It required all the shrewdness, courage, and determination which could be supplied not only on the part of Mr. Green, but by Mr. Tilden, Mayor Havemeyer, Governor Dix and other leaders in the cause of good government to defeat the schemes of the combination of able counsel, a skilled lobby, and legislators hungry for bribes to impose new burdens on the taxpayers of New York for the benefit of the special interests who were ready to pay them. An act for which Comptroller Green was bitterly and persistently assailed by the organs of disappointed claimants for favorable legislation was his appointment of Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins to act as counsel before the Legislature in the winter and spring of 1873 in regard to certain bills affecting the debt, the taxes and the liabilities of the city and county of New York. The retaining of Mr. Hawkins was entirely in accordance with Section 40 of the Charter of 1870, and an appropriation had previously been made for such employment of counsel outside the official organization of the Law Department of the city. The results more than justified the expenditure.

Tweed rule in Albany had left a deficit in the State Treasury of \$6,600,000, of which the City of New York was called upon to raise by tax in 1873 over \$3,800,000, unless other provision should be made for meeting the deficit until the State could provide the means of raising the money. The Comptroller's plan was so to legislate that the State at large should be required to make up this deficit instead of throwing it at once upon the city. Since the raising of over a million and a half dollars to pay a part of the cost of sinking the Harlem Railroad tracks could readily be deferred, and since it was possible to save three millions by revision of the tax levy which had been fixed under Mayor Hall, it was entirely possible to reduce the taxes of 1873 by at least six millions of dollars, and an act, prepared under instructions from Comptroller Green was passed for that purpose. But the interests which the Comptroller represented, although they were those of the public at large, had a host of enemies in the Legislature, and it was eminently necessary that the information needed for their advocacy should be promptly at the disposal of men who had no sinister purposes to serve at Albany. Then, on March 1, 1873, assessments amounting to over five millions of dollars for Riverside Park had to be paid so that the city might redeem the bonds issued to pay for the land. Some property owners had turned in their share, but others, who owed \$3,000,000 of assessments, asked from the Legislature a stay law allowing them to keep the money for another three years by paying interest at 7 per cent., instead of the 12 per cent. imposed by existing law. Back of this proceeding, there was the expectation that the delay might enable the property owners to discover some flaw in the proceedings and have the assessments vacated. As money was then worth about 7 per cent., the delay would have involved practically no risk of loss to those taking advantage of it, while the city would have had to pay from the proceeds of general taxation the bonds falling due for the improvement. The bill which was drawn to effect this result passed the Assembly without objection, but Mr. Hawkins, instructed by Mr. Green, went before the Senate committee, explained the real intent and effect of the bill, and caused its defeat. The city was thus

saved from a certain loss of \$75,000 of interest, and a possible loss of a large proportion of the \$3,000,000 of principal. The fate of the newspaper claims bill has already been referred to, and its defeat which involved a saving to the city of least at \$1,500,000 was largely due to the strenuous efforts which Mr. Hawkins made on behalf of the Comptroller, with the assistance of men in both houses who could neither be bullied nor bribed, to delay the bill until the end of the session.

But perhaps the most impudent of all the legislative "strikes" which were defeated through the efforts of the Comptroller's representative at Albany, appeared in the form of an innocent looking bill dealing with local improvements. When it emerged from the Assembly committee, everything was changed but its title, and the bill proved to be an attempt to legalize a long list of the old Tweed Ring wooden pavement ordinances of the Common Council and contracts already condemned by the courts, with a special provision for forcing the money out of the treasury by writ of mandamus as fast as bonds could be sold to raise it. Twenty miles of streets were covered by this proposed act, and contracts were authorized to be awarded without publicity or competition. So skilfully was it drawn that none save an expert in city affairs could suspect that it could cost the city at least \$3,000,000. All the influence and craft of the lobby was behind it, and it went through the Assembly late one evening without reading or debate, most members supposing that it was a bill they had already examined, for which this particular measure had been substituted. The next morning it was taken up in the Senate, out of its order, and the chairman of the Senate committee on Cities attempted to force it through that body before its true character could be discovered. Instructed by Comptroller Green, Mr. Hawkins directed attention to the true purpose of this iniquitous bill, and after a severe struggle in the Assembly, the bill was recalled by the Speaker. It was stated by one of the lobby that \$250,000 could be commanded if need be to secure the passage of the bill, and it again passed the Assembly, notwithstanding the proofs of its true character and objects which were submitted on behalf of Comptroller Green. Then the fight was renewed in the Senate, the agents

of corruption pushing the measure with absolute shamelessness and sheer desperation, while the friends of honest Government presented a determined opposition. The fact that the bill was defeated in the Senate by only one vote showed the strength of the influences against which Mr. Green and his friends triumphed, and in spite of which at least three millions were saved to the city.

The Albany lobby was also interested in the promotion of a bill to take \$2,500,000 out of the city treasury, and invest it in the capital stock of an exhibition company, where it could have easily been wiped out by the foreclosure of a mortgage. This proposal was defeated mainly through the efforts of the Comptroller. Still another raid on the city treasury which was rendered futile by the efforts of Mr. Green and Mr. Hawkins took the form of an amendment to the deficiency bill that would compel the payment of between one and two millions of old Ring claims for stationery and similar supplies which, with little or no real warrant, had been charged to the city. Balked of their expected booty, jobbers, lobbyists and corrupt legislators sought to avenge themselves by obstructing measures necessary for the welfare of this city, and introduced at the instance of the Comptroller. Fortunately, as little came of these tactics as had come from the attempted raids on the city treasury, and the session closed with a satisfactory balance on the side of the interests which Comptroller Green had to defend.

As has been already pointed out, the movement in favor of administrative reform which swept the state in 1874, was a natural sequel to the uprising against the Tweed Ring in the fall of 1871. When Mr. Tilden's discomfiture of the Canal Ring and the unbending integrity of his administration as governor made him the logical candidate of his party for President in 1876, it seemed as if the forces of reform were once more in the ascendant. One indication of this was found in the fact that very early in the Legislative session of 1876 the Assembly passed a resolution requesting Comptroller Green to furnish it with facts and recommendations calculated to facilitate a reduction of the municipal expenses of the City of New York. In replying to this request, in a document dated February 23,

1876, Mr. Green said that he had devoted as much time as the requirements of current business would permit to a study of the subject of a somewhat more comprehensive kind than the resolution called for. He had done so because, in his judgment the designation of individual cases of extravagant compensation and expenditure would fail to reach the objects proposed. He pointed out that a consideration of the distribution of the powers of city administration was almost indispensable to an appreciation of the real needs of the municipality if the spirit of the Assembly resolutions were to be complied with. The great political and property interests of the City of New York are committed to the management of a corporation which acts through its agents under divers names. Its powers, duties, and functions, broad, varied and responsible, are exercised by executive and legislative agents or officials. These powers are, for the most part, executive, having for their object the transaction of business in which the community is concerned; and, like any other business, its successful conduct requires honesty, good judgment, and experience.

As a fundamental proposition, Mr. Green went on to say that the city wants agents who will attend to its business faithfully; who will promote and defend its interests, study its needs, foster its development, attend to the convenience of its people, devise the least oppressive sources of revenue, harvest and protect those revenues and lessen taxes and debts. It does not want agents who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the treasury they are paid to protect — quartering their relatives upon the taxpayers, or pushing their selfish political schemes, regardless of the city's welfare. The city cannot long exist with every man's hand against its treasury. It must find somewhere, resolute defenders. Whatever of public esteem comes from long, faithful and self-denying public service, is the object of legitimate and proper ambition, and from this source should officials expect their chief recompense.

Passing from this counsel of perfection to a consideration of existing conditions, Mr. Green said it was undeniable that multitudes of the retainers of well-known political organizations had been billeted for years upon the treasury of the city. It was

equally well known that their influence had been most demoralizing in its effect upon the public service. He held it to be certain that as soon as enough of these retainers were cudged from their accustomed source of nutriment the organizations they served must fall to pieces. These organizations had overawed and influenced the entire official activity of the city; their creatures had been elevated to conspicuous judicial, legislative and executive office whose occupancy they had put to nefarious uses. Appointments were demanded at the insulting dictation of political bosses and committees whose rule was perpetuated and sustained by assessments on the compensation of the officials whose appointments they were instrumental in securing. One way to facilitate the reduction of municipal salaries was to abate all such influences and agencies.

In considering the subject of the compensation of those employed in the public service, Mr. Green held that these fundamental principles should be recognized: (1) That every officer and employee should be paid, as compensation in full a fixed specific sum, and only in special cases be allowed to appropriate to his own use any fees, perquisites, commissions or extra emoluments whatever for the performance of any duty or service connected with his office. (2) That where any fees, fines, penalties, percentages, commissions or payment whatever are made to any officer or employee of the city government, or attached to the courts, they should be first accounted for and paid directly into the city treasury, even in those cases where the officer is authorized ultimately to receive the fees. This is essential to insure systematic, correct and complete accounts. Without this, it would be impossible to present clear, full, and intelligent statements of the transactions of the city at the end of the year, or to determine who was overpaid at the expense of the people, and how much. It would also be a valuable aid to the detection and prevention of efforts at bribery and fraud.

Any one at all familiar with the municipal legislation of the last thirty years, will recognize how clearly Mr. Green outlined reforms which have been slowly extorted from the legislature in the teeth of the opposition of the professional politicians.

The evils of political place-holding are very far from being extirpated, but it is safe to say that the struggle which has been made against them would have been much less effectual but for the initiative of Andrew H. Green. The New York with which he had to deal as Comptroller was a very different city from that which he first served as Commissioner of Education. Within fifteen years the cost of its government had grown from \$10,140,358 to \$34,904,395. Within that period the population had grown about 25 per cent., and while it was natural that municipal expenses should increase, an increase of 350 per cent. was clearly abnormal. The immense increase of expenditure in so short a period had a partial justification in the enhanced values occasioned by the war and the consequent lessening of the purchasing power of a dollar. A large portion of it, as Mr. Green pointed out was, however, fairly attributable to the extravagance, waste, and dishonesty consequent upon political organizations formed by the combination of persons who make politics and place-getting a trade, to the weakening and crippling of all honest administration.

This document was the last analysis which Mr. Green had occasion to make of the business activities of the city government, and slight as its immediate results appear to have been, it remained at least as guide for succeeding reformers and a model of candid and fearless treatment of a subject which had been long obscured by considerations entirely foreign to the interests of the people of New York which, in theory at least, it was the primary duty of the city government to conserve.

CHAPTER XV

THE WIDE SCOPE OF MR. GREEN'S POLICY OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT — BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS OF MUNICIPAL CONSOLIDATION — THE EARLY MOVEMENT FOR A GREATER NEW YORK — MR. GREEN'S PIONEER WORK — THE COMMISSION OF 1890 — DISARMING THE OPPOSITION OF BROOKLYN

IN THE midst of the engrossing responsibilities and unceasing worry of the Comptroller's office, Mr. Green never lost sight of the subject that was nearest to his heart — the plans which as Comptroller of Central Park he had worked out for the congruous development of the public improvements of the city, present and future. He retained his place on the Park Board after his acceptance of the position of Deputy-Comptroller, and on the retirement of Peter B. Sweeny and Henry Hilton, and the appointment of Henry G. Stebbins and Frederick E. Church in their places, he and Mr. Stebbins set about the work of reorganizing the Board and restoring the methods of administration which had been so fatally interrupted during the period of Ring rule. Reorganization was duly effected at a meeting held on November 23, 1871, at which Mr. Green was elected treasurer. This honor he declined, but continued to hold the position of Park Commissioner until May 1, 1873. After his official connection with the Board had terminated, he was the active promoter and organizer of the movement which brought into existence in their present forms the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Natural History, and the Zoölogical Gardens.

In September, 1874, Mr. Green addressed a communication to Mr. William A. Booth and others setting forth at some length his position in regard to public improvements in the City of New York. He began by a reference to the removal of the

Central Park Commissioners from office under the Charter of 1870 and the transfer to the Ring of the management of all the works that this commission had planned and fostered, and which up to the time of its transfer, had been kept free from the malign influences that controlled the rest of the city government. For the succeeding eighteen months, under Sweeny, Hilton, and Fields, with their subordinates, these works had been carried on according to the same demoralized methods which characterized the conduct of all other public improvements in the city. He recalled the fact that when he took office as Comptroller, the schemes of plunder which had been grafted on the works planned by the Park Commissioners were just about ripening, and it fell to his lot to provide the funds for what were originally beneficial projects but which in Ring hands had been made the occasion of extravagance and jobbery. When the work of the old Park Board was, in 1871, taken away from the Ring and restored to the hands of some of its original members, no time was lost by the schemers of the local party machines who still controlled the Legislature, in stripping them of a very large portion of their powers for the benefit of the Department of Public Works. By a clause surreptitiously inserted in a bill introduced into the Legislature of 1872, under a title referring to the conduct of work in connection with the Croton Water Bureau, the Department of Parks was suddenly deprived of all control over the avenues and boulevards above Fifty-ninth Street, and powers of a deliberative and legislative character which were involved in that control were transferred from a Board composed of intelligent and able men to one individual who was entirely without experience in such affairs, and whose exercise of such authority was directly contrary both to the spirit of the law and the interests of the community.

The communication referred to went on to discuss what are the demands of an enlightened public policy in the future. Mr. Green found it hardly necessary to state that he was then and always had been in favor of the prosecution of public improvements, when they could be carried out with proper economy and were clearly necessary for public convenience and comfort. He recited as subjects which had engaged his study and advocacy

during many years of public life, the devising of a plan for laying out the upper part of the city, and its development in harmony with that of the lower part of Westchester County, the improvement of the navigation of Harlem River, the fixing of bulkhead lines round half the island, and the question of connecting the city, by tunnels and bridges, with Westchester on one side and Long Island on the other.

Very early in his connection with the old Park Board, Mr. Green became impressed with the necessity of projecting public improvements with reference to the needs of a much larger city than that which could be confined to Manhattan Island. On December 30, 1868, he made a voluminous report on the general subject, and pointed out that the ancient boundaries of the City of New York extend to low-water mark on its opposite and surrounding shores, thus giving the municipality territorial jurisdiction over the adjacent rivers. But serious disputes had arisen with the State of New Jersey over the exercise of this authority, and much trouble had arisen with Brooklyn in regard to jurisdiction at her wharves and the control of the ferries to Long Island. It was quite clear to his mind that the laying out of roads and bridges, and the apportioning of expenditures for great works built in the interest of both counties and of the whole public should be taken out of the petty squabbles of smaller jurisdictions, and left to the determination of somebody endowed with comprehensive powers and capable of dealing with these subjects, not in the interest of New York or of Westchester alone, but in that of both, and of the convenience of the entire public. The inconveniences arising from the existing diversity of legislative, judicial and executive functions, and of officers that had a patched and piecemeal jurisdiction over diverse portions of the territory that might roughly be classed as metropolitan, had led to the extension of the powers of the Police and Health Board, not only over New York and Westchester, but over Kings and Richmond counties, although at the different ends of every bridge then existing over the Harlem, the police were required to enforce different excise regulations.

By 1874 the incorporation of the lower part of Westchester County, which formed an essential part of the plans of the first

Board of Commissioners of Central Park, was an accomplished fact. By this first step toward consolidation, there were added to the 14,000 acres of the city below the Harlem River, 12,000 acres above it. Mr. Green strenuously contended that such a connection was designed to exist otherwise than on paper. But while eight broad avenues had been worked to the Harlem River, the means of crossing it to the new part of the city had, at the date of his communication to Mr. Booth failed to receive attention. A distance of one mile and a half separated the Third Avenue Bridge from the next bridge to it at McComb's Dam; from this to the next, the Farmer's Bridge — a distance of three miles — there was no provision whatever for carriage-crossing. The Third Avenue Bridge, a structure erected at great cost, was already falling out of repair, and the draw was worked with great difficulty. The bridge at McComb's Dam, daily required to carry an enormous travel and traffic, was rapidly becoming more unsafe, and would not last until another structure could be provided to take its place. The elevated ground between the high service water tower and Fort George remained as inaccessible from Westchester County as it was when De Witt Clinton and his colleagues thought the planting of human habitations on these rugged slopes a dream which it would take centuries to realize.

Mr. Green never wearied in reminding his fellow-citizens that no populous district of this continent presented such a combination of natural beauties as was to be found around Manhattan Island and its adjacent shores. He held that to link these together, to make them easy of access, and to place them in such a setting as may best befit them, is a work no less worthy of the highest ability which can be pressed into the public service than the proper development of New York's unrivaled facilities for commercial intercourse.

He reiterated in 1874 the belief that he had expressed, eight years earlier, that the municipal union of New York and Brooklyn was only a question of time, and he considered it to be no mere flight of fancy to look forward to the traffic between the two cities requiring a good many more bridges than one. The idea of consolidating into one great municipality the counties

within the Metropolitan area was not original with Mr. Green, but it was he who gave it life and invested it with reality, and from his commanding personality it derived the kind of force needed to translate it into fact. No other public man, and indeed no other citizen of New York, made the conception so emphatically his own, adhered to it with such tenacity, or worked out the details on its execution with such painstaking care. By general consent he has been declared to be the "Father of the Greater New York," but not many, even of those who worked with him, were in a position to appreciate how hard was the toil and how discouraging the obstacles that preceded the final attainment of consolidation.

When Brooklyn first applied to the Legislature for a city charter, the application was denied because the Legislature took the view, urged by New York, that the annexation of Kings to Manhattan was manifest destiny, and that in retarding that consummation the granting of a city charter for Brooklyn would be adverse to the best interests of both communities. In 1833, the fight was vigorously renewed by the Kings County representatives in the Legislature. They succeeded in having a bill to incorporate the City of Brooklyn passed in the Assembly, only, however, to be beaten in the Senate. In the following year the Brooklyn politicians, backed by a public sentiment which did not favor continuance under a village government, entered the field again more determined than ever to secure a city charter. As before, the chief opposition came from New York, and a special committee of the Common Council of this city made a report, on January 30th, to the effect that the limits of the City of New York ought to embrace the whole of the counties of Kings and Richmond; that separate city governments for New York and Brooklyn could not fail to have an unfavorable influence on the progress of both communities, and that the time was not far distant when a population of two millions would be contained within the limits of the three counties. Notwithstanding this, and other forms of opposition, the city charter for Brooklyn became a law on April 8, 1834, thereby postponing consolidation for over sixty years.

The agitation for municipal union did not, however, altogether

cease, and, curiously enough, the next notable proposal in favor of uniting New York and Brooklyn came from Kings County. In 1856 Mr. Cyrus P. Smith, then a State Senator from Kings, introduced a resolution looking toward consolidation. While public opinion in New York favored the proposal, there came from Brooklyn, and especially from Brooklyn officials, the most vehement opposition ostensibly based on feelings of local patriotism and civic pride. But little regard was paid to either in the passage of the Metropolitan Police and Excise Acts, supplemented by similar legislation in regard to the Fire and Health departments of the two cities in 1857. These acts remained in force until April 5, 1870, and it was the Tweed Charter backed by a shallow pretence of restoring home rule to New York that again put back the process of consolidation by giving each city control of its own affairs. Meanwhile Mr. Green had begun in earnest the work of educating the communities forming the Metropolitan district into a perception of the absurdity of perpetuating the divided political jurisdiction under which they lived. Reference has already been made to his report to the Park Board on December 30, 1868, in which the argument of a previous report was taken up and amplified by directing attention "to the important subject of bringing the City of New York and Kings County, a part of Westchester County, and a part of Queens and Richmond, including the various suburbs of the city, within a certain radial distance from the centre, under one common municipal government, to be arranged in departments, under a single executive head." With this document, the consolidation movement which had to wait for its full fruition for twenty-eight years really began.

Mr. Green was careful to base his arguments solely on grounds of public utility. He desired it to be expressly noted that his communication to the Park Commission dealt simply with works of a physical, material character, in which the Metropolitan counties had a common interest—such an interest, present and future, as would be fostered by unity of development. These works were the water supply, the sewerage, the navigation of the interjacent waters, the means of crossing these waters, and the land ways that should be provided on each side so as

to insure the best facilities for both. He said that nothing was included in this communication that would not be more wisely and better planned and executed by a single authority, and nothing that proposed any present change in political jurisdiction, or that was calculated to disturb the functions or privileges of any existing officer or officers. The location, building, and maintenance of bridges or tunnels across or under the river, the improvement of navigation and the proportion of expense to be borne by the property benefitted could scarcely be adjudicated by independent political corporations, and the time that would be lost in conferences or litigations, and in efforts of the representatives of each city or county to throw an undue portion of expense on the other, would be detrimental to the interests of all concerned.

Mr. Green went on to argue that if the convenient administration of the laws of these adjacent counties had required the exercise of a united authority in certain departments, it should not be found difficult in the case of clearer necessity for unity in the planning and building of these material works to secure the agencies that would promote such unity in a way entirely acceptable to the people of both counties. Although the advantages to accrue from a consolidation of a portion of Westchester with New York and Brooklyn into one municipality, with one executive head, would force itself upon the mind, yet all that was suggested or required for the proper conduct of the material works which he had enumerated might be gained without consolidation. His purpose was to do no more than direct attention to the important subject of bringing the City of New York and Kings County, a part of Westchester County, and a part of Queens and Richmond, including the immediate suburbs of the city under one common municipal government. He remarked that it would not be difficult to present reasons for such a territorial consolidation which would increase in cogency with the growth of population, and as facilities for intercommunication were developed to meet the demand for local transit. More than one and a half million of people were then included within the area of New York and its immediate neighborhood all drawing sustenance from the commerce of the metropolis,

while many of them contributed but little toward the support of its government. The area which could be readily described of convenient distances from the centre would comprehend within its limits the residence as well as the place of business of most of its population, thus resolving the question of taxation of non-residents which in those days was already a disturbing one. It was eminently characteristic of the sober-minded methods of Mr. Green that he declared it to be best at the outset to disturb only a few existing officials; their offices should be allowed to expire with time and with the general conviction that they were not wanted, all purely political questions and jurisdictions might remain for a time undisturbed. His idea was in short, gradually to bring without shock or conflict, the whole territory under uniform government.

He asked, with a degree of conviction, which sounded quite otherwise than it did a quarter of a century later, whether any one could doubt that this question would force itself upon the public attention at no very distant period? Ingenuity was even then taxed to devise methods of carrying people from the suburbs to the centre, and the relations of the city with the suburbs were daily becoming more direct and immediate. Plans had already been matured to unite Brooklyn with New York by two magnificent bridges, which were but to be the precursors of others, and which were to supplement the accommodations of the already overtaxed ferries. An adequate system of communication was already projected to connect the extensive parks that both municipalities were then engaged in the adorning. Westchester was demanding ways to transmit its population to the city; Richmond County by its ferries and railways was exerting itself in the same direction. Briefly, all progress pointed, at least as Mr. Green saw it, toward eventual consolidation and unity of administration. It was obvious to him, if it were to no one else, that the disadvantage of an incongruous and disjointed authority over communities that were striving by all material methods that the skill of man could devise, to become one, would become more and more apparent and the small jealousies and petty interests that sought to keep them apart would be less and less effectual.

Mr. Green had to wait for twenty years before his scheme of consolidation, which had come to be known as "Green's hobby," became a vital public issue. In the *New York Times* of March 11, 1889, the fact that it had emerged into the position of being the question of the hour was thus recognized: "Mr. Green's original idea and the one to which he still adheres is that New York City should be extended from its existing Northern boundary into Westchester County, taking in the town of Pelham, that part embracing the land set apart for the new Pelham Bay Park, from its eastern boundary, taking in all of Kings County, and parts of Queens, including the towns of Flushing, Hempstead, and all others lying between them and the East River, and from its southern boundary, taking in Staten Island and all of Richmond County. Part of the plan as proposed by Mr. Green is the abolishing of the present system of local government, and the establishment of what he calls 'a local Legislature,' which body should be invested with greater powers than those given to the present Board of Aldermen, and which would be able to deal directly with some of those questions affecting the city which are now disposed of at Albany." In the same year, 1889, Assemblyman Ernest H. Crosby introduced to the Legislature a bill submitted by Mr. Green, providing for a commission whose members should be appointed by the Mayors and other local authorities of the communities interested, to inquire into the subject of consolidation. The bill, although it had the support of many of the most influential members of both Houses, failed to become a law, mainly because of the opposition from Brooklyn. The declared reasons for this opposition were mostly sentimental, but they were really based on the apprehensions of local office-holders and others who feared that the merging of Brooklyn and New York would deprive them of their hold on the local treasury.

But Mr. Green was not the man to submit to a temporary repulse. In 1890 he addressed a memorial to the Legislature reproduced in the appendix of this volume, which has been rightly characterized as having no superior among public documents "for concise and impressive statement of facts, for unanswerable and irresistible logic, for charm and purity of

diction, and elevation of thought combined with breadth of foresight." So far from being discouraged by the failure of the bill of 1889, creating a commission to inquire into the expediency of enlarging the area of the City of New York, Mr. Green hailed its passage in the Assembly and its progress up to the stage of third reading in the Senate, as warranting the belief that popular sentiment was keeping step with the swift material tendencies of closer approximation of borders, assimilation of peoples, and identification of interests toward speedy and inevitable consolidation. The movement had attained sufficient impetus to make it possible to say that the question, which faced the people of the Metropolitan district, was not whether they should be drawn into closer union, but how and upon what basis such union could best be established. Those who looked upon the bill with apprehension as the first step in the development of a new policy, and in the line of movement ending in consolidation, were warned by Mr. Green that it was too late to take counsel from such misgivings. It was not a question of policy or of plans that was before them, but of progress of the law of evolution, "no less natural or inevitable than the meeting of waters which, fed by inexhaustible streams, first finding lodgment in separate places among various depressions of the surface, but rising higher with the growing inflow, surmount the barriers of division, and become one."

From the very beginning of this discussion, Mr. Green laid stress on a fact which is still but imperfectly apprehended by engineering authorities who suggest improvements in the transportation facilities of the Port of New York. That was that the waters of New York Harbor are not barriers or divisional lines, but a common highway and a bond of union. To use his own words: "Though geographically separating them, commercially and socially these waterways and natural canals really unite all the municipalities, and it is a perversion of thought and policy to regard these bonds of union as symbols of division, and to find in the paths by which we are united the lines by which we are all separated."

He was equally in advance of the public opinion of his time in clearly discerning how, actuated by selfish motives, all interests

tend to consolidation and trusts. Written to-day the following sentence would have the familiar ring of the voice of many orators, but, twenty years ago, it embodied a sentiment far less familiar and less acceptable: "The only interest which refrains (from consolidation), is that of our unselfish, thoughtless peoples and their fatuous municipalities, which in broken form carry on desultory and futile war against the organized forces of relentless and absentee capitalism resident in Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans, London, Paris, or Frankfort, voting by proxy or loaned stock in secret corporate directory, and determining for us what we shall do with our own, or whether it shall be our own; taking from us the meat of butchered freedom and leaving us the skin and bones to be taxidermed into living semblance and imposed upon our many-headed municipalities as life, form, and substance of true, original, heaven-born liberty, for our various Mayors, Supervisors and Councilmen with their henchmen and heelers to apostrophize and adore." It was no new conviction with him that popular right was still subordinated to the corporate power. He had it in the seventies, and later experience and observation had only served to confirm it. He had seen the great railroad corporations making their approaches on cities and villages without question of lines, of terms, of methods of operation, or public interest to be promoted, or of restoring at the dictates of public health and convenience surfaces which their embankments and excavations had thrown out of relation. "Ignoring city plots, grades, or topographical outline which mark adaptations to other business than their own, they force their way through, above, below, or around, as cheap instinct may best prompt, forecasting lines of abnormal development or desolation."

Dealing with the local opposition of Brooklyn, he referred to what that city had done in constructing mainly at her own expense the bridge across the East River and in planning other bridges, tunnels, and new ferries to make the merger more complete. Reviewing what Brooklyn had done, and deliberately designed to do, in her efforts to establish closer and more complete relations with New York, he deemed it pertinent to inquire if the attitude of political separation maintained by her had

promoted or retarded the work. Even in New York, misgivings were expressed in regard to the doctrine of consolidation, although the city was at the same time pursuing a policy which recognized and promoted it. Mr. Green was unquestionably right in his belief that the strength of opinion adverse to union resided in the official class, in politicians and office-holders. On both sides of the river, these apprehended diminution of their number and some diminution of their influence under the change. His comment on this was the eminently characteristic one that by weakling aspirants to public honor this fear may well be entertained, but it should inspire no concern in stronger natures who would find in larger fields ample reward and fame. He concluded by pointing out in phrases of obvious prescience the bearing of the whole question on the improvement of government of great cities which was nowhere else brought so conspicuously into trial as in the single commonwealth of divided municipalities which he was addressing. He insisted that great as were the interests of his fellow-citizens in the results, they were trivial in comparison with those which their example would affect throughout this country, the world, and history. He regarded it as no exaggeration to say that they owed it to themselves, to all their countrymen, and perhaps even to mankind, to eliminate from the test of popular institutions then proceeding all unnecessary factors of disturbance, "and allow the principle of self-government fair dispositions for acquittal against the incompetencies which by factitious conditions of multiplicity of governments in the same sphere have heretofore made it subject of reproach."

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONSOLIDATION COMMISSION AT WORK — THE APPEAL TO
THE ELECTORS OF THE PROPOSED GREATER CITY — CONDI-
TIONS OF CONSOLIDATION — THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
ADVERSE INFLUENCES IN THE LEGISLATURE — THE
GREATER CITY CHARTER OF 1897 — PRESEN-
TATION OF THE COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL

CHIEFLY owing to the efforts of Mr. Green, the Legislature passed and Governor David B. Hill signed, on May 8, 1890, "An act to create a commission to inquire into the expediency of consolidating the various municipalities in the State of New York occupying the several islands in the harbor of New York," which became Chapter 311 of the Laws of 1890. The act provided for the appointment by the Governor of six persons, who, with the state engineer and surveyor, and one person to be designated by the Mayor of New York, the Mayor of Brooklyn, and the boards of supervisors of Westchester, Queens, Kings, and Richmond counties respectively, should be commissioners to inquire into the expediency of the consolidation described in the title of the act, and who should report from time to time their conclusions to the Legislature. The commissioners were authorized to appoint a president, vice-president, and secretary, and to employ such persons as they might deem necessary, to gather such information and prepare such maps as might be needed to present their views intelligently, and to submit such bills as they might deem expedient. They were to receive no compensation for their services, and were not to be pecuniarily interested in any work or contract concerning their duty under the act and they were to incur no obligations beyond the stated sum of \$5,000 which was to be provided by the board of apportionment of the City of New York.

The commissioners of inquiry appointed under this act were: John Bogart, of New York City, State Engineer; John H.

Brinckerhoff, of Queens County; George R. Cathcart, of New York City; Frederic W. Devoe, of New York City; Andrew H. Green, of New York City; George William Curtis, of Richmond County; John L. Hamilton, of New York City; Edward F. Linton, of Brooklyn; Charles P. McClelland, of Westchester County; J. S. T. Stranahan, of Brooklyn; Calvert Vaux, of New York City; and William D. Veeder of Brooklyn. Mr. Curtis declined the appointment and Mr. McClelland did not act. The commission organized by the election of Mr. Green as president, Mr. Stranahan as vice-president, and William P. Rodgers as secretary. On the death of Mr. Rodgers in 1891 Albert E. Henschel was elected secretary of the commission. During the year 1891, the commission made considerable progress in planning out the details of consolidation. It held frequent meetings for consultation and action, accumulated much information, and listened to the views of delegations from the several sections of the proposed greater city. Coming together with different opinions in regard to the subject in hand which were freely expressed and considered, the members of the commission reached a practically unanimous conclusion in favor of consolidation. On March 22, 1891, the commission requested Mr. Green to prepare the draft of a bill to be submitted to the Legislature, which he reported on April 6th. This bill was sent up to Albany and was introduced simultaneously in the two chambers on April 7th, but for a variety of reasons it made no progress, and was practically pigeonholed at the end of the session. The commissioners were, however, not discouraged by the failure of this bill, and active preparations were made for the resumption of aggressive work in the fall. Before the end of the year various other meetings had been held, and the progress of the movement was sensibly advanced.

The year 1892 found the commission ready to resume its work in the Legislature, and on Januray 18th, Mr. Green presented to the commission the draft of a bill providing a plan of consolidation. When this came up in the Assembly on March 15th, it was tabled after a somewhat turbulent struggle. The year 1893 found the consolidation inquiry commission still undaunted, and with a decided gain in the force of public senti-

ment on their side. On January 12th, the commission met and Mr. Green submitted his draft of a referendum bill whose object was to take the sense of the people of the various districts involved, each speaking for itself as to whether it desired consolidation. This bill was introduced in the Senate on January 25th and in the Assembly on January 31st, but was doomed to the same fate as its predecessors. It aroused the most violent opposition among the office-holding politicians of Brooklyn, although it was supported with great earnestness by many influential citizens. Two hundred of the latter chartered a special train, and on March 8, 1893, went to Albany, made speeches before the Legislature and asked for the passage of the bill. It failed of passage, nevertheless, in both Senate and Assembly.

But public sentiment was now fairly aroused, the influence of the Consolidation League formed in Brooklyn in 1893 began to make itself felt, members of the Senate and Assembly favorable to the greater city were elected, and circumstances favored the passage of the referendum bill which was reintroduced in 1894. On February 8th this measure passed the Assembly by a vote of 106 to 7; on February 27th it passed the Senate by a vote of 18 to 7, and the bill became a law by the signature of Governor Roswell P. Flower. On October 15, 1894, the commission issued an address signed by Andrew H. Green, president, and J. S. T. Stranahan, vice-president, to the electors resident in the area of the proposed greater city. After indicating the meaning of the proposed vote about which there had been some popular misapprehension, and explaining some of the advantages that might follow consolidation, the commission explained that municipal union meant no more than the formation of a partnership between an established and prosperous firm and the younger members of the family. It added: "The name of a great city is a tower of strength. There is no good reason why this community and the country should not have the benefit of such prestige. Magnitude is not a thing of vapory dimensions, but a solid, substantial and a determining factor, of which it would be folly to deny ourselves the advantage in important issues." The address closed with an appeal to vote, on Novem-

ber 6th, a ballot for consolidation, and asked for the active co-operation of those who had so long looked with high expectation for the establishment of a metropolis "that shall be illustrious among the cities of the world, the greatest, the best governed, the most picturesque, with all the attractions of city life that the genius of modern civilization can devise."

At the election of 1894 every municipality proposed by the commissioners for partnership in the greater city declared in its favor, with but two exceptions, the towns of Flushing and Westchester. The vote in the former of these was 1,144 for consolidation and 1,407 against, while in the latter there appeared a majority of one against consolidation. Taking the total vote throughout the area of the proposed greater city, there was registered the decided majority of 44,188 in favor of consolidation. Nor should the fact be ignored that in New York City where it was reasonably certain that a higher tax rate would follow consolidation, the vote in favor of it was 96,938 to 59,959 against it.

Immediately following this declaration of the will of the constituencies, the commission, on December 31, 1894, addressed to the Legislature of 1895 a memorial stating that the popular assent having been given to consolidation, it remained for the Legislature to determine the conditions upon which it should be effected. It was pointed out in this communication that the great diversity of civil jurisdictions already established by law within the area of the proposed greater city was but imperfectly understood. As things then existed, counties, towns, incorporated villages, school districts, officers and boards, with their varied powers and duties, wheels within wheels, issued their mandates, contracted debts, devised and executed each its own plans. It was remarked that were this complicated condition confined to the preservation of order, and to affairs not involving physical undertakings, the untoward consequences might pass away with the lapse of time. But when the numerous agencies thus engaged at cross purposes, were applied to the conduct of material works, it could be readily seen that the results, becoming fixed, were projected into the future to the continuous cost and discomfort of succeeding generations.

It was recognized to be a task of no ordinary dimensions to fuse these multifarious powers, duties, and functions into a unit of governmental control. To suspend or disturb the existing machinery of administration, would inevitably bring confusion and litigation. The problem was, therefore, to provide the means and methods for the transfer from existing conditions to others more simple and direct, without shock, injustice, or injury to persons or property. It was recognized that the discharge of such a task required the clearest forecast, the widest experience, and the most conscientious and painstaking application. What was immediately needed, in the judgment of the commission was the enactment of a simple declaration by the law-making authority, that the territory concerned, its people and its property, should thereafter be one city, under one government with one destiny; and the bill which the commission transmitted to the Legislature was framed in consonance with these views. It seemed too clear to admit of serious discussion that the administration of the affairs of the enlarged city should be conducted under the same corporate name, "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York." But there were three prominent conditions—debt, taxation, and valuation—whose final adjustment was open to discussion. The indebtedness of the divisions which it was proposed to unite differed widely, as did the rate of taxation and the percentage that the valuation for taxation bore to actual value. In the City of New York the debt of the city and county was practically the same; there was also but one rate of taxation and one standard for valuation. But in Brooklyn there were some forty-odd rates of taxation, each higher than that of New York, and there existed both a county and a city debt. However desirable it might be, it was obvious that the existing diversity in the financial affairs of the various municipalities could not at once be replaced by a less intricate system. This must be left to be adjusted by time and the provisions of future legislation, steadily directed toward the end that ultimately within the whole area of the greater city but one standard of valuation for taxation, one equal rate of taxation, and one debt-contracting authority only should exist.

The Commissioners were also of the opinion that among the earliest and most essential movements for the administration of the contemplated metropolitan municipality should be the constituting of an elective legislative body with adequate powers and jurisdiction to give it dignity, respect, and importance. They regarded this as a solid and the only permanent basis of local self-government. In this body the elected representatives of each locality should have a voice in the determination of the improvements to be made and the money expended in their respective districts, preserving local influence with ultimate central authority. The idea was that the latter should be relieved of administrative details when its intervention was not necessary, and that the local representatives should be entrusted with such duties as they could conveniently discharge, care being taken, in a phrase eminently characteristic of Mr. Green, "to respect the natural desire of the citizens of various localities for the preservation of memorials of historic achievements and local traditions."

After quoting the report of the British Royal Commission on the amalgamation of the City and County of London, the Commissioners said that in reading the pages of this document one could only feel an anxious desire that the unification of the cluster of municipalities about our Port might not be postponed to be entangled with increasing obstacles, but that the question might now be resolutely and disinterestedly met and settled. In a sentence which bears obvious marks of the authorship of Mr. Green, it was added: "With a climate that contributes and favors the beauties and the bounties that come with the ever-varying seasons, with a diversity of topography that responds to the amenities and the requirements of a great city, with a population of similar pursuits and interests, with capacious waters that bear to its marts the commerce of nations, nothing beyond the approval of the expressed wish of the electors by their representatives in the Legislature remains to insure the permanent establishment at this port of a city that shall in its institutions and its administration stand as a type and an example."

While the bill submitted by the commission to the Legislature did not pass, the fact was developed that to consolidation as a

general principle there was but little opposition. After several hearings on the bill it was amended so as to change the personnel of the commission, presumably in deference to the expressed views of the Governor. The bill was called up in the last days of the session and its passage prevented by the lack of the votes of two Senators. In the Assembly the vote was 80 in its favor and 32 against it. While the bill providing for a Greater New York failed to become a law in the session of 1895, an act was passed annexing to the City of New York all that part of Westchester County included in the plan of the commission, leaving the counties of Kings and Richmond and part of Queens still to be consolidated with New York.

Mr. Green kept up the struggle more vigorously than ever, and he did not hesitate to characterize the opposition to consolidation as it deserved. He spoke of the owners of some Brooklyn journals as possibly not unmindful of their own pecuniary interests, and not sufficiently careful to avoid misrepresentations. As holders of large municipal advertising contracts, they may be said to be in a position similar to that of the office-holding class who necessarily do not favor any undertaking likely to loosen their hold on their places. When Mr. Green was engaged in the task of purifying the city government of New York, and was the target for the opposition of the newspapers whose advertising bills he had ruthlessly cut down, the Brooklyn *Eagle* was one of his staunchest defenders, but when the work of reconstruction invaded the *Eagle's* own bailiwick it took quite a different view of his public activity and said, among other things: "Andrew H. Green is neither liked nor trusted by Brooklyn. Brooklyn does not believe that he means well or has done well or would do well by Brooklyn." Even that veteran citizen of Brooklyn, Mr. J. S. T. Stranahan, did not escape castigation because of his efforts "to efface the city," and of one other member of the commission the *Eagle* said that his knowledge of Brooklyn and Brooklyn's knowledge of him "could be expressed by a cipher on the forever diminishing side of a perpetually decreasing decimal."

Nevertheless, Mr. Green was unquestionably right in summing up the whole array of opposition to consolidation in Brooklyn

as a combination between the office-holding forces and "the weaknesses of a sort of senile sentimentalism that is really quite incapable of appreciating the changes that the lapse of time demands for the development of great, thriving communities, and which vainly strives to stay the wheels of beneficent progress by a display of flags and banners, the din of brass bands, and other claptrap, to capture the thoughtless and unwary." He added that it seemed trite to repeat the advantages which would accrue from the union of all the communities concerned, with their common interests and common destiny. Unity of plan of public works, the ultimate diminishing of the number of office-holders, facilities of communication—in short, all interests and economies, commercial and social, would be encouraged and greatly promoted by a united administration. Union was sure to come, and every year that it was postponed rendered its accomplishment more expensive and more troublesome. At that time London was again endeavoring to accomplish a union within its suburbs that had been under consideration for more than fifty years. Berlin was engaged in a similar work, and Mr. Green conjured the people of New York and of those areas that by common consent ought to form part of it, to avoid, by immediate action, the inevitable waste and embarrassments involved in further delay.

The consolidation movement received a considerable impetus by the passage on January 9, 1896, of a resolution introduced by Senator Clarence Lexow, providing that the Senate and Assembly committees on affairs of cities be constituted a joint committee to investigate and inquire into all the matters set forth in relation to questions of consolidation. This committee recommended the passage of a consolidation bill so amended as to provide for the appointment by the Governor of a new commission for drafting the charter, consisting of fifteen members of which the president of the inquiry commission (Mr. Green) and the Mayors of the cities of New York, Brooklyn, and Long Island City, the State Engineer and Surveyor and the Attorney-General should, ex-officio, be members. On February 25th the committee submitted the bill and report to both branches of the Legislature and the bill was passed in the following month.

On June 9, 1896, Governor Morton appointed the members of the charter commission provided for in addition to those mentioned in the act, and the whole commission was thus constituted as follows: Andrew H. Green, president of the inquiry commission; William L. Strong, Mayor of New York; Frederick W. Wurster, Mayor of Brooklyn; Patrick Jerome Gleason, Mayor of Long Island City; Campbell W. Adams, State Engineer and Surveyor; Theodore E. Hancock, Attorney-General; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; Seth Low, of New York; John F. Dillon, of New York; Ashbel P. Fitch, of New York; Stewart L. Woodford of Brooklyn; Silas B. Dutcher, of Brooklyn; William C. De Witt, of Brooklyn; George M. Pinney, Jr., of Staten Island, and Garret J. Garretson, of Jamaica, Queens County. Mr. Fitch did not qualify and Thomas F. Gilroy was appointed in his stead.

On February 19, 1897, the charter drafted by this commission was presented to the Legislature, and, having subsequently been passed, became a law by the Governor's signature on May 4, 1897. It took its place on the statute book under the designation of "Chapter 378, Laws of 1897," and it is entitled: "An act to unite into one municipality, under the corporate name of the City of New York, the various communities lying in and about New York harbor, including the City and County of New York, the City of Brooklyn and the County of Kings, the County of Richmond, and part of the County of Queens, and to provide for the government thereof." The territory thus indicated, whose exact boundaries were given in the body of the act after January 1, 1898, was to be known as the City of New York. The city thus constituted was divided into five boroughs, to be designated respectively: Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond. The Borough of Manhattan comprises that portion of the present City of New York known as Manhattan Island, also Governor's Island, Bedloe's Island, Ellis Island, Oyster Islands, together with Blackwell's Island, Randall's Island, and Ward's Island in the East and Harlem rivers. The Borough of the Bronx takes in all that portion of the City of New York lying northerly and easterly of the Borough of Manhattan between the Hudson and the East

rivers, or Long Island Sound, and including the several islands belonging to the municipal corporation of New York not included in the Borough of Manhattan. The Borough of Brooklyn consists of that portion then known as the City of Brooklyn. The Borough of Queens comprises that portion of Queens County included in the City of New York. The Borough of Richmond comprises the territory known as Richmond County, or Staten Island.

The new city came into being, and its officers took office on January 1, 1898. The first election for officers for the consolidated city was held on the 2d of November, 1897.

The area of this municipality is about 359 square miles, its population was 3,360,000. it contained 1,200 miles of streets exclusive of roads and public highways, and 700 miles of sewers; it contained about 167,000 buildings, of which 130,000 were used for residential purposes.

The legislative power of the enlarged City of New York was vested in two houses, known, respectively, as the Council and the Board of Aldermen, to be together styled "The Municipal Assembly of the City of New York." The Council contained twenty-nine members. The President of the Council was to be elected on a general ticket every four years, and was to act as Mayor during the Mayor's absence or disability, possessing all his powers except those of removal or appointment.

There were to be sixty Aldermen, one to be elected from each Assembly district of the City of New York and Brooklyn, one from Long Island City and Newtown, one from Jamaica, Flushing, and part of Hempstead, and one from those parts of the First and Second Assembly districts of Westchester County included in the Borough of the Bronx. The Board of Aldermen chooses its own president. The term of office for Aldermen was two years.

Each head of an administrative department of the city is entitled to a seat in the Board of Aldermen, and is required, whenever practicable, to attend the meetings of the Board. These executive officers have the right to participate in the discussions of the Board, but not the right to vote. If an administrative department is composed of more than one member

the president or presiding officer of the department is designated as the member entitled to sit in the Board of Aldermen. Every ex-Mayor of the City of New York, as constituted by the act of consolidation, is, so long as he remains a resident of the city, to be entitled to sit in the Council and to participate in its discussions, but will not be permitted to vote. It is expressly provided that "no ordinance or resolution providing for or contemplating the alienation or disposition of any property of this city, the granting of a franchise, terminating the lease of any property or franchise belonging to the city, or the making of any specific improvement, or the appropriation or expenditure of public moneys, or authorizing the incurring of any expense, or the taxing or assessing of property in the city, shall pass the Council or Board of Aldermen at the same session at which it was first offered, unless by unanimous consent; and the same shall not be finally passed or adopted by the Municipal Assembly until at least five days after an abstract of its provisions shall have been published." No member of the Municipal Assembly was during the term for which he is elected to be eligible or to be appointed to any other office under the city, nor was any member of that Assembly, while such, to be a contractor with or an employee of the city or of either branch of the Assembly in any capacity whatever.

A President for each Borough was chosen in the November election by the electors of each Borough, respectively. The term of office is four years. A President of a Borough may be removed by the Mayor on charges subject to the approval of the Governor of the State.

What may be called the executive control over public improvements was confided to a Board consisting of a President, the Mayor, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller, the Commissioner of Water Supply, the Commissioner of Highways, the Commissioner of Street Cleaning, the Commissioner of Sewers, the Commissioner of Public Buildings, Lighting and Supplies, the Commissioner of Bridges and the Presidents of the several boroughs, by virtue of their respective offices. The Mayor, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller and the presidents of the several boroughs were not to be counted as members

of the Board for the purpose of ascertaining if a quorum be present. No President of a borough was to have a voice in the Board of Public Improvements except upon matters relating exclusively to the borough of which he is President.

Except as otherwise provided, any public work or improvement within the cognizance and control of any one or more of the departments under the charge of the commissioners who are members of the Board of Public Improvements, that may be the subject of a contract, had to be first duly authorized and approved by resolution of the Board of Public Improvements and an ordinance or resolution of the Municipal Assembly. When a public work or improvement had been duly authorized by the joint action of the legislative body and of the Executive Board, then, but not until then, was it lawful for the proper department to proceed in the execution thereof, but each commissioner in his own department was to retain the control of the details of any such work or improvement.

The Mayor, Comptroller, Corporation Counsel, the President of the Council and the President of the Department of Taxes and Assessments constitute the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, whose primary duty it is to make the annual budget of the amounts required to pay the expenses of conducting the public business of the city. The Municipal Assembly might reduce the amounts fixed by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, but might not increase such amounts nor insert any new items; the Mayor has the power of vetoing the resolutions fixing such reductions, and unless such veto was overridden by a five-sixths vote of the Municipal Assembly, the amount fixed by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment should stand as part of the budget.

It will be observed that the effective control, alike of public improvements involving the issue of bonds, and of the current expenses of the city, is vested in the Mayor and the other administrative officers. All of these latter, except the Comptroller, who was to be elected by the people every four years, were to be appointed by the Mayor, to whom was also confided the absolute power of removal, without assigned cause, during the first six months of his term. After that a public officer

of the Mayor's appointment might be removed by the Mayor for cause upon charges preferred and after opportunity to be heard, subject, however, before such removal shall take effect, to the approval of the Governor expressed in writing.

These provisions of what may be called the original "charter" of the Greater New York have been greatly modified by subsequent legislation, the general tendency of which has been the concentration of authority and responsibility. But, if Mr. Green's faith in the efficacy of a local legislature to discharge the important functions which he desired to confide to it has not been justified by experience, time has shown that his belief in the development of a higher standard of civic conscience and a larger measure of civic pride was well founded. It has taken some years to demonstrate that what is called "party responsibility" was as frail a reed on which to lean in the achievement of honest and capable administration for the greater city, as it had been found to be in the history of its constituent boroughs. Nor has it been quite as easy as might have been anticipated to make the possession of public office in the Greater New York an object of legitimate ambition to men of the highest order of citizenship. But the hold of the party machines over the conduct of municipal business has been gradually becoming weaker, and both in the work of investigation and administration it has been found possible to enlist the services of men of trained capacity and high ideals. The process has, perhaps, been a more gradual one than Mr. Green anticipated, but it is not open to question that, since the consolidation of the communities included in the Greater New York, there has been a steady advance toward the application of business methods to the administration of the affairs of the second city of the world.

Consolidation had no sooner taken effect than on January 31, 1898, a number of public-spirited citizens met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel and took steps to memorialize the city government for a public celebration of the event on May 4th, the anniversary of the founding of New Amsterdam. Arrangements for this celebration, on a scale of impressive magnitude, were fairly under way, when the destruction of the *Maine* in the Harbor of Havana, and the subsequent declaration of war with Spain,

absorbed public attention to a degree which rendered expedient the abandonment of the proposed New York celebration. But, after the conclusion of peace one important feature of the historical commemoration was adhered to. This was the work of one of the sub-committees, charged with the preparation of a historical medal whose presentation to Mr. Green was to have been the chief event of the first evening's ceremonies in Manhattan Borough. The committee selected October 6, 1898, Mr. Green's birthday, as the date for the presentation, and the chamber of the Board of Aldermen was placed at its disposal for this purpose. The following letter was addressed to Mr. Green by the chairman:

NEW YORK CITY, October 3, 1898.

Hon. Andrew H. Green, No. 214 Broadway, New York City:

DEAR SIR. — In conjunction with other of your friends and admirers, the historical and memorial committee of the general citizens' committee on the celebration of municipal consolidation, appointed by the Mayor last spring, have imposed upon the undersigned the agreeable duty of inviting you to be present at the City Hall on Thursday next, October 6th, at 12 o'clock noon, and there to receive in the presence of your fellow-citizens a token of their appreciation of your manifold and disinterested public services to the city during the past third of a century.

The vehicle of the sentiments which will be spoken on that occasion will be a gold medal, the first struck in commemoration of our municipal consolidation, in the accomplishment of which you were so important a factor. But that you may rightly understand the significance of the testimonial which is tendered to you, it should be said that the constituency represented by the donors is confined to no political party or social class, and even includes those who, having doubted the expediency of municipal union at the time and in the precise manner in which it was brought to pass, loyally accept it as an accomplished and now historical fact and recognize the lofty motives which inspired your efforts in connection therewith. In addition to the consideration of personal respect impelling them to this action, they are moved by a sense of duty to set a mark of approbation upon the civic virtues which you have so conspicuously manifested and which form the real basis of true citizenship in public and private life.

With assurances of the high regard of our colleagues as well as ourselves, and trusting that you will find it as agreeable to signify your acceptance of this invitation as it has been to us to tender it, we remain,

Very sincerely yours,

EDWARD HAGAMAN HALL,
Secretary.

JAS. GRANT WILSON,
Chairman.

General Stewart L. Woodford delivered an address upon Mr. Green's public services. After recalling Mr. Green's historic

communication of 1868, in which he outlined the territory now embraced in the greater city, General Woodford said: "To this dream of the greater city he adhered so resolutely and for its realization he labored so wisely and so untiringly that now, in the first autumn of its completion, it is just to salute our friend, as we do this day, as 'The Father of Greater New York.'"

General James Grant Wilson made the presentation address, concluding as follows:

"The gift which I now have the pleasure of presenting on the anniversary of your birth is intended to express our sincere respect and regard for a fellow-citizen who did so much to achieve the generally desired consummation, and who for three decades advocated the idea of Greater New York. Among the contributors are several who doubted the expediency and wisdom of consolidation, but who accept it as *un fait accompli*, and are happy to unite with its advocates in expressing admiration for one who has been for so long a period a high example of disinterested citizenship."

Mr. Green accepted the gift with a brief acknowledgment.

The medal presented to Mr. Green was executed by Tiffany & Co. from designs drawn by the secretary of the committee. It is a circular medallion, two and one half inches in diameter, of solid gold, weighing 191 pennyweights, and designed to symbolize on one face the present status of the enlarged city and to epitomize on the other its past history.

As will be perceived from the reproduction herewith presented, it bears on the obverse, five seated female figures, classically vested, with interlocked hands, and further united by garlands of flowers, typifying the happy sisterhood of the five boroughs, whose names appear beneath. "Manhattan" sits in the middle, with "Brooklyn" and "Queens" on her right hand, and "The Bronx" and "Richmond" on her left. Rising behind the central figure, two fluted Corinthian columns support a pediment bearing an eagle with wings displayed (signifying the American spirit guiding the city's destinies), and enclose a tablet with the date of consolidation. In the background is a convention-



GREATER NEW YORK MEDAL
 Presented October 6, 1898, to Andrew H. Green,
 by the Citizens of New York

alized view of the harbor. In the lower margin is the miniature imprint of the American Numismatic and Archæological Society which formally endorsed the medal as a work of historical art. The imprint is a reduced facsimile of the seal of the society, displaying three oak leaves between the motto "Parva ne Percant" above, and the abbreviated title "Soci. Ameri. Numis. et Archæol." below.

On the reverse or historical side the field is divided into four apartments by the arms of a Dutch windmill, taken from the seal of the city, displayed saltire-wise. In the divisions thus created are placed scenes depicting four historic periods.

In the first or uppermost quarter, the discovery of the site of the City of New York is represented by the ship *Half Moon* riding at anchor and taking in sail. In the background are conventionally represented the Navesink Highlands on one side and on the other the southernmost point of the future city, here occupied by Indian habitations, and in the foreground an Indian canoe.

In the second quarter the settlement of the city by the Dutch is portrayed in a scene representing the landing of Peter Minuit, the first director-general, and the purchase of Manhattan Island from the aborigines. In the background the ship *Sea Mew* rides at anchor.

In the third quarter is commemorated the termination of the Dutch régime and the advent of the English by a scene representing Peter Stuyvesant leading forth his troops with the honors of war from Fort Amsterdam, over which appears the English flag.

In the lower quarter the American period is celebrated by the picture of a Continental officer standing before his headquarters and reading the Declaration of Independence to the American army encamped in the "Fields," now City Hall Park.

Opposite these four scenes, respectively, are the dates September 2, 1609, May 4, 1626; September 8, 1664, and July 9, 1776, separated by an escallop shell, a tulip, a crown, and an eagle, further symbolizing the voyager, and the Dutch, English, and American peoples.

Upon the periphery of the medal is inscribed: "To Hon.

A N D R E W H A S W E L L G R E E N

Andrew H. Green, the Father of Greater New York, October 6, 1898 — A Token of Esteem from His Fellow-Citizens.”

The medal was inclosed in a handsome leather case, similarly inscribed.

In further recognition of Mr. Green's public services, the Board of Aldermen, in 1903, appropriated \$2,650 for a portrait of him, to be hung in the City Hall. The painting, executed by Henry Mosler, hangs with the portraits of the governors in the historic Governor's Room.

CHAPTER XVII

FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF THE ZOÖLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY — ORIGIN OF THE METRO-
POLITAN MUSEUM OF ART — MR. GREEN AS EXECUTOR
OF THE TILDEN WILL — ZEAL FOR THE PRESERVATION
OF HISTORIC MONUMENTS AND OPPOSITION TO
THE REMOVAL OF THE CITY HALL

IT HAS already been shown how broad a conception Mr. Green had of the educational uses of the park system of New York. He kept steadily directing attention to the necessity of treating Central Park as something more than a pleasure resort for the people, and of keeping steadily in view the development of a zoölogical collection and of museums of art and natural history in the Park itself or on ground adjoining. In 1862 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Commissioners of Central Park to set apart and appropriate to the New York Historical Society the building known as the New York State Arsenal, together with such grounds adjoining it as the Commissioners might determine to be necessary for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a museum of antiquities and science, and a gallery of art. This proposition fell through because a certain part of the land upon which the Society desired to build was needed in the judgment of the Park Commissioners for other purposes. Contributions of animals, and of other objects of interest were, however, constantly being received, almost from the beginning of the Park. These were placed in the Arsenal Building, until the demand upon its accommodations became too great, and the interior of the brick edifice formerly used as a chapel at Mt. St. Vincent was decorated and fitted up for the reception of statuary.

The American Zoölogical and Botanical Society was created by act of the Legislature of April 10, 1860, and the members mentioned in the act were William H. Aspinwall, Hamilton

Fish, Robert L. Stuart, Charles King, Alexander W. Bradford, Benjamin H. Field, William H. Appleton, August Belmont, Frederick Prime, William P. Lee, Frank Moore, Augustus Schell, John D. Clute, B. K. Winthrop, George Opdyke, Henry Delafield, Archibald Russell, Frederick De Peyster, James W. Beekman, Henry Grinnell, Frederick G. Foster, Wilson G. Hunt, Robert J. Dillon, Luther G. Marsh, John C. T. Smidt, T. Bailey, William Caldwell, J. A. Gray, George H. Moore, John P. Crosby, Cyrus W. Field, R. O. Doremus, Matthew Morgan, George Folsom, Watts Sherman, John Jay, Shepherd Knapp, Parke Godwin, John Paine, C. N. Bovee, Charles Tracey, Charles Butler, William S. Mayo, Hiram Barney, Charles M. Connolly, J. Winthrop Chandler, F. L. Olmsted, B. W. Bonney. The act further provided that the Secretary of State, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of the State Agricultural Society, the Mayor of the City of New York, the President of the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park, the President of the Board of Education of the City of New York, the President of the Board of Aldermen and of the Board of Councilmen of the City of New York should be ex-officio members of the Council of the said society. A more thoroughly representative body of men could not have been chosen, but the act lay dormant for a number of years while the Park Commissioners went forward with their work on the lines indicated in Mr. Green's reports. On December 30, 1865, Mr. Green found occasion to say that the Board had not changed its opinion as to the desirability of the establishment of a zoölogical garden equal to the demands of a city like ours. Circumstances not under its control had delayed the beginning of the work in whose favor every year developed new arguments. It was thirty-five years after the passage of the first act that the Legislature, on April 20, 1895, passed another to incorporate the New York Zoölogical Society and to provide for the establishment of a zoölogical garden in the City of New York. Mr. Green was chosen president, and at once applied to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund for the allotment of land north of the Harlem River. This application, signed by Mr. Green and the Executive Committee, asked for "all that portion

of Bronx Park which lies south of Pelham Avenue, of about 261 acres in extent, to be used by this organization only under the terms of its charter." As usual, with documents of Mr. Green's authorship, the application was reinforced by an abundance of reasons forcibly presented. Though Mr. Green's occupancy of the presidency of the society was brief, he had the satisfaction of seeing the accomplishment by its aid of one of the public objects for which he had long and assiduously labored.

On December 30, 1868, Morris K. Jesup, J. P. Morgan, John David Wolfe, J. N. Phelps, W. A. Haines, A. G. Phelps Dodge, Howard Potter, A. T. Stewart, Adrian Iselin, Marshall O. Roberts, George Bliss, William T. Blodgett, D. J. Stewart, James Brown, Benjamin H. Field, Robert L. Stuart, Robert Colgate, Levi P. Morton, and Theodore Roosevelt addressed the Park Board urging the establishment of a museum of natural history at that opportune moment when a certain valuable collection could be secured as a nucleus. Comptroller Green replied, concurring in the desirability of establishing in the Park a museum which should become an aid to the educational system of the city. In 1869 he elaborated this idea in one of his cogent public papers, in which he went into the history of such collections abroad, and showed the particular need of them in a democratic country and the desirability of placing them in large cities where their usefulness would be greatest. He advocated the teaching of natural history in the public schools and the establishment of the museum to afford facilities for its study. On this point Mr. Green made the following remarks, which read as if they had been penned but yesterday:

The present age is distinguished by the marvelous extent to which it has developed the various branches of science and the inventive and constructive arts which depend upon scientific principles. The effect of this remarkable scientific development is slowly reaching the very habits of mind, so that the people of the present day may be said to think differently from those who preceded them. The consequence of this change has been that mental cultivation and the methods of education are at length beginning to be influenced, and the question of a more scientific culture for the masses of the people is receiving increasing consideration by the foremost nations of the world.

As respects the abundance of the provision for diffusing knowledge among the masses of the people, this country takes confessedly the lead of all others, and the question which now chiefly exercises the minds of our thoughtful

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educators is, how best to introduce the study of nature or the elementary portions of science into common schools.

This step, it is universally felt, must now be taken, but it is far from being an easy one to take. It involves a very considerable change in the methods of instruction. The notion current in the past, and still too generally prevalent, that all that is necessary to education is books to be memorized, and teachers to keep things quiet and hear recitations, is gradually being outgrown. It is more and more seen that the duty of education is to bring the pupil into direct relation with things themselves, that he may reflect and exercise judgment upon them. But the book method is by far the simpler and easier, and reduces the office of the teacher to the very minimum of care, preparation and effort. On the other hand, to impart instruction by means of real objects requires actual and accurate knowledge on the part of the oral instructor; and, moreover, if the objects of nature are to be directly studied they must either be brought to the classroom or the classes must adjourn to the vicinity of the things themselves. This involves either an extra expense or a disturbance of the habitual order of school pursuits. The movement is therefore not without its embarrassments, although it is universally admitted that they can and must be overcome. Already the system of object-teaching has been introduced, not only into the public schools of this city, but into many throughout the country, and a disposition is more and more apparent to enter into whatever improvements are demanded in this direction. The time has therefore arrived when the attention of all interested in education in this city may be fitly drawn to the Central Park — to what is already accomplished there, and for what is further preparing to be done, to render it a great storehouse of appliances for the mental improvement of the youth of our city.

In the same year — 1869 — in which the American Museum of Natural History was founded, the sentiment in favor of the Museum of Art took definite shape at a public meeting held at the Academy of Music in November, when a committee of fifty was appointed to draft a plan of organization. This committee was enlarged to twice its original size, and included the principal patrons of art and some of the leading members of the National Academy of Design. The necessary charter was secured in April, 1870. As the buildings for both museums had to be supplied by the city, the Legislature, in response to the appeal of the Park Board, passed an act, on May 5, 1869, authorizing the commissioners to erect, establish, conduct and maintain, in the Central Park, a meteorological and astronomical observatory, a museum of natural history, and a gallery of art, and the buildings therefor, and to provide the necessary instruments, furniture, and equipment.

After the Central Park Commission had been succeeded by the Department of Parks, Mr. Green, as a member of the new

Board, continued his efforts to forward the important undertakings originated under his administration. On March 20, 1872, he offered at the meeting of the Board the following resolutions: "*Resolved*, That this department approves of designating a site for the building of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on that part of the Central Park between Seventy-ninth and Eighty-fourth streets, and the Fifth Avenue and the Drive; and of designating a site for the building of the American Museum of Natural History, on that part of the Central Park west of the Eighth Avenue; and that the President inform these bodies of this action of the department." On July 20, 1872, Mr. Green offered another resolution, to the following effect: "*Resolved*, That the landscape architect be instructed to prepare plans and estimates according to the study for the building for the Art Museum now presented, and that the same be submitted to this Board at the earliest opportunity.

The conclusion of these buildings within the Park area was effected without injury to any of its landscape features. This was a point on which Mr. Green had steadily insisted since the earliest stages of the development of the new park system, and the absence of any natural beauties which might be impaired by the erection of buildings was one of the determining reasons for the selection of Bronx Park for the Zoölogical Garden. To quote the application to the Sinking Fund Commissioners, signed by Mr. Green and his fellow members of the Executive Committee:

One important reason for our choice of South Bronx Park is that it contains several open areas in which all the large buildings could be erected without the cutting of any trees or shrubs whatever. The society desires to place itself on record as being opposed to the cutting of living trees or shrubbery in a public park, and to all plans involving any defacement or diminution of natural beauties. South Bronx Park is now asked for because it is eminently the place wherein a semblance of the natural haunts of wild animals can be secured by the adoption of Nature's handiwork rather than by the slow, costly, and not always satisfactory, process of artificial creation. It is also asked for because it is possible to develop upon it a zoölogical park of the most spacious and attractive character.

At present the area in question is merely a tract of rough, unimproved land, part meadow and partly timbered, through which flows the Bronx River. Other parks in the Annexed District possess greater landscape possibilities, but the site chosen is particularly well adapted for the purposes of a zoölogical

garden founded on a large scale. It is, or soon will be, easily accessible to the people of New York and Brooklyn by payment of a single five-cent fare, its water supply is the best to be found in any of the northern parks, its contour is not so precipitous or so rough as to destroy its full availability to visitors on foot; its natural drainage is perfect; its shade is abundant and of the peculiar open kind so extremely desirable in a zoological park. It possesses four natural basins, in which ponds of great value to the collections, as well as to landscape effects, can easily be constructed. Its situation, contour, and forestry all combine to give this spot an evenness of temperature not possessed by any other site of those available. South Bronx Park can be made a great popular resort for the people, wherein the benefits of zoological study can be more happily combined with the enjoyment of natural forest, field, and stream than could possibly be provided elsewhere.

The remark was added that while most of the large cities of Europe maintain zoological gardens, many of which are magnificent in appointments and rich in collections, all, without exception, are confined to small areas and some are grievously cramped for room. A zoological park in which the large enclosures where a satisfactory attempt can be made to copy or suggest natural haunts, and where visitors can find enjoyment in the contemplation of fine, healthy animals, amid beautiful natural surroundings, is quite different from even the best fifty-acre menagerie. In obtaining a grant of land, the Zoological Society deemed it both expedient and necessary to secure an area large enough to admit of a portion of it being held in reserve, as breeding grounds for large species, to meet the demands of the future. In 1896, Mr. Green retired from the presidency of the Zoological Society, on account of temporary illness, but he was able to enjoy, before his retirement, the certainty that the task to which his energy had been largely devoted for many years was on the eve of accomplishment. Mr. Green was also one of the first trustees of the Museum of Natural History and of the Metropolitan Museum of Art — institutions which owed their existence primarily to his persistent advocacy as the Comptroller of the old Park Board, and in whose prosperity he never ceased to exhibit the liveliest interest.

Samuel J. Tilden died on the fourth day of August, 1886, leaving a last will and testament which was admitted to probate by the Surrogate of the County of Westchester, October 20th of the same year. Under its provisions Mr. Green found himself

designated, together with John Bigelow and George W. Smith, as one of the executors to carry out a somewhat indefinite scheme of public beneficence which his lifelong friend and business associate had in mind. To his nephews and nieces Mr. Tilden bequeathed a sum equal to about one million dollars. The residue whose amount was necessarily uncertain being involved in enterprises and connected with liabilities whose returns were subject to unforeseen risks, he disposed of as follows: He made two small bequests for libraries, one in the town of Yonkers where he had lived some years, and the other in the town of New Lebanon, which was his birthplace. He then disposed of the entire remainder or so much thereof as might be needed to create a munificent and splendid charity in these words:

I request my said executors and trustees to obtain, as speedily as possible from the Legislature, an act of incorporation of an institution to be known as the Tilden Trust, with capacity to establish and maintain a free library and reading-room in the City of New York, and to promote such scientific and educational objects as my said executors and trustees may more particularly designate. Such corporation shall have not less than five trustees, with power to fill vacancies in their number; and in case said institution shall be incorporated in a form and manner satisfactory to my said executors and trustees during the lifetime of the survivor of the two lives in being, upon which the trust of my general estate herein created is limited, to wit: The lives of Ruby S. Tilden and Susie Whittlesey, I hereby authorize my said executors and trustees to organize the said corporation, designate the first trustees thereof, and to convey to or apply to use of the same the rest, residue and remainder of all my real and personal estate not specifically disposed of by this instrument, or so much thereof as they deem expedient, but subject, nevertheless, to the special trusts herein directed to be constituted for particular persons, and to the obligations to make and keep good the said special trusts, provided that the said corporation shall be authorized by law to assume such obligation.

But in case such institution shall not be so incorporated during the lifetime of the survivor of the said Ruby S. Tilden and Susie Whittlesey, or if for any cause or reason my said executors and trustees shall deem it inexpedient to convey said rest, residue and remainder, or any part thereof, or to apply the same or any part thereof to the said institution, I authorize my said executors and trustees to apply the rest, residue and remainder of my property, real and personal, after making good the said special trusts herein directed to be constituted, or such portions thereof as they may not deem it expedient to apply to its use, to such charitable educational and scientific purposes as in the judgment of my said executors and trustees will render the said rest, residue and remainder of my property most widely and substantially beneficial to the interests of mankind.

By the thirty-ninth clause of the will all the rest, residue and remainder of all the property, real and personal, of whatever

name or nature which might remain after instituting the several trusts for the benefit of specific persons; and after making provision for the specific requests and objects as therein directed was devised and bequeathed to the executors and trustees, as such, and to their successors, in trust, "in the trust hereby created," to possess, hold, manage and take care of the same, and after deducting all necessary and proper expenses, to apply the same and the proceeds thereof to the objects and purposes mentioned in the will. In other words, the entire residuary estate, real and personal, was vested in the executors and trustees, in trust, upon the general trust, to apply to the use of any, all or either of the indefinite purposes indicated by the testator, with an expressed grant of exclusive power to the executors and trustees to reject one and adopt another, or substitute purposes of their own conception.

In conformity with the expressed wish of the testator, the executors and trustees of Mr. Tilden's will made written application to the Legislature of this state for an act of incorporation of an institution to be known as "The Tilden Trust," declaring in such application that they "elected to confine their designation of the purposes and objects of said corporation to the establishment and maintenance of a free library and reading-room in the City of New York." On March 26, 1887, the Legislature passed an act entitled "An Act to incorporate the Tilden Trust for the establishment and maintenance of a free library and reading-room in the City of New York." The corporation thus created was empowered to establish and maintain such a library and reading-room and to take all property, real and personal, that had been given to it by the will of the testator or that might be conveyed to it by his executors and trustees, pursuant to the provisions of that instrument. The Act also contained this saving clause: "But nothing herein contained shall affect the rights of any parties to any action now pending, or of any heir-at-law of the said Samuel J. Tilden." The charter containing these provisions was accepted by the executors, and the corporation was thereupon organized by the selection of trustees and by the appointment of a president, a treasurer, and other officers. On April 29, 1887, the executors and trustees

delivered to the trustees of the Tilden Trust a formal conveyance of the testator's entire residuary estate, and that conveyance was formally accepted by the trustees of the Tilden Trust.

Meanwhile, within three months of the admission of the will to probate, one of the nephews, George H. Tilden, began an action claiming an adjudication that certain of the provisions of the will were illegal and void; that as regards the property to which these provisions relate, the testator died intestate, and that, at his death, the titles to such property vested immediately in the plaintiff and in such other persons as were then the testator's heirs-at-law and next of kin. The action was brought to trial at Special Term before Mr. Justice Lawrence in 1888, and in January 1889, a judgment was entered declaring the thirty-fifth article of the will, already quoted, to be valid, and the residuary estate whereof that article undertakes to dispose to be vested in the Tilden Trust.

Judge Lawrence concluded a somewhat elaborate opinion in this case by stating that if there is anything in the provisions of the thirty-ninth article of the will which seems to be inconsistent with the thirty-fifth article or to conflict with the view that the testator intended to give to his executors an estate supportable as an executory devise, or with the view that the devise and bequest contained in the last mentioned article can be supported as a power in trust, after separating the primary from the uncertain ulterior gift, he thought that the cases which he had cited proved that the actual intention of the testator should be arrived at by an examination of the whole will. As it appeared to him that the intention of the testator was that the plaintiff and the other heirs-at-law and next of kin should receive nothing, beyond the provisions made for each of them in other portions of the will and should be excluded from the enjoyment of any part of his residuary estate, and as the carrying out of that intention could be effectuated without violating the rules of law, the provisions of articles thirty-five and thirty-nine should be harmonized, and the court refused to declare that the testator died intestate as to his residuary estate. Furthermore, Judge Lawrence thought, that if the case was not free from doubt, the benefit of that doubt should be given in support

of the will under the familiar rule that the court should not declare that a testator died intestate, in respect to property which he had sought to transmit by will, unless compelled to do so. Again, even if the Tilden Trust as constituted by the Legislature was not the corporation which the testator designed that his executors should invoke the Legislature to create, the court should not on that account adjudge that the provisions of the will were void, since it was possible that within the two lives designated in the will, a corporation fully answering the testators' views might be called into being, or the powers of the existing corporation so extended as to meet the objections urged by the plaintiff's counsel.

But the General Term of the Supreme Court failed to agree with Judge Lawrence, the judgment of the Special Term was reversed and a new trial was ordered. Upon this new trial the construction of the thirty-fifth article adopted by the General Term holding its provisions invalid, was, of course, followed, and the plaintiff prevailed. The judgment in his favor was subsequently affirmed on appeal, and the case went for review of that judgment of affirmance to the Court of Appeals. When it became evident that the court of last resort could not be brought to see that Mr. Tilden's method of disposing of his residuary estate was sufficiently definite to be legally valid, the executors of the will and the trustees of the Tilden Trust accepted the terms of a settlement proposed by one of the contestants. By this means something more than \$2,000,000 was saved for the Public Library. In the course of time, the Tilden Library fund was joined to the Astor and Lenox establishments, and now forms a part of "The New York Public Library, Astor, Tilden, and Lenox Foundations." Of this institution Mr. Green was a trustee at the time of his death.

While acting as one of the trustees of the Tilden Trust, his associates addressed to the Commissioners appointed to choose a site for a municipal building a communication which contained the following passage: "Much as we should regret the necessity of disturbing a structure consecrated to us like our City Hall by so many precious, historical, and forensic associations," and then proceeded to propose that "should such a necessity

be found to exist, that admirable structure be transferred to the site now occupied by the reservoir in Bryant Park and appropriated to the uses of that trust." Mr. Green promptly followed this up by a communication of his own in which he fully concurred with his associate trustees in their expression of dissent from the proposed removal of the City Hall. But as this dissent seemed, somehow, to have ripened into an attitude of active approval and zealous advocacy of the scheme, his long relations with the parks and his personal conviction that the area devoted to small parks should be increased rather than diminished, constrained him to hope that no portion of Reservoir Square, or any other park, square, or open ground on this island provided for the use of the people might hereafter be appropriated for buildings. In his judgment, the City Hall presents an example of fine architectural taste. In design and construction it is faultless as any structure in the city, while its historical relations involve events of paramount interest and personages of dignity and estimation. Standing as it does unsurpassed by any structure of its kind in the country, he argued that it should continue to stand, as for nearly a century it had stood, ample, commodious and convenient.

Mr. Green's sedulous concern for the preservation of historic monuments was amply demonstrated in the vigor of his plea for the conservation of the City Hall as "a visible landmark, an object lesson to the people." Here the Declaration of Independence was read to the American Army in the presence of Washington. Here a grand reception was given to Lafayette, and the freedom of the city, in a golden box to that coryphæus of Democracy, Andrew Jackson, and here four generations of New Yorkers have been accustomed to witness imposing celebrations. As Mr. Green regarded the matter, the building is indissolubly connected with its site and surroundings, and he asked: "Other than the City Hall, where in New York is there left a public building or monument of historic value?" His counsel therefore was that, considered solely as a measure of prudent economy the City Hall should be let alone. Its dimensions would occupy more than the whole avenue front of a city block, and he added, if the Tilden Trust is to have it at all,

let the Tilden Trust have it where it stands and avoid the wasteful process of its removal.

Mr. Green admitted, while descanting on a subject in which his feelings were strongly enlisted, that it was perhaps but natural that many should fail to recognize or fully appreciate the traditions and the struggles that made this an independent Republic. But he was entirely clear that it is not wise to destroy the monuments that keep alive these lessons. Visible historic memorials are objects to attract the attention and to gratify the finer feelings of every class. No one however illiterate, or however refined, can see the ancient structures of England, Germany or France, without having his wonder excited or his thinking faculties stimulated. Recognizing the potent influence of association, Massachusetts, in order to keep alive the memory of the deeds of the fathers, had recently incorporated a large number of its most esteemed citizens as Trustees of Public Reservations, "for the purpose of acquiring, holding, arranging, maintaining, and opening to the public, under suitable regulations beautiful and historical places and tracts of land within the commonwealth." Mr. Green pointed out that if Massachusetts needs more room for the public business, it does not pull down its State House, and he asked: "Shall the City of New York, great in wealth, in culture and eminent in the history of the progress of the Nation, destroy its only memorable public structure?" He declared that no one could be more anxious than himself to give effect to Governor Tilden's intended benefaction to the city to which he had rendered unexampled service, but, recognizing as he did the propriety and the justice of a public restoration of the means for its accomplishment that had been by public agencies so strangely diverted from Mr. Tilden's beneficent purpose, he nevertheless would deem it unfortunate, as one of those immediately intrusted with the execution of Mr. Tilden's intentions, to be found justifying an act that would be looked upon with disfavor by a large number of our citizens and tend to alienate many who are well disposed toward the object of the Trust. Mr. Green concluded his protest with this highly characteristic sentence: "Better than the costliest monument that the opulence of the public treasury could devise,

if it is to be forever associated with an offence to the worthiest of civic associations and sentiments, far better that some modest structure rise beneath the shades of the lovely valley where he first saw the light, that shall keep alive the memory of this illustrious man, and stand a perpetual reproach to the conspirators, whose schemes and whose greed disturbed his declining years and frustrated the cherished purposes of a life eminently devoted to the interests of his country.”

CHAPTER XVIII

WORK IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESERVATION OF NIAGARA FALLS — CREATION OF THE NIAGARA RESERVATION AND FOUNDATION OF THE AMERICAN SCENIC AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION SOCIETY

TO VERY few men of his time did the natural beauties of his country make a stronger appeal than to Andrew H. Green. Without the faculty of poetic expression, he had the poet's eye, and the poet's enthusiasm for nature. Second only in strength to this sentiment was that which was aroused in him by the scenes of notable events in the history of his country. From his boyhood he had been a seeker after these, and a strenuous advocate of their fitting preservation for posterity. It was after the completion of the term of his stormy incumbency of the Comptrollership of the City of New York, and when he had assumed the executorship of the estate of William B. Ogden, that the subject of removing the eyesores which had vulgarized the surroundings of Niagara Falls, and of saving the Falls themselves from impairment of volume, began to occupy his mind. The subject was by no means a new one. Other minds had been at work on it before, but it is eminently suggestive of the dynamic impulse he lent to any cause which he espoused, that his name should be the first that occurs to any one familiar with the origin and development of the State Park at Niagara.

In the early history of the Republic the idea of great National or State Reservations for the education of public taste or the diffusion of popular enjoyment had not begun to germinate. There is no record at least of any public protest when, in the year 1805, the State of New York offered the land along Niagara River for sale. Large tracts of it were purchased by Augustus and Peter B. Porter, but the first settlement in the neighborhood of the Falls was destroyed during the War of 1812. In 1816 Augustus Porter purchased Goat Island and the adjacent islands from the

State, and erected the first bridge connecting the main island with the shore. For seventy years the Porters and their descendants guarded Goat Island from encroachment, saved the primeval forest upon it from the axe and preserved the place substantially as nature made it. The early French explorers and traders built a mill beside the rapids just above the Falls. In Colonial times the British selected a site in the same neighborhood and erected a mill which was used for preparing timber for fortifications along the river. Immediately below were subsequently erected the Stedman and Porter mills, the first structures of their kind on the then Western Frontier. These were soon followed by the construction of two large raceways, which were used by manufacturing establishments, as was also Bath Island, situated in the rapids above the American Falls.

The gradual disfigurement of the natural scenery of the cataract by encroachments for manufacturing purposes was noted with deep concern by visitors long before the final enclosure of the grounds in the immediate neighborhood of the Falls elicited world-wide protest. Largely due to the influence and efforts of the subject of this memoir, public taste had, by 1869, been educated to a point where the unsightly structures which had been allowed to congregate around Niagara became a positive offence. As early as 1858 Mr. Green drew attention to the refining influence which Central Park had begun to exercise on its visitors. He said that "the desire for healthful recreation and exercise, and the taste for the natural beauties of the Park, whether in its similitude to the garden, the forest, or the field, develop and increase with the opportunity for their gratification." Men qualified to give expression and direction to the growing popular taste for the beautiful in art and nature were also beginning to be recognized in the public activities of the United States. It was in 1869 that the necessity of taking some measures to preserve the beauty of the natural scenery of the Falls of Niagara from desecration was discussed, among others, by Frederic E. Church, the artist, Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape director of Central Park, and H. H. Richardson, the architect. Ten years before, the Park Board had sent Mr. Olmsted to observe and take ideas from the leading public pleasure grounds of the Old World. In pursuit of

this mission, Mr. Olmsted visited Birkenhead Park, Liverpool, Astor Park, Birmingham, and the Park and Gardens of Chatsworth, including the private grounds of Sir Joseph Paxton. Thence he proceeded to the Derby Arboretum, and the Royal Forest and Park of Windsor. The authorities in charge of the Royal Palaces and Parks gave Mr. Olmsted all possible facilities for his study, and orders were given to the Superintendents of all the Public Parks in the vicinity of London to hold themselves at Mr. Olmsted's disposal. Similar courtesy was shown him by the authorities who had the direction of the pleasure grounds and promenades of Paris, and the Bois de Boulogne occupied a considerable part of Mr. Olmsted's time. Before returning he took in the Park and Gardens of Brussels and also those at Lille, returning thence to make a second and more protracted visit to London.

All this was part of a training which proved of inestimable value, and in whose fruition Mr. Green took legitimate pride. But the artistic criticism of the monstrosities which had congregated around Niagara was not followed by immediate action. As a matter of fact, purely artistic criticism seldom is, and it was several years later before the artists who had discussed the condition of affairs at Niagara made their first move by communicating with the Earl of Dufferin, then Governor-General of Canada, in relation to the establishment of an International Park on both sides of the Falls. As a result of this, Lord Dufferin, in a speech delivered before the Ontario Society of Artists, in Toronto, in September, 1878, announced that in a conversation with the Governor of the State of New York he had suggested that the Governments of New York and Ontario or Canada should combine to acquire whatever rights may have been established against the public, and to form around the Falls a small public international park.

The credit of taking the first practical step toward the preservation of the natural scenery of Niagara is due to Governor Lucius Robinson who embodied in his annual message to the Legislature of New York the recommendation that commissions should be appointed by both governments to confer together as to the details of the plan which had been suggested by the Gov-

ernor-General of Canada. The recommendation of Governor Robinson was referred to the Commissioners of the State Survey who found that the scenery of Niagara Falls has been greatly injured; that the process of injury was continuous and accelerating; and that, if not arrested, it must in time prove utterly destructive. The Commissioners added: "There is no American soil from which the Falls can be contemplated except at the pleasure of a private owner, and under such conditions as he may choose to impose; none upon which the most outrageous caprices of taste may not be indulged, or the most offensive interpolations forced upon the landscape." The Commissioners reported further that the rapid destruction of the forests, which once formed the perfect setting of Nature's gorgeous panorama, and the erection of mills and factories upon the margin of the river, were producing a most injurious effect upon the character of the scene. They advanced other strong reasons for extending the protecting authority of the State over the Falls and immediate vicinity, and said: "Niagara is not simply the crowning glory of New York State, but is the highest distinction of the Nation, and of the continent of America. No other like gift of Nature equally holds the interest of the world or operates as an inducement for men to cross the sea." In conclusion, they recommended the acquisition by the State of as much land as was absolutely necessary for the protection of the characteristic scenery of the Falls to be held in trust forever for the people of the State; that unnecessary landscape gardening or formal ornamentation should sedulously be avoided; and that natural conditions should be restored as far as possible and maintained.

In an address prepared for delivery before the Convention of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association at Niagara Falls, on July 3, 1903, Mr. Green summarized the successive stages of the struggle waged for the preservation of Niagara. He pointed out that when the movement started there did not exist a single state or national reservation created for the sole purpose of scenic preservation. There was no precedent to which to appeal, and the salvation of Niagara had to be worked out as a new proposition and upon entirely new principles so far as legislation was concerned. The first national reservation of scenic beauty, the

Yellowstone National Park, was established by act of Congress in 1872, three years after the Niagara campaign began, but even that afforded no standard by which to help or guide the savers of Niagara. The great Yellowstone Park of 2,142,720 acres already belonged to the government and it cost the people nothing to reserve it as a public park. The Niagara proposition, on the other hand contemplated the purchase by the state of land which had been improved under private ownership, and which was to cost the people at least a million and a half of dollars, solely for æsthetic purposes. The campaign, which was an uphill one from the outset, was, however, aided by the rebellion of public sentiment against the conditions by which private enterprise had surrounded the Falls. Had private greed not so far out-reached itself, and had it left even decently tolerable conditions at Niagara, the task of securing the public reservation would probably have been even greater than it was.

In response to Governor Robinson's message of 1879, the Legislature that year passed a joint resolution calling for a report on the measures expedient for carrying out the suggestion which the message contained. The report made by the Commissioners of the State Survey in 1880, in favor of the Niagara Reservation was reinforced by a remarkable public memorial, addressed to Governor Cornell and Governor-General Dufferin. Probably no document of a similar character ever bore such a distinguished list of names. It was signed by the Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the Chief Justice and seven Associated Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, members of the Canadian Bench and Parliament, the leading lights of the English and American Universities, the most prominent United States Senators and Congressmen, officers of the American Navy, and eminent divines, literateurs, poets, statesmen, and philanthropists of the two English-speaking peoples. Among those who joined in this plea for Niagara were Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry W. Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, John G. Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, W. D. Howells, Asa Gray, Alexander Agassiz, Phillips Brooks, and Sir John Lubbock.

It would seem as if a petition bearing the names of seven hundred distinguished and representative citizens of the United States

and Canada would have been sufficiently influential to accomplish the purpose in view. But it failed to make an impression on the then occupant of the Governor's chair who considered Niagara Falls as a "luxury" for the enjoyment of which people should pay. The advocates of the reservation did not press legislation during his term of office, but they settled down to a thorough and systematic campaign of education. An organization called The Niagara Falls Association was formed in New York City by which individual effort was coördinated and public sentiment was worked up throughout the State by means of correspondence, personal interviews, public meetings, newspaper articles, pamphlets and popular petitions. Mr. Green paid a special tribute to the Honorable Thomas V. Welch, who, when the agitation began, was a member of the Legislature from Niagara Falls and who afterward became Superintendent of the Reservation, for the public spirited and disinterested manner in which he had bent every energy to the service of its cause.

With the accession of Grover Cleveland to the Governorship, in January, 1883, the prospect of accomplishing something at Albany became decidedly brighter. A bill was introduced "to authorize the selection and location of certain lands in Niagara Falls for a state reservation and to preserve the scenery of the Falls of Niagara," which was duly passed and signed by Governor Cleveland on April 30, 1883. Two days later the Governor appointed the following as the first five Commissioners of the State Reservation of Niagara: Ex-Lieutenant-Governor William Dorsheimer, of Buffalo, Andrew H. Green, of New York; J. Hampden Robb, of New York, and Sherman S. Rogers, of Buffalo, and Martin B. Anderson, of Rochester.

The commission organized at Albany on May 29, 1883, and proceeded to the difficult work of examining and selecting the lands, which was followed by the appraisement and condemnation proceedings of the Commissioners appointed for that purpose. In 1885, the award of the Commissioners of Appraisement amounting to \$1,433,429.50 was submitted to the Legislature by the Commissioners of the Reservation, with the request that the amount be appropriated.

"Then," in the words of Mr. Green, "came the tug of war."

He said that few people realized the powerful concentration of effort made at that time by the devoted friends of Niagara; the terrific strain which they sustained for weeks and up to the last minute of grace allowed by law for the signature of the bill; or the narrow escape of the great project from defeat. The bill passed the Legislature, April 16, 1885, and went to Governor Hill. He had until April 30th, to sign it, otherwise, under the two-year limit in the Niagara law of 1883, all proceedings would have been void and of non-effect. It is said that he had a veto prepared but that word from Mr. Green's distinguished associate and Hill's political mentor, Samuel J. Tilden, placed the matter before the Governor in a convincing way. As Mr. Green records the incident, while the clock was ticking away the precious minutes of the last hour allowed for the signing of the bill, and while some of the friends of the measure, including Mr. Welch, were almost holding their breath with anxiety in the office of the Secretary of State, the Governor's messenger entered with the signed bill, and the great victory was won. Niagara was saved, and a precedent of vast and far-reaching importance established which other State Governments and the Federal Government have freely followed.

The improvements were begun at once and continued upon a single plan which has been consistently adhered to, namely, to restore the environment of Niagara Falls as nearly as possible to its natural aspect, to remove every objectionable condition that in any way impaired the fullest æsthetic, educational and moral enjoyment and benefit of the spectacle, to facilitate public access in every way possible and to exclude everything of a commercial nature from the limits of the Reservation. Mr. Green further pointed out that as the original creation of the Reservation was in the nature of an example to the country, so had the Commissioners endeavored to make it a model of administration. From the very beginning of the Niagara movement, down through the campaign culminating in the law of 1885 and through the administration of four boards of Commissioners, no touch of self-interest or corruption had tarnished its fair record. The Commissioners received no compensation for their sacrifices of time and convenience, other than the recompense of the approval of a good conscience and the knowledge that their administration of their great trust was mak-

ing the work of park creation and scenic preservation easier throughout the United States.

In the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara, signed by Mr. Green as President, from which most of the preceding facts have been borrowed, will be found a very instructive summary, prepared by Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall, of the obstacles which had been encountered and overcome in securing the creation of the Reservation. He enumerates first the *vis inertiaë* of general public sentiment. The movement was the first of its kind on so large a scale for the purchase by a State of property for purely æsthetic purposes. It was without precedent; and people who were afraid to do anything that somebody else had not done before were hard to convert to the doctrine of public proprietorship in natural beauty — “the right of the people to enjoy, unmolested in person, and unfenced in sight, the marvelous works of God as manifested in the exceptional natural scenery with which He had endowed the State of New York.” Another great obstacle was the erroneous notion which had been generated by the use of the term “International Park” in connection with the proposed Reservation. People, whose conception of a “park” was an area of land, laid out with neatly trimmed lawns, formal pathways, geometrical flower-beds, composition statuary and cast-iron benches, imagined that it was proposed to take a vast tract on each side of the Niagara River, extending from far above the Falls to below the Whirlpool, and lay it out with conventional designs of paved roadways, and other artificial embellishments of decorative landscape gardening. It took some time to disabuse the public mind of this idea and to produce the conviction that the true object of the movement was a Reservation of natural beauty, not a formal park, and that the sole aim was to restore the landscape as nearly as possible to the condition in which man had found it. Another class of objectors were those who thought the plan too modest but, as Doctor Hall remarks, it can safely be said that a more ambitious plan at the time the movement was begun would have insured its defeat. There was also strenuous objection from some of the riparian owners and concessionaires whose property would be taken and whose privileges would be abolished by a free public reservation.

To disarm the hostility from these and other sources was a task of no small dimensions, and the triumph achieved was proportionally great.

But the work was by no means ended. The Niagara Reservation was avowedly created "for the purpose of preserving the scenery of the Falls of Niagara." The State had, however, by repeated acts passed subsequent to 1885, authorized various diversions from their channel of the waters that would naturally flow over the Falls. In 1889 a bill was introduced in the Legislature to authorize the "Niagara Hydraulic Electric Company to erect machinery under Niagara Falls for the purpose of utilizing the power of said Falls for manufacturing electricity." The Commissioners of the State Reservation conceived it to be their duty to oppose the passage of this bill, and at that session the measure was not reported out of Committee. In their report to the following Legislature the Commissioners avowed their policy in these words:

It may as well be understood that the Commissioners will decline to entertain propositions or applications, on the part of individuals or corporations, to utilize the water power at Niagara; nor will they countenance any scheme the success of which would be likely to result in the defacement of the landscape or in any way interfere with the performance of the duty entrusted to them, namely, that of restoring the scenery to its natural conditions.

To this position the commission consistently adhered and in its annual reports repeatedly called attention to threatened disfigurement of the Falls or impairment of their volume. Defeated in the attempt to erect power works immediately under the Falls, enterprising promoters devised a plan of evading the uncompromising position of the Commissioners by taking water from the Niagara River above the Reservation and conducting it by subterranean tunnel to the river below the Falls, utilizing its power in transit. By 1894, the year in which the last Constitutional Convention was held, eight corporations had been chartered to use the waters of the Niagara River above the Falls for commercial purposes. Some were subject to no limitation as the amount of water which they could divert, and the situation had become so alarming that Mr. Green who was also a member of the Consti-

tutional Convention offered in the latter body a resolution for the appointment of a committee to report to the convention whether the State Constitution should be amended so as to restrain the Legislature from granting to corporations or individuals the right to divert the waters of the upper Niagara. The resolution was adopted and the subject referred to a committee which reported that if corporate and individual ambition was not checked and made subordinate to public rights, there was danger that the Falls of Niagara, like the Falls of Minnehaha, might live in the tradition of song and story, but would be sadly deficient in the amount of water flowing over their brink.

The committee further declared its belief that an amendment to the Constitution was needed to prevent further grants, and the draft of an amendment was submitted to the convention forbidding the granting of any charter to divert the waters of Niagara except for sanitary, fire, and domestic uses, and providing that corporations or individuals already chartered should be under the direction and control of the Reservation Commissioners. But the efforts of the opponents of the amendment secured its defeat in the convention.

The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society was founded by Mr. Green in 1895. It was originally incorporated by a special act of the Legislature of the State of New York under the title of "The Trustees of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects." This title was changed to that of "The Society for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects"; and by Chapter 385 of the Laws of 1901 to "The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society." The following summary of the aims of this association is borrowed from an interesting monograph on the subject prepared by its secretary, Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall: It is a national organization of men and women, animated by a love of the beautiful in Art and Nature, and inspired by public spirit and pride in our National Annals, associated for the protection of natural scenery, the preservation of archæological remains and historic landmarks, and the improvement of cities. It aims to protect beautiful features of the natural landscape from disfigurement, either by physical alterations or by the erection of unsightly signs and structures; to conserve forests,

streams and waterfalls; and to preserve from destruction remarkable formations and organic growths, possessing an artistic or scientific value. It endeavors to prevent the mutilation, destruction or dispersion of American antiquities; to save from obliteration places, objects and names identified with local, state, and national history; to encourage original research and promote the publication of original documents and contributions relating to American history and scenery; to erect suitable historical memorials where none exist; and to secure the bestowal of significant and appropriate names on new thoroughfares, bridges, parks, reservoirs, and other great municipal works. It promotes the beautification of cities and villages by the landscape adornment of their open spaces and thoroughfares, the protection of their parks and trees from deterioration or destruction, and the creation of public parks by private gift or the appropriation of public funds for the health, comfort and pleasure of the people. It cultivates by public meetings, free lectures, literature, prize competitions, correspondence and other educational means, popular appreciation of the scenic beauties of America and public sentiment in favor of their preservation; and it promotes interest in and respect for the history of the country, its honored names and its visible memorials.

The society is empowered by its charter to acquire by purchase, gift, grant, devise or bequest, historic, memorable or picturesque places in the State of New York or elsewhere in the United States, hold real or personal property in fee or upon such lawful trusts as may be agreed upon between the donors thereof and the corporation and to improve the same, admission to which shall be free to the public under such rules for the proper protection thereof as the corporation may prescribe. In the State of New York the society occupies a quasi-official position, being required to report annually to the Legislature, and especially privileged to report at any time, by bill or otherwise, recommendations concerning the objects of the society. The property of the society is by law exempt from taxation within the State of New York.

The society not only strives to influence others to perform acts of public beneficence, but it also shows its spirit by the examples

of its own members. During the past decade, members of the society have made personal gifts aggregating \$2,347,200 for public statues, tablets, and the preservation and restoration of historic buildings. The society has been chiefly instrumental in the creation of seven State parks and largely instrumental in the creation of an eighth. It has been the leading influence in securing State appropriations amounting to \$317,359 for State parks, and a minor influence in helping to secure appropriations amounting to \$2,950,000 for similar purposes. It was the leading factor in securing the creation of Washington's Headquarters Park in New York City at a cost of \$235,000. It is custodian of five State properties.

Although performing functions exercised in some European countries by the Government itself, and in some cases actually representing State and local authorities at home, the society received no governmental financial support for its general work. The appropriations of public moneys which it receives are applied exclusively to the specific objects for which they are made without any administrative charges by the society. The society is therefore entirely dependent, for the maintenance of its general work, upon its membership dues, occasional voluntary contributions and the income from the Green Memorial Fund mentioned hereafter. The expenses of the society during the first sixteen years of its existence have been less than \$38,000, which is an indication of the economy with which its affairs are managed and which is an extremely small "percentage of cost" compared with the practical results of its work.

On the death of Mr. Green on November 13, 1903, the Trustees of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society adopted the following memorial:

The trustees of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, assembled in the City of New York, on Monday November 23, 1903, record with inexpressible sorrow the death, on Friday, November 13, instant, of the Founder and President of the Society, the Honorable Andrew Haswell Green.

Although entered upon the eighty-fourth year of his age, he retained undiminished the vigor of those remarkable faculties which he had dedicated so unreservedly and unselfishly to the betterment of the Community for full fifty years; and he was, at the time of his demise, easily the first citizen of his generation in the City of New York.

The inflexible integrity of his character, the predominant good sense of his judgments, and the unquestioned disinterestedness of his motives, made him the repository of many great private and public trusts. Although honored with positions of grave responsibility by both the State and municipal governments, he had no love of public office for its own sake, and repeatedly declined the tender of the nomination to the highest official honor in the gift of the metropolis.

His influence was the power of a unique personality, coupled with a broad spirit of philanthropy; and his services, touching every conceivable phase of municipal life, were conspicuous not by reason of the public stations which he occupied, but because of the recognition which their intrinsic merits commanded.

The devoted patriot, in whose veins flowed the blood of an heroic ancestry, he took intense pride in the history of his country, the monuments and records of whose progress he strove to preserve.

He loved, too, "her rocks and rills, her woods and templed hills," in which his responsive nature saw the beauty and grandeur of the Creative Power, and which, through the instrumentality of this Society, he endeavored to protect from the desecrating hand of man.

And yet, devoted as he was to his native land, his all-embracing sympathies gave him a conception of human brotherhood which made him, in a larger sense, a citizen of the world. He believed in a more generous hospitality than the Federal Government has yet extended to the less fortunate people of other nations, in order that the world might share more largely in the blessings of the Republic. He loved peace, and abhorred war; and one of his last concerns was the advancement of that era of universal good-will among men, in which the guidance of reason should supplant the arbitrament of the sword.

Beneath the Roman firmness with which in the public view he maintained his convictions of right and duty there was the gentle nature of a great and sympathetic heart, which blossomed in many an act of unpublished kindness, and which gave a peculiar charm to the private intercourse of personal friendships.

And back of the practical mind which directed his utilitarian activities there was the cultured intellect which found companionship and delight in the products of the world's best thought.

Pure in heart, lofty in ideals, gentle in spirit but strong in deed, he was one of nature's noblemen, who died as he lived, without fear and without reproach. The world is better for his having lived in it, and the standard of American citizenship is higher for the mark which he attained.

The genius which he has wrought so laboriously and successfully into the better material conditions of the metropolis will minister to the happiness of generations yet to come; and his memory will be cherished with love, respect, and gratitude in the hearts of those whose history has been adorned with his illustrious career.

On November 12, 1906, the heirs of the founder of the society gave to the society the sum of \$10,000 to constitute or be the nucleus of a fund to be known as the Andrew H. Green Memorial Fund. The principal is to remain permanently invested and the interest applied to the work of the society.

CHAPTER XIX

PROFOUND AND CONTINUOUS ATTACHMENT TO THE HOME OF HIS YOUTH — AN EARLY TRIP OF MR. GREEN TO WASHINGTON AND THENCE TO THE NEW WEST — CASUAL REVELATIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL CHARACTER AND TASTES — A CHARACTERISTIC ORATION AT THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE GREENS

WRITING from Ceylon to his sister Julia, in September, 1865, apropos of the death of his father, William E. Green, Dr. Samuel F. Green made this characteristic reference to the filial relation of his brother Andrew: "By the roadside about one and one half miles from us, on the way to Batticotta, stands a banyan. The parent trunk, bulky and decayed, has long parted from the soil and is lifted up in midair, borne up by a staunch secondary stem. It reminds me of the venerated sire and the noble son who so liberally and tenderly has cared for him these many years." As already noted, the resolution to devote his life to his family was formed by Andrew H. Green as early as 1844, and he set himself to assume the responsibility of keeping a home at Green Hill for his father and sisters, while his own prospects in life were still beset with doubt and anxiety. He clearly recognized that the farm, without great caution, prudence and foresight, would drain every cent he could get, besides perplexing him in his affairs in New York. But "for the good of the family and nothing else" he resolved to take it, trusting to caution and good management to clear himself and benefit those around him. From this resolution he never departed, and, some thirty years later, on his return to the home of his childhood, Dr. Samuel F. Green found that his brother had added so much to the farm and the house and had made so many alterations on the place that memory had to supply much that was once familiar to the sight. The Doctor had expressed the wish in his boyhood that his brother might become owner of the homestead; and now

his wish was realized — in 1874 — far beyond what his youthful imagination had ventured to think possible. It was, however, the same hospitable home he had known when young, where all who came were ever welcome, especially those allied by ties of family.

There were some anxious years between the formation of Mr. Green's resolution to accept all the responsibilities of Green Hill for the benefit of his family, and the final adjustment of all the interests which that involved. It was not until June 20, 1848, in a letter to his sister in New York, that he was able to announce that the business in relation to the old farm was complete, and that he had finally become its owner, subject to certain incumbrances which with strength and industry could be removed. He hoped that they would all pass many very pleasant days there, and he added: "It has been a long and very trying process for me. A kind Providence has been pleased to order the affair to this termination." The scrupulous and minute carefulness which in this as in other matters he brought to the discharge of any and every obligation he assumed is aptly illustrated in the following passage from a letter to his sister Julia dated July 8, 1848: "You tell me that the two quarts of milk have not been furnished to Aunt B. I should like to know why it has not been done, as it was my expressed request that it should not be omitted. I wrote to William N. some two or three days since, requesting an immediate reply. I have no right to trespass upon any one's private business, but these constant delays in answering my letters are extremely vexatious and keep me perpetually anxious. I shall look to you for a faithful compliance with my request, and can assure you that you never need fear that your letters will not be appreciated for lack of interest. I ask you to say to Father that unless Aunt B. has expressly stated that she does not want the milk furnished to her and in such a way that I can have full evidence of it, my wish is that the milk be furnished to her in accordance with the letter of my agreement, and it had better be kept for her at any rate."

For the best part of forty years the improvement and embellishment of Green Hill was a constant subject of thought and care for Mr. Green. It was emphatically a labor of love and he en-

tered into every detail of fencing, draining, replanting, and building with all the zest of a man who cherished through all his life a passionate attachment to the home of his youth. His visits there were as frequent as the pressure of his private business and the still more exacting demands of public duty would permit. Through all these forty years Mr. Green's correspondence shows how constantly Green Hill was present in his mind, and how clearly he visualized at his desk in the city all the features and requirements of his country home. It would be tedious to reproduce any considerable part of this correspondence in detail, but its general character may be inferred from the two following samples. The first is an extract from a letter written while the improvements at Green Hill were well under way, and when the place was beginning to assume the general character which it had before it passed into public ownership. The following directions occur in the body of this communication: "1st. Let the drains in 10-acre lot be completed and covered. 2d. Have a line of shade trees set 20 feet apart along front of my Belmont Street line, from the gateway down to the east end of my land, to be put 8 or 10 feet from the wall as may appear best, and close to the wall if there is danger of narrowing the street too much — they may be elms or maples. Holes well dug and stakes should be put about them to keep cattle from injuring them. 3d. Have the meadow outlet filled in with stones and earth so as to flow back the water to about the surface of it, to be done so that it will not give way. 4th. Have stones and stakes and wood and rails picked up all over the farm; the stones to be drawn to the nearest cross or boundary wall to be built; rails and fencing stakes put where wanted for use, wood for burning."

The following extract is equally characteristic of the minute care with which Mr. Green superintended from New York operations at Green Hill: "The season of fruits is actually upon us, and the time to have the examination and record of every fruit tree is here. Will you take Mr. Merriam and commence the work at once, and make it complete and thorough. I think every tree on the farm is numbered now, and of a great many trees about the house you know the fruit. These should be entered in the book opposite the number of the tree, and such very brief remarks as

to the condition of the tree as you may think best. Where more than one kind of fruit is on the tree, note it in the book and add such remarks as to the origin of the tree, by whom and when planted, as you can obtain from Father. Where a tree or a limb of a tree is to be grafted, let a piece of shingle be wired to it so that it may be attended to in the coming spring. This is a rare year for fruit; each tree will this year tell its own story, and it will not do to let it pass away without this record. You need not make it laborious; take one lot a day with Father and Mr. Merriam and your book in your hand, and try and accomplish it thoroughly. Take paper enough so as not to crowd your remarks."

In the early years of his public life, save for periodic excursions to Green Hill, Mr. Green traveled but little. In the late summer of 1857, however, he made a somewhat interesting trip by way of Washington into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Minnesota. There is nothing specially original in his simple, unaffected narrative to the family at home of what he saw. But at this distance of time his impressions of the then new West possess a special interest. The correspondence begins with a letter dated "Oakland, The Glades Hotel, tiptop of the Alleghanies, 2,600 feet above the level of the ocean, Tuesday, August 11, 1857," which gives an account of a trip to Washington, including a visit to Mount Vernon, in the following terms:

We hugged the flat lands of the seaboard from New York to Washington, and that tedious route was made additionally so by the non-connection of trains at Philadelphia. After sitting around there for three or four hours we left for Baltimore and got to Washington at about 6 A. M. . . . I called on the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of the Navy — the former, Howell Cobb of Georgia, a cautious, wily man, looking for the next presidency, the latter, a gentleman very affable and intelligent. I found that to get down to Mt. Vernon from Washington was an undertaking of about a day in a carriage over a most villainous and impracticable road, but my friend, who is the president of the Steamboat Company, said that a party or excursion was going down the river three miles below Mt. Vernon; that it was a respectable church excursion and he said he would take us down and while the excursionists were enjoying themselves at the "White House," a place of resort on the Potomac, he would have the boat return to Mt. Vernon with us and wait till we saw it and then go back for the excursionists. . . . We saw Mt. Vernon in as great a night — under as big a moon as I have seen of late, the Potomac and its banks and accessories were as placid and beautiful as could be desired. Julia was apprehensive that the boat would tip over, but, as good luck would have it, it did not; but, I must do her justice to say that it did cant over, inso-

much that the little handfuls of water that stood in the hollows of the deck on the right side of the boat going down commenced running slowly across the deck, but luckily did not get clear across. I think the elevation of one sixteenth of an inch more would have sent at least one quart of fresh water right across the deck from the right side of the boat to the left side of the boat and thence right into the Potomac!

Approaching Mt. Vernon we saw a multitude of logs that had been shot down the bank of the river and were destined to go to Washington to make canes from Mt. Vernon which have become an article of commerce. We reached a dilapidated dock; got ashore, went up a pathway that is behind that to Millstone Hill in convenience and comfort; through a lane — pigsties, negro house, etc., its ornaments — and went to the east door of Mt. Vernon house. Went in and through it and around and saw all its dilapidation, and it is all in that way. The owner, John A. Washington, lives here, a morose man, sells the timber of Mt. Vernon for walking sticks, charges the Steamboat Company 10 cents for each passenger they land; shuts the gardens, sees nobody; wants to sell 200 acres to the Government for \$200,000. He is after all excusable; thousands go there and among them some who are not as quiet and restrained as would be well. He refuses to sell to any company, though I doubt not he could get a company in a week that would give him more money. We went away. I felt a sort of atmosphere around the place that impressed me during the few moments we were there. What I most desired to see was the home and the plan of the home and grounds of the man who has filled and will more and more fill a high place among the great men of this world. Washington is becoming an ideal character; of course his perfections will be more prominent as time cuts off or rots away everything that is recollected in common with ordinary men.

On August 13th Mr. Green writes from Indianapolis some brief details of the journey across the Alleghanies, and makes this very characteristic remark: "We dined at Grafton and struck the Ohio at Moundsville about 7 P.M. I raised my hat at the first sight of the Ohio and found myself indeed in the country which Father has, from my earliest recollection, spoken of as the 'Ohio country.' It is now East instead of West." By August 14th he is in Chicago, which he thinks is about the only place he has seen since leaving New York that he would be willing to live in. "Great is the activity, the stir, the upturning, of this place; the crops are to be prodigious beyond compare." Closer acquaintance with Chicago does not diminish his liking for the place, but he rather inclined to think that they are on a high pressure principle and that things will explode, although he recognizes that there are considerations tending to modify this opinion. On August 23d he writes from Prairie du Chien that returning from St. Anthony to St. Paul the desire of the party was to get away

because there is nothing at St. Paul to interest the traveler, "and one feels it a waste of time to remain there, when neither the comforts of home nor the novelties of other localities invite." This is in a letter to his sister Lydia in which occurs the following query: "Did you not find the scenery of the Mississippi very tame and unimpressive? It is true it is different from anything else that I had seen, but 300 miles with only very slight variation of the shores or of the stream become tedious. I do not desire to go over the ground again, though I am not dissatisfied at having accomplished it."

Reaching Chicago again in due course he writes from that city on August 25, 1857: "Land speculations are the principal mania of the country. For hundreds of miles beyond St. Paul the lands are eagerly sought for. There is likely to be a smash-up in this country before a great while. Money is excessively dear, commanding very high rates. . . . I think this place must continue to expand and increase; still it seems to be from indications that I see around me that the land fever will soon take the ague turn." But however far from Green Hill, his mind and his heart were still there, and in this very letter he says: "I want you to write me particularly what is being done in the carriage house. Tell Mr. Wait that none but the best sort of workmanship will satisfy me; that he had better get the sill put in. I may get on in early part of September."

At this time Mr. Green was a man of thirty-seven years, and the development of his character has been rather indicated than defined since this memoir departed from the lines of his personal diary. There is in his later correspondence singularly little of what may be called the human element.

But beneath a somewhat austere exterior Mr. Green had a very gentle heart, which, when relieved of business cares, expressed itself in a winning glance of the eye, a melodious inflection of the voice and a gentle pressure of the hand. In the long course of letters addressed to one or other of his sisters at Green Hill there are but few expressions of sentiment, but now and again a little remark like the following crops out, revealing the working of the heart beneath: "The more I see of things and men the more I feel strengthened in the attachments that have grown up with

me to those of my own household. Their society is agreeable to me; they are my home, and I wish I could make myself as acceptable to them as they are to me." That was written in 1866 and in a letter of twenty years later occurs this brief indication of the survival of a sentiment which Mr. Green bore with him to his grave: "Separated again from your presence I unite again by force of the pen, with you and all at the Hill. I felt while there very deeply all your kind attentions; the mending of my coat, darning of my stockings, and the general setting up of things were all appreciated. There seems with me a very great dulness when I go to you, owing perhaps to the letting up of affairs and perhaps something to the nature of the heat. I fear I don't make myself as agreeable as I ought."

That the sentiment of home was very deeply imbedded in the character of the Green family finds copious evidence in the letters of Dr. Samuel F. Green which were published in a memoir prepared for the family after his death. Writing in 1862 from No 1. Fifth Avenue, New York, Doctor Green, then a man of forty years of age, says in a letter to his sisters at Green Hill: "I was much interested in hearing Father's letters and yours read last evening. Sisters two and I had a quiet time in back parlor by ourselves, . . . talking and enjoying in silence the near presence of the beloved . . . when in silence a number allied by blood and long association encircle an evening hearth, don't the hearts keep whispering to each other and conning of each other and praying for each other to God?"

Mr. Green's literary tastes which we have seen were somewhat varied in his youth took a narrower range as he grew older. Next to the Bible, which he read every morning, Milton, both in his prose and his poetry, was his favorite companion. "Lycidas" was his favorite poem, and it was characteristic of so profound an admirer of the "Arcopagitica," that he should have proposed the erection in New York of a monument to Milton as the great apostle of human liberty. On one occasion he said: "I would rather be the successful projector of a monument to Milton than Mayor of New York." He could repeat by heart several of Milton's sonnets, particularly that to Mr. Lawrence, and the one to Cyriac Skinner in which Milton alludes to the loss of his eye-

sight in writing the answer to the defence of Charles I by Salmasius. Mr. Green was also a warm admirer of the works of Mr. James Bryce and of Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty." In the field of history Parkman was his favorite author, and in comparatively recent books like "The Cycle of Cathay" and "China in Convulsion" he found a new outlet for his sympathies and a new series of peculiarly human problems to engage his mind. The literary favorites of his youth were not by any means forgotten in his later years, and among them Thackeray, Macaulay, and Burke continued to the last to be among his best-loved authors. But his sedulous devotion to the life and works of the great English poet grew stronger with years, as little indications like the following from one of his letters in 1885 fully attest: "I send a slip herewith which please have one of the children put in 1st Vol. of Masson's Milton; fasten it in."

Evidence of this intimate study of Milton crops up in a curious way in the course of an address delivered by Mr. Green at the 150th anniversary celebration of the Greenville Baptist Church in Leicester on September 28, 1888. The occasion was peculiarly a Green celebration, the founder and donor of the church having been the third Thomas Green, dating from the original settler, who was also the original purchaser of Green Hill. The central feature of this celebration was the presentation of a memorial tablet to be placed in the wall of the church as a gift from Andrew H. Green in memory of his ancestor. The address of presentation was made by Samuel S. Green, a great-great-grandson of Dr. Thomas Green for many years the honored librarian of the Worcester Free Library and in it occurs the following passage:

As I stood not long ago on an elevation behind the mansion on Green Hill, Worcester, looking at the different villages that were in sight, when I glanced toward the South there appeared in view the spire and buildings on Leicester Hill. I could not help thinking that Thomas Green, when he brought his son, the first Doctor John Green to Worcester, when he was about twenty-one years old, selected Green Hill, for his residence in order that his native town might always be in sight from a spot near this house, and that the recollections of his home might continually call to mind the lessons in right living he had there received. The existing house is a pleasant reminder of the original dwelling occupied by John Green the first. With a fitting reverence for antiquity, when changed requirements called for a larger house, the present proprietor, Mr. Andrew Green, instead of pulling down the old house, cut it

in two, and moving one portion back built a stately mansion between the two halves of the old house. You enter through a hall with a low ceiling, and passing through a portion of the old house enter the lofty hall and large decorated rooms of an elegant modern dwelling, and passing through these apartments come again into the rear of the old house. In front of the dwelling stands a venerable locust tree, which tradition avers grew from a whip-switch given to the first Dr. John Green in Leicester, and planted by him in front of his house.

When it came to the turn of Andrew H. Green to speak he had to confess ignorance of from what part of England the lone immigrant came who became the founder of the Green family in Massachusetts. He did know that this ancestor of theirs was contemporary with very active and troublesome times in England, whose Monarch was already framing the timbers for his own scaffold. Mr. Green conjectured that his ancestor doubtless left his home partly on account of a desire for exemption from religious constraint, and perhaps with some curiosity to see what was going on in the new world. "He may have bidden John Milton farewell at his father's law office in Broad St., London, or helped 'waste a sullen day' with him at his country retreat at Horton," while he was giving the finishing touches to a mask, Comus, preparatory to its presentation at Ludlow Castle." Mr. Green admitted that there was the slenderest possible basis for assuming that their ancestor Thomas Green knew John Milton, although one Benjamin Green was a subscribing witness to that agreement by which for five pounds, "the great Milton, poet, statesman, scholar, sold his immortal epic to the printer, Symons." As a further excursion into the pre-American annals of the family, Mr. Green said that history affirms that one Thomas Green was a relative of and fellow comedian with William Shakspeare, and that Shakspeare's father possessed an estate which was known as Green Hill.

What was perhaps more to the purpose was the fact that when the first Thomas Green set foot on this Continent Roger Williams was already here ministering among those who were to become his persecutors. Paying a passing tribute to the way in which the life and services of Roger Williams had been recounted "by that able historian and distinguished citizen of Rhode Island, my earliest friend the late Honorable Samuel Green Arnold," Mr. Green fitly characterized "that apostle of liberty who founded a govern-

ment on the fundamental principle that the civil power should have no control over the conscience." Mr. Green went on to say that "our immigrant and his descendants" dwelt in this commonwealth along the shores of the sea for nearly a full century, but that in 1717 a grandson of his, Captain Samuel Green, started with his only son for the high and picturesque lands of the interior. "As were the Lambs, the Lyndes, the Dennys, Kings, Clarks, Southgates, Earles, and Henshaws, so was he one of the early settlers of this ancient and beautiful Leicester originally known as Strawberry Hill, as he was also an original proprietor of the neighboring town of Hardwick." Here on the banks of the river that turned his father's mill settled and lived Thomas Green the founder and pastor of the church whose 150th anniversary they were celebrating. As his descendant expressed it: "He was alike clergyman and physician, practising both professions with general approval and satisfaction. On Sunday he preached on this spot, while at his home across the way the pot was kept boiling to supply the needed sustenance to the little flock who came from all directions around to attend upon his ministrations. Here he set the candlestick, and may he perish who would with sacrilegious hand extinguish its light."

Mr. Green took occasion to enter his protest against legislative proposals which were then pending to restrict immigration, and against the policy of retaliation and unfriendliness toward Canada which was emerging from the discussion of "the great fish question." He said that this latter had its counterpart in the early times of the village in which he was speaking. It is related that an early settler, whose name is said to have been Green, possessor of a small lake in that region, probably at what was called "Wolf Pit Swamp," being much dissatisfied with the Boston traders by reason of the high price they put upon their salt fish, inaugurated or threatened to inaugurate a policy of retaliation, much to the satisfaction of his worthy neighbors who wanted fish. Whereupon he proposed to import a sufficient quantity of salt to make a brine of to salt his lake, and raise salt fish right here at home, unless the Boston sharks would deal with him on more reasonable terms. Throughout all their generations the Greens have evidently not been deficient in the sense of humor.

CHAPTER XX

MR. GREEN'S CHARACTER AS JUDGED BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES —
THE TESTIMONY OF NEWSPAPERS AND OF PUBLIC MEN —
THE FAMILIAR FALLACY OF THE INCIDENTAL BENE-
FIT OF RING RULE — WHAT NEW YORK
OWES TO MR. GREEN — THE TRUE
METHOD OF UPTOWN IM-
PROVEMENT

FROM first to last the impression that Mr. Green made on his contemporaries was singularly uniform. As we have already seen, he was, for a portion of his career, the target of unmeasured abuse on the part of those whose sinister schemes he had thwarted, or whose raids on the City Treasury of New York he had foiled. But even the newspapers that turned around and abused him when he insisted on subjecting their bills to a strict audit, had but one verdict to pass on his career and character when their judgment was still unclouded by personal interest. The daily and weekly press of New York hailed his appointment as Deputy Comptroller in September 1871, with one accord of praise. "If we cannot trust Mr. Andrew H. Green," said the *Times*, "we may as well give up all hope of finding an honest man to fill any public position. But Mr. Green is to be trusted." The *Sun* pronounced him incorruptible, economical, vigilant, and faithful, and said "there is no man better fitted by talents, by education, by experience and by character, to perform the duties."

The *Tribune* declared him to be "just such a custodian of finances as it would have delighted Andrew Jackson or Silas Wright to have honored and trusted without reserve." The *Journal of Commerce* called the attention of ambitious young men to "the inestimable value of character. It is this priceless possession that gives to the new Comptroller the unbounded confidence of people of all politics and of all classes." "The man who now holds the keys of the city treasury," said the *Evening*

Mail, "is incorruptible, inaccessible to partisan or personal considerations, immovable by threats or bribes, and honest by the very constitution of his whole nature." The *Evening Post* welcomed him as the man whom the people "have plainly designated as their choice." Later, the *Post* referred to "the reputation for stern, unswerving, unflinching integrity which he had acquired in many years of public life." The *Globe* characterized Mr. Green "as one of the most upright and conscientious men who have ever held office in this country. Never has the tongue of slander dared to impugn his honesty or general integrity."

But perhaps the most exhaustive and in its way the most characteristic valuation of Mr. Green attempted at that time, was published in the New York *Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register* of which James A. McMaster was editor and proprietor. Mr. McMaster frankly avowed that he had tried to support the combination which had the rule of the Democratic party in New York, because he believed that the best interests of the country called for the election of the Democratic candidate for President in 1872, and that the powerful organization of Tammany was the apparent means by which that success was to be achieved. After making an impartial résumé of the events of the early part of September, 1871, Mr. McMaster referred to the proposal to offer the deputy comptrollership to a man known to all New Yorkers, who had been intrusted with great public responsibilities and expenditures, and yet had so carried himself in them all that the bitterest enmity to him could only suggest that he was "too stingy of expenses to be fit to be the agent of a great and wealthy community, in carrying out vast public improvements." Then follows the tribute to Mr. Green to which reference has been made:

This man is Andrew H. Green. He has been known in public affairs in this city for twenty years. We have known him longer than that; and we wish here to give our personal testimony to what we know of him. He is a man of very firmly settled habits. That is the tone of his mind. It is so much so that, strange as it may seem, in this age and country, he clings still and has always clung, to the old-fashioned idea that the only reputation worth having is that which is acquired by honorable conduct, and strict integrity. We do believe that Mr. Green is ambitious. But we know that his ambition is that laudable one, of making, and leaving behind him, an honorable name — honorable, not by titles, and still less by wealth hoarded or displayed —

but honorable by valuable services to the public, rigorously discharged, for honor, and not for gain. This much we think is due to a gentleman who, exposed to every species of temptation, in the discharge of functions where many around him have, to us personally called him "a fool for not feathering his nest, as no one will believe he has not done it," surrendered his position as head of the Central Park Commission, not relatively but really, a poor man! Poor, not by extravagance of living — for Mr. Green is abstemious and strict in all his personal habits; but poor because he has clung to the notions of his untarnished boyhood, and has looked for honor through adhering to the paths of rectitude.

Mr. Green, if he has time to read these lines, will be very much surprised at our having said this. But we owe it to the public, if not to him. We have been perhaps, cynical, since the "acceptance of the situation," as it is called. We remember saying to him, some years ago, when Mr. Green's name was proposed as Mayor: "I would like to see you Mayor; but it is no use to wish it. You won't lie, and steal, and bribe; and these are the means by which men gain, and keep, political power."

It is a political refreshment to us, like a heavy dew on parched grass, for us to see a man we know so thoroughly in his public life, so signally vindicated in his judgment that integrity is better than trickery, and straight-dealing better than all the arts of rogues. If Mr. Green is retired, on the first of February, 1872, never again to appear in public life, a more signal public honor has been done to him than to have been mayor of New York a dozen years consecutively. Those big bankers, and men of immense wealth, looking round among each other, have found it their best policy, for the good of the city to rally round a man whose wealth is in the impregnable integrity of his character and in his business alertness and thorough experience.

There was a movement afoot in August, 1876, to induce Mr. Green to allow his name to be used as a candidate for Governor of the State to succeed Mr. Tilden. An anonymous appeal to the people was issued by a friend of Mr. Green in which occurs a very striking summary of his public services up to that time. This brochure referred to Mr. Green's position as one of the Commissioners, and afterward — in 1856 and 1857 — as president of the Board of Education, in protecting teachers and pupils against the encroachments of ward politicians, "who sought entry into the public schools in order to play the rôles of Tweed and Garvey with repairs, new erections, supplies of fuel and books, or the subordination of education to the miserable exigencies of that low order of politics which afterward, in other directions, assumed such formidable influences." This publication further recounted that in 1858, when the Central Park was to be begun and progressed, "so favorably was his executive ability, courage, and sturdy honesty already regarded that public opinion pointed out

Andrew H. Green as the best citizen to whom should be confided the great trust of economically supervising the expenditure of millions upon millions of money in that 'vast undertaking.'” This writer goes on to say: “Without hyperbole one may aver that his great executive ability, his entire devotion of time, his unwearied watchfulness, his enmity to extravagance, and his zeal in resisting the slightest attempt at political or plundering encroachments upon his great trust, have saved ten millions of the public money during those twelve years wherein, by consent of all party leaders and with the plaudits of every citizen, he remained at the head of the Park Department.”

Twelve years later, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, while Mayor of New York and when the question of nominating his successor was under discussion, said, in answer to the question of where he would stand in the event of Mr. Green's nomination: “Now you have mentioned the one man of whom I can speak without reservation. If there is one man who can be uglier than I can be in protecting the interests of the whole people and enforcing the laws, he is Andrew H. Green. I would support him no matter what Democratic faction nominated him. I would not run against him. I shall go further and state that he is more fitted to be Mayor than I am. He ought to have been nominated when I was.”

Eleven years later still, the testimony borne by General Woodford to the character and public services of Mr. Green was merely an expression of the verdict which his fellow-citizens were in substantial agreement in passing upon the fifty years of public service which Mr. Green had completed when he became the recipient of the gold medal commemorating the creation of the Greater City of New York: “To his honor, in this wealth-getting age, be it said, he never forgot his old Massachusetts training that bade him always to be a citizen. He has done his work as citizen all his life through, and he has done it not where the most glittering honors were to be won but where the best, the most useful and the most enduring work was to be done. He went into the school board of our city. He wrought there so patiently, so wisely and so efficiently that by common consent he was made the president of the Board. Then came that awakening sense of culture and beauty which blossomed into our public park system. Our friend

had broadened and ripened in taste and character in his formative work in our schools, and he turned with interest and zeal to this new development of our civic life. He was and remains a man of essential initiative. He took into his park work admirable and educated taste, large views of what New York should grow to be and what the future would require, and better than all the courage to go ahead and secure what the New York of centuries to come should need. Without disparagement of others, Mr. Green may justly be called the creator of our New York park system, and I think we may justly claim for New York that, with the possible exception of Chicago, our city has the most comprehensive system of public parks that can be found in the world. This system is mainly due to Mr. Green." General Woodford also took occasion to pay Mr. Green a proper tribute for the development, outside of the park system, of upper or northern New York. There is no more prevalent misconception even among the people who have lived through the era of this development than that something could be said in favor of Tweed and his gang on the score of their services in this very work of uptown improvement. It was, therefore, very much to the purpose that "A Son of New York," from whose brochure of August 19, 1876, we have already quoted, should have insisted that during the period in which Mr. Green was the directing mind of the park system, "he planted the germ of every public improvement which strangers now see developed or in process of evolution in that great area of the metropolis which lies between Central Park and those divisions of the city that, at Mr. Green's original suggestion, have been recently carved out of Westchester County. The scheme of adjacent parks, with boulevards, was entirely his own."

As this is a subject which has hardly received the attention it deserves, and one in regard to which there exists a great deal of loose writing calculated to mislead the future historian, it may be well to trace with some detail the evolution of what may be called the uptown improvement of New York. The authority from whom we have just quoted directs attention to the fact that it was Mr. Green who convinced every one that it was more thrifty to lay out into parks the almost solidly mountainous regions of upper New York than intersect them with avenues, and thereby to the

gigantic first cost of surveying, engineering, mapping, grading, sewerage, paving, and setting them with gas and water pipes, add a second expense to housebuilders in blasting out granite for the foundations of buildings, and forming needful connections with public work. He adds that Mr. Green was also the first to perceive that in the form of bridges and perhaps tunnels the city in its northern expansion must be "streeted" (so to phrase it) across the Harlem River. In 1869 the Ring made a partial seizure of these plans and undertakings, and undertook to accomplish, in the course of two or three years, improvements which good faith to the taxpayers and sound official judgment alike demanded should be spread over ten years step by step with the legitimate growth of the city. It is to this kind of enterprise that we owe the prevalent impression about Tweed and his fellow-conspirators having done so much for the work of uptown improvement. The fact was that a few unscrupulous officials succeeded in expending twenty millions of dollars during the period of Ring rule, and, that while they enriched some of their confederates, they actually bankrupted half the adjacent property-owners with premature taxation and forced assessments.

What may be called the formal beginning of the work of municipal improvement in New York dates from April 3, 1807, when the State Legislature appointed Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford commissioners to lay out streets, roads, and public squares of such width, extent and direction as to them should seem most conducive to public good, and to shut up, or direct to be shut up, any streets or parts thereof which had been heretofore laid out and not accepted by the Common Council within that part of the city, roughly speaking, lying north of Houston Street. At that time the population of New York did not exceed 80,000, being less than that of Philadelphia, and the assessed value of the property of the city was \$24,959,955 on which was levied a tax of \$129,155. But it was already apparent that New York was in commercial importance as well as in other respects to take precedence of all the other cities of the continent, and various schemes of public improvement began to be agitated.

At the time the commissioners of 1807 began their work there were very few improvements in the city above the New York

Hospital. What is now Canal Street was then a ditch running through Lisperard's meadows, and crossed at Broadway by a stone bridge; the sidewalks of Broadway had been but a few years paved from Vesey to Murray Street; the City Hall Park had just been enclosed with a post-and-rail fence. Above Canal Street the lands were partly fenced in lots and fields; and although the jurisdiction of the commissioners began in the fields far above the settled portion of the city, their surveyors were constantly annoyed by suits for trespass for going over private grounds, showing the existence of a determined opposition to the prosecution of any plan for laying out the city. One of the first questions which engaged the attention of the commissioners was to determine whether they should confine themselves to rectilinear and rectangular streets, or whether they should adopt some of those supposed improvements by "circles, ovals, and stars," which, as they say, "certainly embellish a plan whatever may be their effect as to convenience and utility." The consideration that "a city is to be composed principally of the habitations of men, and that straight-sided and right-angled houses are the most cheap to build and the most convenient to live in," determined them in favor of the rectangular plan. The plan was duly filed in 1811, but as soon as the city began to approach the territory which it covered, and as early as the year 1814, applications were made to the Legislature to modify it. Writing in 1865, Mr. Green pointed out that no less than thirty-eight laws had been passed by the Legislature since that year for that purpose, so that almost every one of the distinctive features of the plan, excepting that of the rectangular system had been abolished or materially altered.

Above Forty-second Street the commissioners of 1807 wisely attempted little that was definite, and as the territory below Forty-second Street was of less uneven and rocky surface than that higher up the rectangular scheme of streets and avenues was not subjected to any great strain. Mr. Green remarks in his report from which we have quoted that it is very doubtful whether the rocky ridges of the island along the shores of the rivers, running, as they generally do, longitudinally, should be cut by numerous crossing streets, especially where the grades to reach the river

must be so steep as to render the convenient passage of vehicles impossible, and whether the longitudinal should not be more and the cross streets less frequent. In Mr. Green's judgment the natural indications of the island might have been more closely conformed to by the provision of more longitudinal avenues; they would have been much less expensively made, and the public would have been better accommodated, since the bulk of city traffic is lengthwise the island. He suggested in 1865 that this error might yet in some degree be remedied by a relaying out of that naturally beautiful portion of the island which had then not been much built on or subdivided lying west of Eighth Avenue, between Seventy-second and One Hundred and Fifty-fifth streets.

The problem of introducing such modifications as they might deem requisite in preceding plans was turned over to the Central Park Commissioners by the Legislature of 1865, which also conferred upon the Board powers adequate not only to the laying out of streets, roads, public squares and places, but to the taking of the land necessary therefor, and to the regulating, grading and improving of the same. That is to say, the Board was invested not only with the powers of the Corporation of the City, but also with those of some of the executive departments with relation to the streets and avenues included under its jurisdiction. The most important and difficult part of its task related to the laying out of the streets and roads, public squares and places on that part of the island above One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, and the provision of a drive from that street to the intersection of Fifty-ninth Street and Eighth Avenue, a distance of over five miles. It was recognized by no one more clearly than by Mr. Green that the ground to be laid out was of an unusually difficult formation to arrange on any symmetrical plan, including as it did many small proprietorships, the improvements upon which, already made, or contemplated, would necessarily interfere with any plan that might be adopted. Moreover, it was a work that could only be accomplished in all its details in course of a considerable space of time. At that time and all through the period of his connection with the work of uptown improvement, Mr. Green insisted that it was unwise to exercise the power of opening and working streets

before they are needed; the owners interested should not be required to advance the money to pay the necessary expenses long before a compensating use can be made of the property. These expenses are often considerable, and, if made before the property is usable, are in the light of advances of money without interest, and to owners of small means, they are often oppressive. It was Mr. Green's judgment that the owners of adjacent property may generally be relied on as the best judges as to the necessity of opening and working those ways that are more especially intended for the accommodation of the neighborhood.

He pointed out the necessity of determining the course and direction of the streets that were ultimately to exist with reference to the probable currents and volume of travel from the city below "from the future cities that are to crown the opposite Jersey Heights, the fields of Westchester and from the waters that are to bear that portion of commerce that is to seek accommodation at this end of the island." He also directed attention to the fact that the exceeding picturesqueness of the ground along the Hudson River, both above and below One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, much of which is well grown with fine park trees, afforded an opportunity to supply what will shortly be a want in a part of the city against which it cannot be urged that sufficient space had already been taken for parks. He said that this ground need not be very extensive; one of the points jutting out into the river, cut off from the hills by the line of the Hudson River railway, that from the slope of the land affords a convenient opportunity to bridge over the railroad, and a safe and agreeable access from the hill to the river side, would be suitable. It was characteristic of Mr. Green to think of the requirements of forms of sport for which he had no personal liking, and in this report of his, dated December 1865, he remarks that as the movement of population uptown would soon require for other uses the roads that have for many years served as a race-course, some other public road should be seized on where horses could be exercised and fast driving indulged in. He added that it was vain to argue against such recreations from the abuses that may attend them, and he thought that a course for riding and driving at a higher rate of speed than would be safe on the streets and roads of the

city, would be one effectual mode of preventing dangerous driving elsewhere.

From the beginning to the end of his active participation in public affairs, Mr. Green never ceased to make war on the extravagant cost of the legal proceedings attending the opening of new streets and the condemnation of property for public uses generally. In the report from which we have quoted he says on this subject that as power to make applications for opening the streets in the district above One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, and for opening and widening several streets below was vested in the Commissioners of the Central Park, he thinks it exceedingly desirable to apply to the Legislature for such amendments to the law as will facilitate a reduction of the expenses of this class of proceedings, and get rid of the gross abuses that have long fastened upon them. With his characteristic breadth of view he points out that the manner in which any plan that may be presented by the Board in regard to the subjects intrusted to them by the Legislature, would be received by the public, must depend upon the evidence it bore of an intelligent, comprehensive appreciation of certain very large questions. To insure the approval of present and future times it must comprise something more than a succession of regular figures, such as instinct leads the industrious insect to arrange for its habitation and storehouse. He said that it would be easy to write an essay that would stimulate the imagination with visions of parks, groves, terraces, fountains, statuary, and palatial residences, but the task before them was a practical one and it behooved them not to excite unobtainable expectations. Money would be needed, but it should as far as possible be required at such times and in such amounts as would not be burdensome, and so applied as to give no just occasion for criticism. While sufficient time should be taken thoroughly to mature a plan, it had to be remembered that delays were prejudicial to the interests of proprietors as well as to the convenience of the public, since until the lines and grades of the streets and avenues were determined, improvements would be retarded. The unsettled plan operates as notice to property owners that if they proceed to improve, it is at the risk of waste of their outlay. Mr. Green proceeded to declare that this state of things ought not

to exist one day longer than was necessary; that energy and intelligence should combine to terminate it. He pointed out that the tendency of modern contrivances for transportation seems to be to facilitate the massing of population in cities. New York, pre-eminently commercial, was already becoming a great manufacturing centre of the country, population was pressing upon its territory, and with convenience for rapid travel through its extent would very soon wholly occupy it.

There was, however, another side to the question of uptown improvement of which Mr. Green never lost sight. Speaking in 1876, after the orgy of Ring plunder had been followed by the period of rigid economy of which he had to stand most of the brunt, he showed that the class of uptown improvements that had been pressed with such undue vigor for the last six or eight years had required expenditures disproportionate to those which had been made in the business part of the city. He added that one had but to spend an hour in the lower part of New York to see its streets in a most dilapidated condition, and what should be done was the immediate expenditure of a large sum of money in repairing the pavements of the streets downtown, where the necessities of commerce require it and where people live and transact their business. This he had frequently insisted upon for years, and he held it to be at least as wise to put those ways in order that are necessary to supplying aliment to the city, so that business might be carried on, as it was to drive any more avenues into the woods "that lead no where and are of no use to anybody."

Ardent advocate as Mr. Green was of all forms of public improvement, he strenuously insisted that such work must be done with a rigid comprehension of what the taxpayers are ready to bear. In that speech of his in October, 1876, he said that there was no need to increase the taxes one dollar if the money were faithfully applied. If the city got one dollar back for every one it spent there would be no lack of money and no increase of the debt. Then he remarked: "We want to husband the revenues of this city. They are princely. They have been wasted. The laws are very incomplete in regard to them. If they were husbanded they would go far to alleviate the oppression of taxation that we have had upon us. In the coming year we shall be re-

lieved largely by a reduction of the State tax of some \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000. We have an office-holding class here that take very good care of themselves in Albany, and if we had another class that were equally attentive I think we should make large reductions in our expenditures." This was merely an echo of what he had said in a communication addressed to Mr. William A. Booth and others two years before to the effect that if the people of New York wanted to put a stop to the squandering of their money upon public improvements which were not required, and were to compel its application to those most urgently needed, they must make themselves heard in the State Legislature in a tone of sufficient authority to silence the clamor of the corrupt lobby that yearly struggled for a share of the patronage and pickings of this great city, and that will always be found at the back of the department which has the greatest ability and will to dispose of such things. That the people of New York have come to recognize the necessity of such watchfulness, in the public life of this city, is due to no man so much as to Andrew H. Green.

CHAPTER XXI

PERMANENT INFLUENCE OF MR. GREEN ON CITY ADMINISTRATION —
THE STANDARDS AND IDEALS OF THE FATHER OF THE
GREATER NEW YORK — HIS UNIQUE POSITION IN
RELATION TO THE PROGRESS OF THE CITY —
CLOSING YEARS AND TRAGIC END

IN TRYING to appraise the value of the permanent influence of a career and character like that of Andrew H. Green it is necessary to bear constantly in mind the moral standards of those who shared with him the responsibilities of public life. As has already been sufficiently indicated, these standards were, in the main, deplorably low. It would be absurd to claim for Mr. Green the distinction of being the only man of his generation who brought to the discharge of every public duty which he undertook inflexible integrity, and maintained throughout all his public career a character of unsullied honesty. He himself disliked nothing so much as laudation based on the fact that he was an "honest man," insisting always that honesty ought to be taken as a matter of course and not of special distinction. He was the sworn foe of all loose standards of official conduct, and had as little patience with flabby incapacity as with downright rascality. But it would be doing less than justice to the work he did in the most strenuous years of his life, and to the impression he left on the municipal administration of New York, to ignore the fact that the work was made doubly hard by the rarity in that administration of either ability or honesty. Long before matters reached a crisis in the city government, people had ceased to expect any conspicuous endowment of either capacity or rectitude among the men whom the professional politicians placed in the offices of public trust. As has also been already emphasized in the preceding pages, men of means and of standing in the community — great property-owners, rich merchants, and influ-

ential bankers — were ready to make the best bargain they could with men whom they must have known to be no better than professional thieves. But for the passive tolerance of these and the active support of others, the Tweed Ring never would have come into existence, or, having been formed, would have been far less potent than it proved to be for purposes of plunder.

In a generation less critical of its public servants than the present, or in which there was at least a proportionately larger number of voters with whom moral considerations had but little weight, Mr. Green stood, consistently and resolutely, for the highest standards of public duty. What it cost him in the way of abuse, while in the Comptroller's office, could be but partially indicated in the preceding narrative, since for at least four years the record was one of almost daily attack. In this connection, the following extract from the *Evening Telegram* of February 20, 1872, apropos of a hostile demonstration of so-called city laborers will be found highly suggestive:

If Comptroller Green were a thief or a criminal of any kind, he could scarcely come in for more bitter abuse than he is now receiving. He is assailed after a worse fashion than any member of the infamous Tammany Ring. Who has heard of any of the late rejected rulers and robbers being threatened with mob violence? Yet here is a man, who is doing herculean work in the honest interest and welfare of every man in this city who pays a dollar of taxes, vilified and assaulted in the midst of his labors. Comptroller Green must feel satisfied that the best sentiment of the community is on his side, and that he is bound to receive every support whenever he needs it. If mobs are to dictate how the contents of the people's treasury are to be distributed, we might as well put an end to government at once.

The fact that this reads as if it had been written of some alien people in times remote from ours is due to the fact that Mr. Green's influence did more than any other single thing to lift the conduct of public business in New York to a higher plane, and that his influence survives in the process of gradual improvement which in spite of manifold obstacles has been fairly continuous. The spectacle of a man honestly trying to do his whole duty to the public being hounded day after day by the paid emissaries of a parcel of thieves whose grasp on the treasury had been only partially unloosed, was one which served to bring

home to respectable people in New York the disgrace which their neglect of civic duty had brought upon the city. The people had received an object lesson in the ease with which rascality of the grossest and most shameless kind could succeed in politics, and they were being shown how hard the path of rectitude could be made even when followed in their own service. The contrast could hardly fail to have its educating influence, diluted as the latter might be by the professional politicians of both parties to whom so simple an issue as public honesty had no attraction.

Mr. Green's struggle with the corrupt elements of the public life of his time was hardly more strenuous than that which he waged against the Philistinism which obstructed the realization of his ideals of the city beautiful. It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which Central Park had in forming æsthetic taste among the people of New York. By many of them who had first regarded it as a foolish piece of extravagance, its attraction came slowly to be recognized and with the recognition came a dawning sense of beauty. To Mr. Green the Park was merely the nucleus and the beginning of a comprehensive system of improvement that was to make New York, as nearly as a great city might be, worthy of the natural grace of its setting and the scenic charm of its environment. But in the hordes of real estate speculators and contractors affiliated with them who expected to find their profit in the march of uptown improvement, there were but few who cared how extensive was the domain of ugliness and how little opportunity was left for the display of architectural or landscape art. Even the great city landlords, who had grown rich as the farms and market gardens of their fathers were built upon by the leaseholders of lots constantly becoming more costly, took very little interest in having good taste preside over the making of a city whose development had enabled them to become millionaires while they slept. The public spirit which would have begotten a love for New York for its own sake and a pride in forming plans for its adornment was never at quite so low an ebb as when the city needed it most. It would have been strange if an enthusiasm so genuine and so ardent as that of Mr. Green

had not communicated itself to others, but, if full justice is to be done to the work he did, due account must be taken of the unsympathetic character of the audience that he first addressed.

It came naturally enough, as the circles widened within which were cherished high ideals of municipal pride, that Mr. Green should by common consent occupy a unique position. He was the father of Greater New York in a larger sense than most of those who accorded him the title fully recognized; not only because he had in his mind from the first the essential requirements of metropolitan expansion, but because he desired to see that expansion governed by rules whose acceptance would have made the city beautiful as well as great. That æsthetic considerations should have had to yield so uniformly to demands regarded as imperatively practical, is merely an illustration of the difficulty of making the growth of a great city anything more than an expression of the dominant characteristics of its people. The cult of beauty was, and is, at best, an avocation of the few; the effort to make money go as far as it can with little or no regard for harmony of design or indeed for anything but pure utility, has been the controlling force in making New York what it is. But the result would have been even less satisfactory, save for the pioneer labor of Mr. Green and the work of those who imbibed his spirit and have nourished and developed his ideals.

There is in the history of the bridge over the Harlem at One Hundred and Eighty-first Street a curious epitome of the work of improvement to which Mr. Green devoted so many years of his life. The bridge was an essential part of the plan outlined in his communication, as executive officer of the Board, to his fellow Park Commissioners on December 30, 1868. Had the work of uptown improvement been left under the control of the old Park Board, the bridge would have been built by their direction, in virtue of the authority conferred on them by the Act of 1869 which had been passed at their request. Had the newly created Park Department of 1870 been anything but a sham, the bridge would have claimed its attention; had the looting of the treasury been less detrimental to the credit of the city, and inflicted less of a burden on the taxpayers the

project would not have had to wait for the Legislature of 1885 to make it possible. The building of the bridge was committed to the supervision of three commissioners — Messrs. Jacob Lorillard, Vernon A. Brown, and David J. King — serving without salary, and these commissioners performed their duty as faithfully and diligently as if the work had been part of their private business. When the New York University crossed the Harlem, the river was already disappearing as “a dividing line in the life tides of the city,” and Dr. Rollin A. Sawyer called the move a victory for progress — “for the best in sight of a broad vision.” He added that “just another such victory gave the ground for this later one, when that beautiful Washington Bridge was sprung over the narrowest point between the Highlands of the Harlem, a genuine work of faith almost poetic in its lonely loftiness, when planned and achieved by Andrew H. Green, the best friend New York City ever had, and who yet lives to do her grander service by delivering millions of men and women from dreary bondage to the sluggish and oft slovenly ferry-boats. He it was who opened the way to University Heights. The old homesteads of Ogden and Carman, of Butler and Mali were remote and scarcely accessible to any but the exploring foot passer over the Croton Aqueduct bridge. The estate of Mr. Mali is now occupied by the University campus with its first edifices; the adjoining Butler estate has been purchased by the Chancellor as his home. Controlling adjacent property, the University is secure in its surroundings, and now it becomes a centre of influence and interest imperishable as the foundations of these lovely hills.”

The recommendations which during his incumbency of the comptrollership and afterward Mr. Green made in regard to the relations of the Finance Department to the other branches of the City Government seem to partake of the obvious. But it was precisely in the most familiar and generally accepted rules of ordinary business method that Mr. Green found the Comptroller's office and the general accounting system of the departments most deficient. There was only too obvious need for constant insistence on principles that might seem too rudimentary for discussion, but which were chiefly honored by

persistent neglect. Perhaps no better illustration could be had of how difficult it is to establish and maintain familiar rules of ordinary business action in the conduct of the business of the great corporation which has in charge the political and property interests of the City of New York, than a statement bearing date of December 30, 1911, in which Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, founder of the Bureau of Municipal Research, undertakes to summarize the reforms effected in the conduct of city affairs during the preceding two years. Among the items enumerated by Mr. Cutting in which there is shown a gain of efficiency and trustworthiness are the following: Current expenses are no longer mischarged to corporate stock when not specifically authorized; revenue bonds are no longer issued against taxes considered to be uncollectible; trustworthy statements are available of obligations which should be counted as debts within the limitations upon the city borrowing power; the work of reconciling the various expenditure accounts of the departments with those of the Department of Finance has been effectually prosecuted with the result of establishing them on a harmonious basis; the accounting control over disbursements has been strengthened by perfecting the methods according to which responsibility may be located in every step of the expenditure of city funds; all existing authorizations for public improvements on work not begun have been rescinded until a comprehensive plan has been worked out through the corporate stock budget, and instead of continuing to be a byword of extravagance and extortion city advertising has furnished one of the best instances of retrenchment — \$392,000 in two years.

All this has a very familiar sound to those familiar with the principles of municipal administration for which Mr. Green labored in season and out of season nearly forty years before the date of Mr. Cutting's record of recent reforms. In a communication dated October 13, 1874, Mr. Green said: "I have bent all my efforts to correct this enormous evil of the creation of a floating debt, and have endeavored to establish a system that would insure the raising within the year of all the expenses of the year. That system, so far as the Finance Department can establish it, has now become the settled habit of the Govern-

ment, and no new floating indebtedness of any considerable amount has been created since I came into office. What has been accomplished in this direction has been in spite of the precedents of a long period of misgovernment, which die hard and slowly; in spite of legislators local and state, at each successive session contriving schemes, at the expense of the city, to reward personal favorites or political allies; in spite of the most latitudinarian constructions of law, and in spite of the loose ideas and methods of administration prevailing in some departments. The task has been by no means an easy one, and it has invoked the persistent and virulent animosity of those in and out of office who were not in sympathy with the motives which guided it." Again, in the report he made of his stewardship on his retirement from the Comptroller's office in December, 1876, he says: "Ever since the present Comptroller took office it has been his determined purpose, so far as his own action and influence could accomplish it, to establish the rule that each year should meet its own obligations; that every department should be kept within its appropriations. Great progress has been made in this direction in spite of loose interpretations of the laws by lawyers, departments and courts. * * * * I am satisfied that all needed improvements, except perhaps in extraordinary cases not likely to arise, can be carried on without increasing our city debt one dollar, and that the City Government can be properly carried on at a rate of taxation not exceeding $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. I am satisfied that a Constitutional amendment should be adopted limiting the power to contract debt on behalf of the city."

In the twenty years between 1876 and 1896 there was hardly an election for Mayor of New York at which the name of Mr. Green was not suggested as a candidate. In the last named year there seemed to be a special fitness in the nomination, because Mr. Green had then brought to a successful conclusion his long contest for the organization of the Greater New York. But however fitting might have been the nomination, the task to which Mr. Green, as Mayor, would have had to address himself was entirely beyond his strength. On January 18, 1897, the *New York Sun* made an editorial reference to the proposed nomination of Mr. Green for Mayor of Greater New

York which will be recognized as an eminently fit contribution to this narrative. The essential part of it runs as follows:

If Mr. Green had been a younger man, he would have been the first candidate for the office of Mayor to occur to the conservative citizens of the Greater New York. By the common consent of all the forces enlisted on the side of order and property against the menace of revolutionary Bryanism, he would have been put high upon the list of men eligible for leadership. The scheme of the consolidation of municipalities which will make New York on the first of January next the second among the great capitals of the world, was conceived and originated in the broad, and statesmanlike mind of Mr. Green. The realization of that idea, definitely formulated in his imagination many years ago, is largely due to the long, patient, intelligent and sagacious efforts of Mr. Green. Except for him, it is not too much to say, there would have been no Greater New York in this generation, though that the consolidation would come eventually was inevitable.

Mr. Green has studied the subject in all its aspects, and with the aid of a familiarity with the history of New York and the conditions of the problem, which is equalled by that of no other citizen. For many years he has been the foremost authority on the laws affecting New York and the methods and restrictions of its government, and consequently no Mayor has entered office without seeking his counsel. He is the fittest man for the first Mayor of Greater New York within all its limits, provided that his strength is still equal to the arduous task the office would impose on him, and he is made the representative of the forces of civilization against the barbarism of Bryanism.

Mr. Green is now seventy-five years old [actually seventy-seven]. That used to be looked upon as a great age, for it exceeds by five years the Psalmist's span of life, but it is no longer a great age. Men foremost in the affairs of the world at the present time, in politics, literature, business, even arms, are as old as Mr. Green and some of them are still older. So far as mere years are concerned, there is nothing to disqualify him for public duty, no matter how responsible. His long experience of life and public affairs rather renders him the more competent for it. Mr. Green suffered last year from a serious and a protracted illness, which, it was feared by his friends, would wholly incapacitate him from further activity as a public man; and, in fact, he was obliged to desist for a long period from the labors and the intellectual occupations in which his ceaselessly industrious life had been spent. He was an invalid, and it seemed likely that he would remain an invalid, or at least a valetudinarian, who would be debarred from trying and continuous activity throughout the rest of his career. He was actually prevented from giving the laborious and assiduous attention he had hoped to give to the preparation of the new charter, of the commission to frame which he had been made the President.

Those who are most familiar with Mr. Green report, however, that since last summer he has been restored almost wholly to his normal strength; and there is no doubt that he is attending to his private affairs and to the public interests which appeal to his most laudable public spirit with his old time assiduity. He does not count himself out of the world of spirited activity, but remains in it with undiminished ardor, with keenness of observation undiminished, and with tireless industry in pursuit of the ends he has laid out for himself. In fine, Mr. Green's friends seem to regard him as fully able

to perform the duties of Mayor; and as we have said, if he himself is of that opinion, it may be assumed that the confidence is justified, for he is not a vain man. He has too much else to think about to have time to waste in thinking about himself.

Unfortunately, the serious and protracted illness from which Mr. Green suffered in the summer of 1896 had seriously undermined his constitution and greatly lessened his reserve of energy. For the six years that remained of his life there was no apparent diminution of the old vigor in dealing with the public questions which most strongly appealed to him, but it became increasingly obvious that his acceptance of new responsibilities was impossible. He had a complimentary reception from the first Municipal Assembly elected under Consolidation on March 22, 1898, which he made the occasion of some incisive remarks about the intent of the new charter of the Greater New York. There were not wanting those who agreed with the *New York Tribune* that it was "to be regretted that the realization of the project which has been the subject of universal discussion is contemplated with profound satisfaction only by those who expect to derive immediate personal profit from the distribution of an enormous public revenue." Mr. Green told the members of the Council that it was for them to insist that the administration of the many and much-neglected sources of income of the city should be such as to increase its revenue, "to the end that the burden of taxation may be diminished and that those privileges in our streets which have been so lavishly conferred, and which create such princely fortunes for individuals who conceal their identity within the form of corporations, shall hereafter be managed in the interest and for the convenience of the people rather than for private gain." He pointed out that the provision of the charter which retains these profitable franchises within the ownership and control of the public authorities was of great value, and he expressed a hope that these authorities would see to it that those who had obtained municipal concessions should furnish greater facilities at less cost to the people, and that the streets should no longer, as they had recently been, be placed at the disposal of the corporations. But in his attitude to this as to other vital questions of civic economy, Mr. Green

was still some years ahead of his time, and these remarks of his merely accentuate what is, after all, the crowning demonstration of his career — the inestimable value which a man at once capable, far-seeing, and unselfish is to any community that will follow his advice.

In the years that remained to him of life Mr. Green was forgetful of none of the public interests which had engaged the attention of his mature years. The working out of the great experiment of governing the consolidated municipality, which had come in response to his thirty years of effort, left a good deal to desire. But he was careful, from the first, to discriminate between the purely physical and what may be called the moral aspects of the problem. Being asked on the eve of the birth of the new city: "Is the consolidation a realization of your original plan?" He replied: "So far as the area is concerned it is. Of course, the realization of the plan in relation to the city's government depends altogether on an intelligent administration. If the city is governed in the spirit in which it was conceived, the realization of the plan will be obtained." His scrap-books show that he followed with the closest attention the dangers that continued to threaten the integrity of Niagara Falls, against which the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society never ceased to protest. In other departments of the activity of the society Mr. Green kept up an interest as active as his failing health would permit.

Up to the day, Friday, November 13, 1903, when the bullet of an insane assassin ended his life, there was no evidence of impaired mental vigor. His protest against the expenditure of \$101,000,000 on a new barge canal was as vigorous and closely reasoned as any of the papers written in the maturity of his powers. The last letter which the writer of this memoir had from Mr. Green referred to his active interest in the work of securing fair treatment under the barbarous administration of our exclusion law for educated Chinamen visiting this country. Returning from Washington with a reassuring message on this subject the recipient of the letter was met by the news of the death of its writer.

A tragedy more pitiful than the murder of Mr. Green it

would be difficult to conceive. The murderer was an ignorant and depraved negro whose mind had become unsettled by brooding over wrongs which he fancied had been inflicted on him by an abandoned woman with whom he was infatuated. The woman had drawn into her toils an aged white man of wealth and position, between whom and Mr. Green there was a superficial physical resemblance. The negro, Cornelius M. Williams by name, confessed to the doctors who examined him under the orders of the court, that he had prayed to God to deliver him from the annoyance of the woman's defamation, and to enable him to punish in some way the persons who were inciting this imaginary persecution. But, coming to the conclusion that God would not help him, he prayed to the devil who appeared to him in various forms, and with whom he made a bargain to surrender his soul if the devil would allow him to be revenged on his tormentors. Into the meshes of this wretched intrigue was dragged the stainless name of Mr. Green, by a series of coincidences which verify the adage that truth is stranger than fiction. The patron of the colored woman was within a year or two of the same age as Andrew H. Green and had white hair and a white beard similar to his. Moreover, the woman had in the fall of 1889 purchased a house in a fashionable section of the city, and lived a secluded life next door to a well-known family of Greens on whom Andrew H. Green occasionally called. According to Williams' own statement his efforts to identify the man of whom he was insanely jealous had, by a muddled process of reasoning, led him to pick out from the City Directory the address of Andrew H. Green and to lie in wait for him near his house. When he accosted Mr. Green and the latter naturally disclaimed any knowledge of him, Williams produced a revolver and fired five shots at Mr. Green, two taking effect, one in the temple. Death was instantaneous. The man for whom Mr. Green was mistaken said in a statement to the press: "I have not the slightest doubt that it was my relationship with the woman and the resemblance I bore to the late Andrew H. Green which cost that unfortunate gentleman his life. There can be no question but that Cornelius Williams, the negro who murdered Mr. Green, thought he was shooting me."

It was cause for deep satisfaction to all of Mr. Green's family and friends when, a few months later, a law-suit brought by the infatuated octogenarian against his negro protégée for the restitution of property which he alleged she had obtained from him by blackmail laid the whole matter, in its true bearings, before the public. The title of the original suit is *J. R. Platt v. Hannah Elias* (44 Miscellaneous, 401, Special Term, July, 1904). The final disposition of the suit may be found in 186, New York 374, November, 1905.

Probably the attitude of the public and press after this disclosure may be best indicated by quoting the words of District Attorney Jerome in the *New York World* of June 5, 1904: "What a commentary on the mutability of fame! Here was a white-haired man of eighty-four years, whose personal character and long life of public service made his name monumental in the second city of the world. From youth to old age he worked for the betterment of New York, until his noble achievements made his name a part of the city's glory. He lived and moved in the very eye of the public and was known as a man of stainless and frugal private life. In an hour, on the word of a crazy murderer, this great reputation, the reward of a whole lifetime devoted to public service, seemed to count for nothing with a large part of the people. How true it is that the only thing a man can safely work for is his own self-respect! Never was that fact more terribly illustrated than in the case of Andrew H. Green, the last man in New York against whom an insinuation of private baseness could find any justification."

The news of Mr. Green's death made a profound sensation throughout the city and country and eulogies of his life were published in nearly every newspaper in the United States as well as by many in Europe. The Mayor of the city, Mr. Seth Low, proposed a civic funeral, and although the family, in view of the simplicity of Mr. Green's taste, declined the honor, a detail of policemen, standing shoulder to shoulder, made a lane through which the carriages passed slowly from 91 Park Avenue to the Brick Presbyterian Church on Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street. The funeral services on November 17th were simple but impressive, and were conducted by the Rev.

Leighton Williams, Pastor of Amity Baptist Church, a lifelong friend of Mr. Green's, and Doctor Richards, Pastor of the Brick Church. The pallbearers were Mayor Low, Comptroller Grout, Rev. Dr. MacCracken, Chancellor of New York University; Frederick W. Devoe, Elbridge T. Gerry, Mornay Williams, John Bigelow, John L. Cadwalader, Charles M. Dow, Edward Uhl, Henry E. Howland, and Samuel Parsons, Jr. Following the funeral a number of memorial services were held, among them being that of the Women's Auxiliary of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society at Fraunces' Tavern, December 4th; by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society at the American Museum of Natural History, December 9th; and by the City of New York at the City Hall, December 30, 1903. The latter was held in pursuance of a message sent to the Board of Aldermen by Mayor Low on November 17th, in which he said that it became the city to make such record as it could of its imperishable obligations to the great citizen whose death it was called upon to mourn.

It is already obvious that the perspective of years can only heighten the appreciation of the public services of Andrew H. Green. With every year that has elapsed since his death, the loss which it entailed directly on the City of New York, and indirectly on a much larger constituency, has been more and more clearly realized. His vast and varied knowledge of the city's needs, his conspicuously sound judgment, the absolute disinterestedness of his character and the unsullied purity of his motives — all combined to invest him with such an influence for the advancement of great schemes of public improvement as no one else has been able to exercise. The weight that his opinion carried with men in public life, and with the public generally, cannot be duplicated, because the personality behind it was unique. Of all the men of his time, there was none who brought to the service of his fellow-citizens so remarkable a combination of qualities and aptitudes as the Father of the Greater New York. The breadth and variety of his early training would have been less fruitful but for his rare capacity to absorb and apply the lessons of a highly diversified experience, and but for the

clearness of vision that could discern half a century ago the full measure of the wants of to-day.

The persuasive power that he exercised in securing the accomplishment of objects which he had at heart, was partly temperamental, but was more largely the result of a thorough comprehension of every phase of the particular question with which he had for the moment to deal. His expository methods were always painstaking, always adapted to ordinary comprehension, and were never predicated on any assumption of infallibility. The wide and pervasive personal influence which he wielded in his later years, was entirely dissociated from any official position. He held no public office and had no hope or desire for any. Yet, as one who knew him intimately wrote at the time of his death: "He was not a leader in any powerful political organization; he had no pecuniary or honorary rewards to offer. Yet that plain, quiet citizen, past the ordinary span of human life, sitting in his Broadway office and there talking or otherwise communicating with one influential personage after another, was able to do more for the accomplishment of such a public object as the establishment of the Niagara Reservation or the creation of The Greater New York than any public official in this State, or, one might almost say, any company of men who could be assembled in this town."

To the citizen of New York, it may be said: "Would you see his monument, look around you!" having well in mind the intangible no less than the tangible results of his beneficent life. But to do adequate justice to the essential greatness of the man, it has also to be remembered that his place remains, and seems likely so remain, unfilled. And thus it is that there arises from time to time in the minds of those who knew him best the invocation, "thou should'st be living at this hour, New York has need of thee!" The garnered fruits of his experience are common property, and the broad lines of metropolitan expansion for which he argued so cogently and so unweariedly are accepted without dispute, but we may partly measure the value of the authority and influence of the man to whom we owe these gifts by the poignancy of the regret that he is no longer here.

Four days before Mr. Green was taken away, while attending

OF ANDREW HASWELL GREEN

as trustee the annual meeting of the Isabella Heimath, he made a brief address, closing with this sentence which furnishes a keynote to his whole career: "Let us then continue with zeal the work here so auspiciously begun, and secure to ourselves that richest of rewards — the satisfaction of having done what we could do to better the condition of those about us."

THE END

APPENDIX

The following report bearing date of May, 1855, was submitted to the Board of Education of the City of New York by a committee of which Mr. Green was chairman. The report is entirely his work, being accepted and approved by his associates without change or amendment:

The State of New York comprised, as shown by the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1854, 11,798 school districts. By the law of 1851, as is above-mentioned, one third of the school money is apportioned among these districts, so that each district shall have an equal sum, without any reference to the number attending school or to the population of the district.

The County of St. Lawrence, with a population of 68,617, and an assessed valuation of \$14,561,665, is divided into 465 districts, and receives of the one third \$13,844.45, while the City of New York with 515,547 population (census of 1850), and an assessed valuation of \$413,631,432, has but 218 districts, and receives but \$6,490.51. The following is a table of the population of, and the sum assessed on, each of thirteen counties of the state.

	POPULATION	AMOUNT RECEIVED OF ONE THIRD ACC'D TO DISTRICTS
Delaware	39,834	\$ 9,825.10
Otsego	48,638	9,795.34
St. Lawrence	68,617	13,844.45
Steuben	58,358	10,688.53
Chenango	40,311	9,051.00
Washington	44,750	7,264.62
Cortland	25,140	5,418.68
Lewis	24,564	5,240.03
Broome	30,660	6,014.05
Wyoming	31,981	5,775.99
Schoharie	33,548	5,984.39
Essex	31,148	3,716.42
Alleghany	37,808	7,930.16
	515,387	\$102,548.76

Here are thirteen counties, having a population (census of 1850), of 515,387; being 160 less than that of the City of New York, which receive of this one

third, \$102,548.76, while New York receives \$6,490.51. In 1854, an act was passed, constituting every seventy-five persons, between the ages of four and twenty-one, residing in the City of Poughkeepsie, a district for the purpose of distributing the school moneys. If the same number was made to constitute a district in this city, we should have 1,715, instead of 218 districts, and be entitled to about \$50,000, of the one third of school moneys, instead of \$6,490.59.

The injustice of this distribution is so glaring, that it is useless to multiply words about it. It is a rule that is not fit to remain upon the statute books, and it becomes a serious question for the authorities of this city to determine whether the excess that has been paid by the city since 1851 should not be refunded to its treasury. If any part of the school moneys are to be distributed according to districts, they should be equalized either in number of population or of children under twenty-one residing in the districts, or of children attending school, so that a district in the country, with fifty scholars, shall not receive as much money as one in the City of New York with 2,500.

The following table shows the amount of the \$800,000 raised by tax from the same counties mentioned in the above table, and the sum apportioned to them:

	VALUATION	TAXED	APPORTIONMENT TO POPULATION
Delaware	\$ 8,675,189	\$ 5,403.05	\$ 9,045.21
Otsego	11,988,940	7,466.89	11,044.35
St. Lawrence	14,561,665	9,069.23	15,581.05
Steuben	17,634,612	10,683.13	13,258.32
Chenango	11,808,564	7,410.63	9,153.52
Washington	15,848,549	9,870.73	10,161.54
Cortland	5,778,521	3,598.96	5,708.60
Lewis	5,615,000	3,497.11	5,577.80
Broome	7,063,810	4,399.46	6,962.05
Wyoming	9,620,612	5,767.65	7,262.02
Schoharie	7,621,258	4,036.45	7,617.83
Essex	4,672,148	2,909.89	7,072.86
Alleghany	9,330,424	5,811.14	8,585.16
	\$130,309,312	\$80,224.32	\$117,030.31
Total amount of tax raised from these counties			\$ 80,224.32
Apportionment to these counties of $\frac{2}{3}$			117,030.31
Apportionment to these counties of $\frac{1}{2}$			102,548.76
Apportionment of library money			9,151.56

Total apportionment \$228,730.63
 Thirteen counties, with a population of 515,388, receive \$228,739.63, and raise by taxes \$80,224.32.

New York, with a population of 515,547, receives \$132,711.68, and raises by taxes \$257,616.11.

This city has for many years sustained its own schools. They are, in the widest sense of the term, *free*. The cost of this, in 1854, was (exclusive of a deficiency of \$198,091.96) \$776,973.38.

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Is not this enough for taxpayers of this tax-ridden city to bear without contributing to the schools of the state the further sum of about	\$ 257,616.11
Making a total raised in this city, for the schools of the city and state of	1,034,589.49
From which, deducting the amount received from the common school fund and state in 1854	132,711.68
Leaves the actual cost of this city for schools of, and state in 1854	901,877.81
and including the deficiency above mentioned of	198,091.96
<hr/>	
This sum will be greatly increased in 1856	\$1,099,969.77
The County Clerk has already been notified that the proportion of the \$800,000 to be raised by this city for 1856 is	271,639.40
The requisition of this Board for 1856 is	1,023,354.26
<hr/>	
Making a total for 1856 of	\$1,294,993.66

The present Comptroller of this city has repeatedly and urgently since his accession to office called the attention of the Common Council to the injustice occasioned by the provision of the act of 1851, but no action has yet been taken on the subject.

The plan of supporting the schools of the state by a general tax on the property of the state having been partially adopted, it is sought by the recommendation of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to extend its operation, and consequently to add to the injustice so palpably done to this city by increasing the general tax and preserving mainly the same plan of distribution. At the last session of the Legislature a bill was introduced which provided for a tax of three fourths of a mill per dollar upon the whole taxable property of the state, thereby raising over \$1,000,000 instead of \$800,000. All taxes of this character work unequally upon this city, and they should be vigorously resisted by its representatives in the legislative body.

It may not be amiss to say here, that this city will be called on this year to pay toward the other departments of the state government, exclusive of schools, the sum of	\$608,747.84
the result of a mill and a quarter tax imposed by the Legislature at its last session, and adding this sum to the moneys contributed by this city to the state for schools, viz.	171,639.40
gives us as the total contribution of this city, toward the support of the state government, the sum of	\$780,387.24

The Normal Schools of this city afford sufficient facilities for all residing in this city who desire to attend them. They are maintained by the city, at an expense paid by the city, in 1854, of \$4,994.30, and which will probably, in 1856, reach \$10,000.

The Normal Schools of the state are maintained at an expense to the state of about \$12,000 per annum, of which this city contributes an undue proportion. This city sends but few, if any, pupils to the Normal School of the state, or does not require the advantages which it is said to afford, and ought to be relieved of any contribution to its support. Out of the 2,262 who are stated in the report of the Executive Committee of the State Normal School to have enjoyed its advantage up to September, 1854, or during a period of about — years, there were but twelve ladies and nine gentlemen graduated from the City of New York.

Keeping in view the fact that the city sustained its own schools — day, evening, and normal — that they are free to every child residing within its limits — not only free as to instruction, but as to school books, fuel, light, and school apparatus — your committee deems it but just that this city should be wholly exempt from any contribution for the support of schools in other portions of the state. Other cities would doubtless readily join in a suitable presentation of this subject to the Legislature, to relieve themselves from the consequences of the same system of which this city has a right to complain, and your committee will not permit themselves to doubt that the representatives from all portions of the state will readily concur in such an amendment of the law as shall be just, and rectify the existing inequalities and abuses.

Whatever may be said, or may have been said by those officers of the state communicating officially with the public, as to the glories of the free school law and its general acceptability to the people, yet it is nevertheless the fact, that the free school law of 1849 has not been, and could not be carried out in the country districts of the state, and the clamor for its repeal was strong evidence of its unpopularity. The plan of supporting the schools, up to the time of its adoption, was well tried and acceptable, and the heavy vote of the city in favor of that law, by which it was forced upon the country, created a retaliatory spirit, which was prominent in begetting the law of 1851.

The law of 1849 sought to compel the country districts to tax themselves to support their own schools: this law was repealed. The law of 1851 compels this city to contribute largely the avails of a direct tax for the support of schools in other sections of the state, and ought to be repealed.

A prominent objection to the system, prior to 1849, was, that it was repulsive to the feelings of an indigent person to be directly exempted from the payment of taxes for the education of his children. The act of 1851 does not avoid this difficulty; it was obviated in 1849, but restored in 1851. The City of New York has nobly done her part in the cause of free education. She has put her hand to the plough, and will not look back. But it is unjust that she should be, in addition to her own burdens, compelled to raise a large pro-

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portion of all the moneys raised by tax by the state for educational purposes in other parts of the state.

Numerous modes of amending the law have occurred to your committee. The principal alterations, some one or more of which are required so effect the desired object, would be:

1st. An equalization of the districts, as to number of children residing within their respective limits or as to the number of children attending school.

2d. The distribution of the moneys raised by the state and the common school fund among the counties, according to the number of children actually attending school within the respective counties or according to their population.

3d. An entire exemption of the City of New York from any tax for the support of the schools of the other portions of the state or the expense of their superintendence.

Your committee believe that it would be preferable to defer preparation of an act to be proposed to the Legislature until an interchange of views can be had between the financial department of this city and the educational department of this state.

Your committee therefore, for the present, respectfully recommend that the Board of Supervisors, Mayor and Comptroller of this city be requested to unite with this board in a memorial to the Legislature, setting forth the grievances above-mentioned, and demanding such amendment of the law as shall be effectual in securing the relief that the circumstances require.

AND. H. GREEN,
JEDEDIAH MILLER, } Committee.
ISAAC PHILLIPS, }

TAXING THE CITY TO EDUCATE THE COUNTRY

To the Board of Education:

The committee to whom was referred the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, the present method of apportioning the tax annually levied by the state for the support of Common Schools, and the method of distributing the moneys raised by such tax, and from the Common School fund of the state, are such as to charge upon some localities of the state those burdens that justly should be borne by others, and work great injustice, particularly to the taxpayers of this city. *And although* it may not be possible to effect an apportionment and distribution of the taxes for Common School purposes, so that they shall bear upon all parts of the state with exact equality, yet, in the judgment of this Board, such a basis may be adopted as will effect an approximation to equality in taxation and distribution, and remove from this city the burthen to which it is now unjustly subjected: therefore —

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to consider this subject, and, in conjunction with the other educational and financial departments of this city and state, or otherwise, to procure such modification of the existing laws concerning the raising of moneys for the support of

common schools, and the distribution of such money and the common school fund as shall effectually relieve the taxpayers of this city from an unequal burthen of taxation, and that the subject be referred to a special committee;

Respectfully report, that the common school fund had its origin at an early period in the history of the state, and was the offspring of a conviction on the part of statesmen and thoughtful men of that early day, that the establishment of a system which should afford the child of every citizen the opportunities of a common school education, was indispensable to the perpetuity and purity of republican institutions.

This fund, beginning with the net proceeds of vacant and unappropriated lands set apart for this purpose in 1805, with an income in 1810 of \$26,000, has increased by various additions to \$2,425,411.27 in 1855, with a revenue of \$145,000.

Twice has this fund been the subject of constitutional enactment, and at this day so thoroughly impressed is the great mass of the people of this state with its importance to the well-being of the commonwealth, that any proposition to divert it from the purpose for which it was originally established, or to impair its amount or efficiency, would meet with signal and unanimous reprobation. From the time of its establishment up to the year 1851, nearly half a century, the method of distribution of this fund among the various parts of the state has been mainly the same, namely, upon the basis of population of the respective counties, and upon this basis the whole state was agreed as resulting, as nearly as the nature of things would admit, in justice to all portions of the state.

This fund was the basis of the earlier common school operations of the state; encouraging and aiding the country districts, it stimulated them to exertion for the education of the children within their respective limits, and with the aid it afforded, added to the other means raised by tax of the inhabitants of various districts, the common schools have been successfully conducted from their foundation up to the year 1849. It will be perceived, from the language of the Report of the Commissioners, appointed in 1812, to report a system for the organization and establishment of common schools, that it was no part of their intention to support the schools solely from the funds of the state, but merely to afford them aid in their then feeble condition; that language is as follows:

"It will, however, be evident to the Legislature that the funds appropriated from the state for the support of the common school system will alone be very inadequate. But it is hardly to be imagined that the Legislature intended the state should support the whole expense of so great an establishment. The object of the Legislature, as understood by the Commissioners, was to rouse the public attention to the important subject of education, and by

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adopting a system of common schools, in the expense of which the state would largely participate, to bring instruction within the reach and means of the humblest citizen."

A few years preceding the meeting of the constitutional convention of 1846, the subject of making the schools of the state entirely free, or, in other words, of supporting the schools entirely from taxation of property, was suggested.

Propositions were advanced in the convention for its accomplishment, and were urgently but unsuccessfully advocated. The subject was, however, kept before the public by the educational departments, till, in the year 1849, was passed an act establishing free schools throughout the state, which, having been submitted to the popular vote, was adopted by a large majority. Its provisions, however, were very obnoxious to the country districts, and the question of its repeal was also submitted to the people, who, by a decided majority, refused to repeal it.

The provisions of this act were as follows: Common schools, in the several school districts in this state were declared free to all persons residing in the district over five and under twenty-one years of age.

The Board of Supervisors were to cause to be collected from their respective counties, in the same manner as county taxes, a sum equal to the amount of state school moneys apportioned to such counties, and to apportion the same among the towns and cities, in the same manner as moneys received from the state are apportioned.

They were also to cause to be levied and collected from each of the towns in their respective counties, in the same manner as other town taxes, a sum equal to the amount of state school money apportioned to each town respectively.

The trustees of the district were authorized to make certain expenditures for teachers, etc.

The country districts still continued restive under this law. The Governor in his annual message thus alluded to it:

"An essential change was made by the law under consideration, by imposing the entire burden of the schools upon property, in the form of a tax, without reference to the direct benefits derived by the taxpayers. The provisions of the act for carrying this plan into effect have produced oppressive inequalities and loud complaints."

The Superintendent of Common Schools in 1851 remarks that:

"Appeals were assiduously made to the cupidity of the heavy taxpayers, their interests sought to be arrayed against that of their less favored brethren and against the interests of their children; their passions, stimulated by the real inequalities as well as fancied injustice of the burdens imposed by the new law, were readily enlisted against every attempt to carry it into operation; numerous petitions were sent to the Legislature praying for its repeal, or for

such amendment as might render it more generally acceptable. It seems obvious that notwithstanding the fact that the law of 1849 was adopted by a very large popular vote, and that its repeal was discountenanced by an equally decisive vote, yet the provisions of the law could not be carried out."

The features of the law compelling the holders of property to bear the burdens of educating the children of those without any taxable property, was really the insuperable objection to its execution; and however much officials of the state may have sought by indirect and involved language to preserve a seeming position of approval of the principle of this law, yet the fact is clear that the law could not be executed, and the plan of compelling the taxable property of this state to bear all the burdens of education has never yet met the sanction of the people of the state, outside of the larger cities.

Various efforts were made to allay the dissatisfaction occasioned by this law of 1849; litigation ensued, and it was finally, in some of its features, declared unconstitutional by the highest court of the state.

In 1850, attempts were made, but without success, to obviate the objectionable features of the act of 1849, and at the same time to afford aid to the weak districts of the country.

In 1851, an act was passed, under which the funds for the support of the common schools of the state, are now mainly raised and distributed. To the injustice in the method of laying the tax authorized by this law, and to the unfairness and gross inequality of distributing the moneys raised by this act and the Common School Fund, the report of your committee is mainly directed.

It will be observed that two distinct funds are referred to:

The Common School Fund.

The \$800,000 raised by the act of 1851, by general tax.

1st. As to the Common School Fund:

The legislature, departing from the rule of apportionment which had so long prevailed, and which was so satisfactory in its results, adopted a method of apportionment which violates every well-recognized rule of distribution of a fund which belongs equally to the whole state.

The act of 1851 authorizes the sum of \$800,000 to be raised by tax on the taxable property of the state, and distributes this sum, as well as the common school fund, both amounting in 1854 (with \$165,000 from the income of the United States deposit fund) to the sum of \$1,110,000, in the following manner: Two thirds thereof to the various counties of the state, according to their respective population, and the remaining one third equally among the school districts of the state. There is one rule for laying the tax, namely, on the assessed valuation of the property in the counties, and another rule for the distribution of the avails of the tax, namely, that of population of the counties

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as to two thirds, and of districts as to the other third. It will be readily perceived that this plan, in most of its features, operates against the more thickly settled portions of the state, where property is aggregated in large amounts.

For the year 1855, the amount of the \$800,000 to be levied of the city of New York is	\$271,639.40
The proportion of this amount returned to the city, according to the rule of distribution above mentioned, is about	100,000.00
Leaving the sum of	\$171,639.40

which is raised in this city by direct tax, and distributed to other portions of the state — a tax which is characterized by the Comptroller of this city in his report of 1855, as “an exaction on this city, unjust and unrighteous in all its bearings.” Many counties escape their equal proportion of taxation by the fact that the valuations upon which taxes are levied are unequal: in some counties, the valuations are one third and sometimes one half less than in others, and in the City of New York the valuations are probably higher than any other county of the state.

In this city the zeal and industry of the tax officers in discovering all taxable property, and the high rates of valuation upon which the taxes are laid, are probably equalled by no other county in the state, and are such as to seriously affect the growth and prosperity of this city, and to render the proportion of the tax levied on the property of this city unjust, unequal and intolerable.

On the subject of the \$800,000 tax, authorized by the law of 1851, the Secretary of State, in his report as Superintendent of Schools, makes the following remarks: “Under the present defective administered system of assessment, however, such a tax will operate very unequally in different sections of the state. The standard of valuation, both of real and personal property, varies, as is well known, in nearly every county in the state; while in some it is estimated at its fair market value, in others it is assessed at three fourths, two thirds, and sometimes as low as one half its actual value. If, therefore, the existing standard of valuation is to be made the basis of apportionment of the proposed tax, it is manifest that a very unjust and oppressive burden will be cast upon those counties where the assessment is in strict accordance with the provisions of the law for the benefit of those sections in which its requirements are evaded by an arbitrary standard of valuation. The distribution of money when raised, serves likewise to render this disproportion still more manifest, that being upon the population, according to last preceding census of the respective counties.

With the exception that the generally acknowledged loose and incomplete

manner in which the census of the city was taken works also against a fair distribution of the school moneys, this is all that need here be said upon the subject of the distribution of the two thirds of the Common School fund, and of the two thirds of the \$800,000. An entirely different rule of raising and distributing those moneys ought to be adopted.

REPORT ON FIVE YEARS' SERVICE AS COMPTROLLER

Mr. Green's term as Comptroller closed with the induction of Mr. John Kelly into the office on December 7, 1876. On the same day Mr. Green issued the following statement addressed to Mr. William A. Booth and other prominent citizens who had been more or less familiar with his work, setting forth in brief what had been accomplished during his headship of the Finance Department.

GENTLEMEN:

The interest you have long manifested in the improvement of the affairs of the city, leads me to offer for your perusal the following very brief notes of progress:

THE CITY DEBT

Comparative Statement of the City Debt as of September 16, 1871, and
November 20, 1876

The funded debt, November 20, 1876, less the sinking fund, was	\$91,102,375.47	
The floating debt (as nearly as can be ascertained) existing November 20, 1876, not estimating loss arising from non-collection of assessments, will not exceed	2,500,000.00	
Total debt, November 20, 1876		\$93,602,375.47
The funded debt September 16, 1871, when Comptroller Green took office, less the sinking fund, was	62,696,825.03	
The floating debt at the same day, as since ascertained and liquidated was	21,038,651.87	
Total actual debt of September 16, 1871, so far as ascertained and liquidated		83,735,476.90
There has been paid since September 16, 1871, for land for the city and permanent improvements, being an increase of city property, \$29,223,868.40, and yet the net debt has increased during this period, more than five years, only		\$9,866,898.57

The old floating debt of 1871, and prior years yet unliquidated, is not included in either side of the above statement. It is impossible to state its amount. Much of it is in litigation, and probably some of it has not yet come to light.

In addition to the above indebtedness, the City of New York is liable for

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the funded debt of the annexed towns of Westchester County, amounting so far as ascertained at this date, to the sum of \$1,245,745.80.

ASSESSMENT BONDS

Total assessment bonds outstanding November 20, 1876	\$22,396,460.00
September 1, 1871	<u>11,824,500.00</u>
An increase of	\$10,571,960.00
The outstanding and uncollectible assessments amounted November 20, 1876, to	\$10,907,545.06
The advance to contractors, etc., on account of work in progress, and for which assessments are to be levied	11,351,336.35
Making a total assessment to be levied and collected of	<u>\$22,258,881.41</u>

It will be seen that if all these assessments are collected they will produce an amount very nearly adequate to pay all the Assessment Bonds outstanding. But it is to be remembered that there is a number of lawyers who make a living by raising technical objections to get rid of assessments which should be paid by the property benefited by them. The plan of these lawyers is to make an agreement with the owner for, say, 25 per cent. of the amount of the assessment, if it is thrown from the owner, who should pay it, upon the taxpayers, who should not pay it. A considerable amount of these assessments is upon property owned by the city, or charged upon the city by some act of the Legislature. These, of course, will not be productive of any means toward paying the Assessment Bonds. Perhaps a fair estimate of the net yield of these assessments would be \$13,000,000.

REVENUE BONDS

The revenue bonds outstanding September 16, 1871	\$22,766,200.00
The revenue bonds outstanding November 20, 1876	<u>13,604,062.70</u>
Decrease in amount of revenue bonds	\$ 9,162,137.30
The amount of taxes uncollected November 20, 1876, was:	
Taxes of 1876, real and personal	\$15,435,035.47
Arrears of taxes — real estate	\$6,889,687.25
Arrears of taxes — personal estate (See Note)	10,853,972.80
	<u>\$17,743,660.05</u>
Total uncollected taxes	\$33,178,695.52
Of this amount \$20,000,000 will probably be collected.	

NOTE.— Amount of personal tax prior to 1871, in arrears, included above, \$7,939,483.43.

SINKING FUND

The amount in the sinking fund for redemption of city debt:

November 20, 1876, was	\$28,285,737.81
September 16, 1871, was	19,422,333.48
Being an increase of	\$ 8,863,404.33

This increase is not from sales of real estate belonging to the city, only \$213,040 of it having been received from that source. It is due to the more effectual and economical collection and care of the rents, fees, and other revenues of the city. These collections are still far from being as complete as they should be, as resistance is made to their payment by litigation and by such other embarrassments as those who ought to pay can surround their obligations with

A FEW COMPARISONS

Printing and Stationery

The amount expended for printing and stationery in 1871 was	\$1,018,958.58
The amount expended for printing and stationery in 1875 was	157,741.51

This amount under proper management could be still further reduced 25 per cent.

Advertising

The amount expended for advertising for the city and county government in 1871 was	\$1,093,369.87
The amount expended for advertising for the city and county government in 1875 was	48,510.84

Gas

The amount charged for gas for the city in 1871, was over	1,000,000.00
The amount expended for gas for the city (excluding the twenty-third and twenty-fourth wards, which did not belong to the city in 1871) for 1875, was	620,466.39
The average price for lighting each street lamp in 1871 was	52.00
The price for lighting each street lamp in 1876 is	23 to 37.95
The total number of street lamps lighted in 1875 was	17,775.00

When the present Comptroller took office there were newspaper claims for advertising for the city in the office waiting payment, amounting to two and one half millions of dollars. The reduction of these claims to a fair amount left the original bills standing evidences of shameless fraud attempted upon the city treasury. Under this process many journals expired, and the degree of fraudulence of the claim of a journal may be clearly gauged by the intensity of its rancor against the Comptroller. The Comptroller has borrowed this year on revenue bonds at a rate as low as 2½ per cent. The average rate during the year 1876 has been about 4 per cent. per annum. The long city

bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest, currency, are selling at a fraction above par. The city securities never sold higher than now, and its credit never was better. The system prescribed by the Charter of 1873, of having one department for the audit and payment of all claims against the city, has been put in practice, in spite of years of the most determined resistance, and it is developing the very best result. Instead of each department having its treasury and paying its bills without a supervising audit, this is now done in the Finance Department.

The Board of Education and the College of the City of New York, under the advice of most of its lawyer members, stood out against this salutary practice, until a decision of the Court of Appeals required acquiescence. The Police Department is now the only exception to this rule. It was especially excepted in 1873 to serve no good public purpose, and the law should be amended this winter to bring this department also within the rule which prevails in all other departments. There is no good reason for its exception. If this department were conformed to the general rule, there might at the end of each year be exhibited from the Finance Department, a complete and most instructive photograph of all the monetary transactions of each department and of the whole city for the year.

During this period we have annexed a territory almost equal in area to the old city. Its confused accounts and neglected obligations have been ascertained and liquidated, and its semi-rural methods have been assimilated to the metropolitan system.

Ever since the present Comptroller took office it has been his determined purpose, so far as his own action and influence could accomplish it, to establish the rule that each year should meet its own obligations; that every department should be kept within its appropriations. Great progress has been made in this direction in spite of loose interpretation of the laws by lawyers, departments, and courts. From September 16, 1871, when the present Comptroller took office, to December 31, 1874, a period of more than three and one quarter years, the total number of judgments obtained against the city was 884, amounting to \$1,935,389.94, in which sum was included for costs \$63,082.28; of these 272 were for vacating assessments. Five hundred and seventy of these judgments (including costs, \$47,831.97), amounting to \$1,371,380.73, or about two thirds of the whole in number obtained, and more than one half in amount are on causes of action originating prior to the present Comptroller's accession to office. Forty-three of them are for salaries of supervisors, in addition to their salaries as aldermen, amounting to \$13,987.82. Fifty-six are for wages of boulevard men, supposed to have been illegally employed, amounting to \$8,819.19. One hundred and seventy-five are miscellaneous, amounting to \$541,201.31. Judgments obtained in favor of the city are not included in the

above. The statements are made up to January 1, 1875. Time is wanting to complete the statement up to this time with accuracy. The saving as the result of litigation since that time has been at least in as great proportion. There has been saved to the city in all probability in each one of twenty individual cases more money than all the costs have amounted to in all the cases since the present Comptroller came into office.

I am satisfied that the number of persons employed by the city is largely in excess of the requirements of the public service, that the amount paid for salaries ought to be greatly reduced, and that a great many unnecessary expenditures ought to be cut off.

I am satisfied that all needed improvements, except, perhaps, in extraordinary cases not likely to arise, can be carried on without increasing our city debt one dollar, and that the city government can be properly carried on at a rate of taxation not exceeding $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. I am satisfied that a constitutional amendment should be adopted limiting the power to contract debt on behalf of the city. I am satisfied that the Legislature should not authorize any improvements to be carried on by the further issue of bonds, and that any loose provisions of law that now exist authorizing the issue of bonds for such purpose should be repealed. There is now in the treasury the sum of \$316,484.03, which by law may at any time as required be appropriated to the support of the poor and afflicted. There is ample provisions made in the budget of next year to repair, repave, and put in order our downtown streets.

I found the city like a great field, in which ranging herds, tossing the golden sheaves, have left their bestial hoof-marks upon every rood of its fertile glebe. I found the city like an estate which its easy-going owner had left to the neglect of the heedless bailiffs and stewards; its mansions dilapidated, its gardens overgrown, its orchards exhausted, its forests dismantled, its rents uncollected, its crops ungarnered, and riot and ruin wasting its every feature and every interest.

It may, in moderation, be asserted that something has been effected to restore order and system in its financial affairs, to economize expenditures, and to lift its administration out of the utter degradation into which it had fallen.

Respectfully,

ANDREW H. GREEN, Comptroller.

A PROPHETIC GLANCE INTO THE FUTURE

Following is the full text of the report of 1868, in which Mr. Green outlined the plan of municipal consolidation:

TO THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE CENTRAL PARK:

In the progress of laying out the north end of the Island the general suggestions, made in a previous communication to the Board concerning the relations

of the southerly part of Westchester County with the city, have come to be practically important, and call for distinct notice and specific consideration before proceeding to complete the plans upon which the Board is now engaged. The lower part of the County of Westchester lies adjacent to the City of New York, and is separated from it by a river of a width easily bridged or tunnelled. It is so intimately connected with and dependent upon the City of New York, that unity of plan for improvements on both sides of the river is essential, not only for the future convenience of the inhabitants, but in order that the expensive processes of changing the plan of the coming city after it is built up may be avoided.

The leading avenues and lines of travel in the City of New York lie generally in a northeasterly direction, and reach the boundary between the two counties at very different distances from the centre of business in New York; thus, the Second Avenue terminates at the Harlem River, at about seven miles from the City Hall, the Eighth Avenue at about nine miles, and the King's Bridge Road, on the west side of the city at about twelve miles from the same point. There is, therefore, a triangular gore of the southwestern portion of Westchester County, five miles in length from north to south, and over two miles in width, from east to west, including all parts of the town of Westchester, that lies as near the business centre of New York as the opposite part of New York Island.

Most of the valleys in Westchester which afford easy lines of travel run in a similar direction as the leading avenues of New York.

The bridges that have up to this time been constructed across the Harlem River are but cheap and poor affairs, with a capacity for travel that is so much less than that of the roads leading to them, as to occasion, particularly at those with swings or draws, interruptions and delays to travel that will soon become very serious.

The development of both counties will be much advanced by providing means of a direct crossing of the river at the ends of most of the leading avenues of New York terminating at the river, and by laying such new avenues as are to be provided in New York, terminating at the Harlem River, as far as practicable, so as to connect readily and directly by bridges or tunnels with avenues leading immediately into the heart of Westchester County by the natural openings in the hills, or by convenient methods of surmounting them.

But little more than a decade has passed since the only roads from the City of New York into and through Westchester County were the old Colonial Boston Post Road and the Albany Turnpike; the former having its beginning nearly opposite the present termination of Third Avenue, and the latter at King's Bridge.

After the building of Macomb's Dam and the Farmer's Bridge, near Fordham, roads were opened to them, each terminating in the road crossing Westchester

from the Boston Post Road, running through Fordham to the Albany Turnpike. Three leading lines of railroad already pass through this county, and two or three others are projected.

On its surface, which is generally well adapted for suburban residences may now be found many beautiful private structures, as well as public institutions of great extent. Its steep and precipitous bluffs are chiefly, though not entirely, on the hills that lie along the Hudson and Harlem rivers.

The immediate front on the Harlem River is capable of being made available for the purposes of commerce and for the convenience of a large population. It is not too early to endeavor to guide, by such foresight as can be commanded, the progress of improvements in Westchester in conjunction with those of this city, for the best ultimate interests of both; and so that the benefits which ought naturally to accrue to that county, from its proximity to the city, may not be postponed. Several villages have, within the last twenty years, been projected in Westchester by the owners of farms, which already embarrass the question of future improvements, and unless the difficulties are soon met by the adoption of a general plan, these embarrassments will have so increased, and become so fixed upon the ground, that no generation will be found bold enough to grapple with and remedy them.

Less than four square miles of the City of New York, above Astor Place, had been laid out in farm plots, without reference to any general plan, prior to 1807, and were but little built upon prior to 1811, when the plan of the city was adopted; and to this day parts of this district have not recovered from the ill effects of this heterogeneous work of individuals. When once sales of territory are made in small subdivisions, questions of title so complicate and weigh down efforts to remedy past errors that they are abandoned.

Although a street or avenue may be made more capacious by taking land from adjacent lots, yet by this process the lots bordering on it are often left of greatly reduced value and of much diminished convenience.

The southerly part of Westchester County is made up of the towns Morrisania, West Farms, East and West Chester, and Yonkers. The township of Morrisania already comprehends the villages of Morrisania, Mott Haven, Port Morris, Wilton, North New York, East and West Morrisania, Melrose, Woodstock Elton, Claremont, and Highbridgeville. The township of West Farms comprises the villages of Tremont, Belmont, West Farms, Central Morrisania, Mount Hope, Mount Eden, William's Bridge, Fairmount, and Fordham. These settlements are generally laid out with but little regard to each other or to their surroundings. The case is similar with that part of the town of Yonkers which adjoins the City of New York, and those parts of the towns of East and West Chester within the same radial distance from New York City Hall as King's Bridge.

The rapid approach of the city has occasioned great changes in the subdivisions of land in these towns, and in the value of property. But a few years since they were but little altered in their surface, except by the work of the farmer, from what they were when all that portion of the country was granted to Vonder Donck, more than two centuries ago.

The increase of this city will, within a short period, without doubt, require most of the area included within the southern part of Westchester for the homes of her artisans and merchants, and the solution of the question of rapid conveyance of business men between their homes and business is all that is required to cover the unsettled portion of New York and the picturesque hills and valleys of the southerly part of Westchester with the residences of these classes and of those who desire to live near a great city.

The Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek are the boundary line between the two counties; the jurisdiction of the City of New York extends to low-water mark on the Westchester shore. It needs but a short look into the future to see this river busy with the craft that are to supply the thriving population on both its banks.

At present these waters are but little navigated for commercial purposes; in some parts they are obstructed by mud-flats and by illy constructed bridges.

These two are really but one river, or rather they are an estuary connecting the tidewaters of the East River and the Sound with those of the north side of the city, and can only be properly considered in connection with the waters they unite. As a waterway for commerce this estuary has the advantage of the Thames in the far less inconvenience arising from the rise and fall of tides, in the Thames sometimes equal to twenty-one feet, occasioning great expense in the construction of storehouses, and in handling goods to be loaded and unloaded.

The tides on the Harlem rise about six feet. It has the advantage of the Seine by reason of its easy debouchment into both rivers. The falls of rain that sometimes suddenly swell the Seine, occasioning great inconvenience, have no important effect on the Harlem.

At a small cost in comparison with the accruing benefit, a channel can be made from the North River to Long Island Sound, through the Harlem River, with greater depth of water than the North River affords at some points between this city and Albany, and of width sufficient for all the practical purposes of commerce that will seek to use it.

The importance of measures for the improvement of the navigation of this river was made the subject of a general communication to the Board in the year 1865. It has since been brought to more general notice, and is beginning to command the attention of landowners in New York and in Westchester County, as it should, and sooner or later will, that of the public authorities of

both counties, and of the State, as it concerns deeply a large portion of the commerce of the interior.

Without again detailing the results to be anticipated from such an improvement, it is sufficient to repeat that it will shorten the distance of the travel between the North River and the waters of the Sound, and of a large portion of the City of Brooklyn lying on the East River, and between the North River and the Eastern States by more than twenty miles around the Battery of the tedious, expensive and unsafe navigation of the crowded waters that skirt the city; and, in connection with the improvement proposed at Hell Gate, will increase the facilities of foreign traffic by the Sound.

As early as the year 1700, these waters of the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil were respected as a navigable stream. It is on record that the first bridge across them was a drawbridge at or near the site of the present King's Bridge, erected by Frederick Phillipse, prior to that year.

Recent surveys made under the direction of the Commissioners of the Central Park establish the fact that prior to artificial obstructions in the river near King's Bridge for the erection of a watermill, about the commencement of the present century, the channel near that point at the narrowest part of the river, must have been over one hundred and fifty feet in width, and at least six feet deep at high water of ordinary tides. It has been reduced by artificial methods to its present width at the same point of not exceeding eighty feet.

Between King's Bridge and the East River navigation was obstructed by Macomb's Dam and the Harlem Bridge in the present century. It was afterward threatened with a more formidable barrier in a bridge proposed to be built to carry over the Croton Aqueduct, the erection of which was resisted by citizens both of Westchester and New York, at whose instance the Legislature, in the year 1839, passed an act limiting the obstructions to those presented by the High Bridge.

The gentlemen who successfully resisted the attempt to obstruct navigation by the Croton Aqueduct Bridge also took measures to prevent its further obstruction by a bridge at the Second Avenue, and to remove Macomb's Dam, and cause draws to be constructed in the bridges at the Third and Fourth avenues.

In the proceedings before the courts relating to this matter, it was shown that prior to the year 1813, the Harlem River was regularly navigated as far up as Farmer's Bridge by vessels carrying various kinds of produce, lumber and other building materials. Spuyten Duyvil Creek is now navigated by North River sloops and other vessels, from its mouth to within a few yards of King's Bridge.

In the case of "Renwick *vs.* Morris," in the Court for the Correction of Errors,

affirming the judgment of the Supreme Court, it was held that Maccomb's Dam, as constructed, was a public nuisance, liable to abatement, although it has existed as such for over twenty years on a navigable river. This waterway affords advantages of navigation for a distance of over five miles to each county, equal, if not superior, to those furnished by the North River and Long Island Sound to the rest of the County of Westchester.

It cannot be doubted that great benefits would result to both counties, if the navigation of these waters were properly improved. But this improvement cannot be well done, if it even can be done at all, by the separate powers of each county. The method of proceeding would probably be to build bulkheads on both sides of the channel opposite each other at the same time, and deposit the material which must be dredged from the channel behind both lines of bulkhead in proper proportions. When the obstructions at King's Bridge are reached, the whole width of the river may be closed for a distance of about 1,500 feet, the water pumped out, the rock in its bed blasted, and the material removed for the whole required width and depth by one set of employees; walls are then to be built on both sides, and fendered and secured before opening the river again. It is not possible to do this work by piecemeal — it must be done as a whole, and to be well done, it must be done under one authority.

It is an undertaking in which the public not merely on the banks of the river, but over a very wide extent, is greatly interested; as things now stand, different jurisdictions and forms of municipal government, through all the territory immediately affected and to be directly benefited, will very much embarrass its accomplishment. It is doubtful whether it can be satisfactorily carried out by any private company, and without the provision by intelligent legislation, of adequate means intrusted to some competent body duly authorized thereto; to invest any private company with the right to exclude vessels from passing through this waterway, except upon payment of tolls, would be open to great objection.

The problems to be solved for all time are those of the accommodation by the most improved modern methods, of traffic across the river, and of traffic on the river, so that each shall not interfere with the other.

The improvement of the navigation of the river is one subject and the method of carrying persons across it another. Having alluded to the former, the other question, that of crossing the river, remains to be briefly considered.

Some idea of the extent of bridge and tunnel communication that will ultimately be required between New York and Westchester may be obtained from the experience of the cities of London and Paris.

There are now in London seven bridges across the Thames, devoted to ordinary traffic, and three exclusively for railways, within the distance of three miles, beginning at the east; they are as follows: London Bridge, South-

wark Bridge for general traffic, and at a distance of 1,450 feet from the former, between these, is a railway bridge; the next is Blackfriars Bridge, at a distance of 2,450 feet from Southwark Bridge; another railway bridge lies between the two last named; then comes Waterloo Bridge, at 2,900 feet from Blackfriars Bridge; then Westminster Bridge, 3,150 feet from Waterloo Bridge, with another railway bridge between them; next is Lambeth Bridge, distant from Westminster Bridge 2,250 feet, and is followed by Vauxhall Bridge, 2,700 feet farther up the river, and near the limit of dense population; beyond these are Chelsea and Battersea bridges, each at intervals of a little over a mile.

These bridges vary in length from 708 feet to 1,380 feet, and are of various widths.

Less than a century ago the bridges over the Thames within the above limits were Old London, Blackfriars and Westminster. Since then Old London Bridge has been removed as inadequate for the modern travel, and New London Bridge built near the site of the old one. Blackfriars and Westminster have been improved and rebuilt, and all the others newly constructed. In building the New London Bridge and the others, very great expense was incurred for opening the new streets and approaches to them, and great delay incurred thereby. Most of these bridges are designed upon an extensive and magnificent scale as to the extent of the accommodation afforded, and are works of engineering skill and architectural beauty. It is stated that the cost of the New London Bridge and the approaches to it, over thirty years ago, was £2,000,000, or about \$14,000,000 of United States currency. In addition to the bridges mentioned, the opposite banks of the Thames are connected by the Thames Tunnel, at the distance of about two miles below London Bridge.

Within the limits of the City of Paris, the river Seine is crossed by twenty-six bridges in the distance of seven and a half miles, including the number which cross both of the channels passing the Isle of St. Louis and Isle de Palais.

Seven of these bridges are suspension, three are of iron on stone piers, one is of wood, and the rest are of stone; their length varies from 170 feet to 460 feet, and their breadth from fifteen to eighty-three feet; two of them are for foot passengers only, and two exclusive for railways.

Twelve of the bridges are less than 1,000 feet distant from the nearest bridge to them. Between fourteen of them the distance is less than 2,000 feet each, and the greatest distance between any two of them is but 4,700 feet. Many of them are most elaborate and elegant structures, and were erected at great cost; in both London and Paris several of these bridges were built by private enterprise and profit derived from tolls collected for passing; but of late they have mostly been built as free bridges at the expense of the municipalities, and several of the bridges that formerly were toll bridges have been made free.

Whenever the population of New York and Westchester shall assume the

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density on the shores of the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek which that of London has on the Thames, and Paris on the Seine, the means of communication must be fully equal to that afforded across the Thames and Seine, and it must be borne in mind that the general traffic over bridges crossing the Thames and Seine is not obstructed by draws and openings.

The length of the waterway from the North River to Little Hell Gate, measured through the Spuyten Duyvil Creek and the Harlem River, is about 39,000 feet — nearly eight miles. The average distance between bridges for general traffic in London is 2,100 feet, and in Paris, 1,500 feet.

The average distance of those in London would give nineteen, and of those of Paris nearly twenty-five for equal accommodation across the Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek, to the East River, and their length, excepting those that may be built on the suspension plan, would probably vary from 250 to 600 feet.

If the City of New York and Long Island shall hereafter be connected by bridges, the distance between Ward's Island and the Battery would require twenty-two of them, if they crossed as frequently as in London; and thirty, if they were built as near each other as in Paris.

The construction of proper approaches to tunnels under the Harlem River would be much easier than in London, because the average rise and fall of tide is nearly fourteen feet less in New York than in London, and that difference in grade alone would be very beneficial if equal size of tunnel and depth of channel were maintained in both cities.

The width of the Seine through the City of Paris is from 100 to 600 feet.

The width of the Thames through the City of London is from 870 to 1,200 feet.

The width of Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek, between New York and Westchester, is from 200 to 450 feet.

The width of the East River, between the pier-head lines of New York and Brooklyn, is from 1,200 to 2,500 feet.

The width of the North River, between New York and New Jersey, is from 2,700 to 4,000 feet between the pier-head lines.

In various reports, discussions, affidavits and remonstrances on the subject of the improvement of the Harlem River, and in relation to the removal of obstructions to navigation, much stress has been laid on the fact that even draw or swing bridges add greatly to the expenses of transportation.

These, with other considerations of a public character, would suggest the desirability, whenever practicable, of constructing tunnels in lieu of bridges.

From the East River to Macomb's Dam the shores of the Harlem River are too flat to admit of the easy construction of aerial or suspension bridges, but are thought to be fairly adapted to the construction of tunnels under the river-bed, at such depth as would not impede navigation.

From High Bridge to Sherman's Creek, aerial or suspension bridges might be built at as great altitude as the High Bridge of the Croton Aqueduct, and again from Sherman's Creek to the North River, tunnels could be constructed under and bridges over the river and creek wherever crossing from shore to shore was shown by proper topographical examination of the two counties to be required.

In determining the height of bridges, it should be remembered that steam vessels are rapidly supplanting sailing vessels, and that therefore the construction of bridges to accommodate lofty masts is a constantly diminishing necessity, and that by the striking of the topmasts and topgallant masts, many sailing vessels might be accommodated with diminished height of bridge.

The subject of the sewerage of the northern part of New York Island and all the southwestern part of Westchester is one in which the citizens of both places are equally interested, and should be arranged under one homogeneous system.

The amount of sewage and offal which, without proper regulation, would be cast into the Harlem River from either or both shores, would, by reason of the limited width of the river, be likely to be injurious to the healthfulness of both, and detrimental to navigation.

Immense outlays are now making to free the Thames from the noxious effects of the city sewage; measures for the same purpose should be undertaken at the Harlem River.

The supply of pure and wholesome water in Westchester is another subject demanding early attention, in order that the wants of her increasing population may be met at the proper time.

It is problematical whether the supply of water that can be drawn through the Croton Aqueduct, after the immense storage reservoirs now building in Putnam County are completed, will be more than the City of New York, with its present limits, will ultimately require under rigid rules to prevent waste.

It is certain that much of the land in the southern part of Westchester is too highly elevated to be able to draw water from the Croton Aqueduct if the supply were enough to warrant it, yet a judicious arrangement of the means and resources now unused in Westchester, in combination with the use of such portion of the surplus of the Croton water as the season might afford, would be productive of immediate benefit to property on both sides of the river, and very much hasten its occupancy.

The Bronx and Saw Mill rivers are the only resources that are likely to be availed of for the supply of water to the lower part of Westchester County, and the supplies that they will afford should be secured and devoted for such purposes at as early a period as possible, and before the banks of those streams are occupied with establishments that will pollute the water and render the

streams unfit for use, except at the great expense of buying off this class of occupancy.

From the period when the question of supplying New York City with pure water first occupied the public mind, until the year 1841, when the Croton water was finally introduced, more than half a century elapsed, and various projects were entertained and discussed.

The Collect Pond, in this city, Artesian Wells, the Bronx and Saw Mill rivers, the Housatonic River and the Croton each had their advocates, as well as the Passaic, since appropriated for the supply of Jersey City and its surroundings, and even a project for damming the Hudson River opposite Amos Street (now West Tenth Street), making slack water navigation above it, and using the water power afforded from it to pump a supply for the city, was proposed and entertained.

During the time thus employed in considering various plans, the material interests of the City of New York suffered severely for want of pure water for her citizens, and an adequate supply for the extinguishment of fires, and large sums were expended by the Manhattan Company in futile efforts to obtain a supply of pure water for domestic purposes, and by the Corporation of the City to procure a supply from similar sources sufficient for the use of the fire department, in both cases unsuccessfully; the probable result of the latter failure was the disastrous fire of December, 1835, when more value of property was destroyed in one night than the original cost of the Croton Water Works.

The ancient boundaries of the City of New York extend to low-water mark on its opposite and surrounding shores, thus giving to the city territorial jurisdiction over the adjacent rivers. Serious disputes have arisen with the State of New Jersey, and much trouble occasioned with Brooklyn in regard to jurisdiction at the wharves, as well as regards the ferries to Long Island.

The question of ferries across the North River is still in an unsatisfactory condition, each state claiming the right to make laws to regulate them. The city now owns in Westchester County the line of the Croton Aqueduct, and a large area of land in Putnam County, for existing and future reservoirs.

The building and maintenance of bridges between the Counties of New York and Westchester has already been occasion of vexation and trouble. Westchester has claimed that she ought to pay only a portion of the expense of erecting a bridge over the river, equal to the proportion of it that stands within her jurisdiction, which extends only to low-water mark on her own side of the river, thus charging that county with but a very trifling part of the whole expense. This, it is believed, has been the basis claimed by Westchester on every occasion of building a bridge between the two counties.

The laying out of roads and bridges, and the apportioning of expenditures

for great works built in the interest of both counties and of the whole public, should be taken out of the petty squabbles of small jurisdiction, and left to the determination of some body with comprehensive powers, capable of dealing with these subjects, not in the interest of New York alone, or of Westchester alone, but in that of both, and of the whole public convenience.

The inconveniences that arise from the existing diversity of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, and of officers that have a patched and piecemeal jurisdiction over divers portions of the territory in question, are daily experienced; to remedy this in some degree it has been found desirable to extend the powers of the Police Board, and the Health Board, not only over New York and Westchester, but over Kings and Richmond counties, though still at the different ends of every existing bridge over the Harlem, the police are required to enforce different excise regulations.

To-day, under acts of the Legislature, passed recently, there are at least seven separate and independent commissions engaged in laying out, working and grading streets, avenues, and roads in the towns of West Farms and Morristania, and several of the lines of these roads necessarily intersect each other, and the separate town authorities also still exercise their control as to working and grading the remaining streets, without reference to these several commissions.

It will be observed that this communication is confined to works of a physical material character, in which both counties have a common interest — such an interest, present and prospective, as will be best fostered by unity of development: these works are the water supply, the sewerage, the navigation of the interjacent waters, the means of crossing these waters, and the land ways that should be laid on each side so as to furnish the best facilities for both. In this enumeration nothing is included that will not be more wisely and better planned and executed by a single authority, and nothing that proposes any present change in political jurisdiction, or that is calculated to disturb the functions or privileges of any existing officer or officers.

The location, building, and maintenance of bridges or tunnels across or under the river, the proper times for doing it, the improvement of the navigation of the river, and the maintenance of it, and the proportion of expense to be borne by the property benefited, can scarcely be adjudicated by independent political corporations, and the time that would be lost in conferences or litigations, and in efforts of the representatives of each city or county to throw an undue portion of the expense on the other, would be the occasion of detriment to the prosperity of all interested.

If the convenient administration of the laws in these adjacent counties has required the exercise of a united authority in certain departments, why, in the case of clearer necessity for unity in the planning and building of these material

works, should it be found difficult to secure the agencies that will insure such unity, with entire acceptability to the people of both counties, and although the advantages to accrue from a consolidation of a portion of Westchester with New York and Brooklyn into one municipality, with one executive head, will force itself upon the mind, yet all that is suggested or required in the material works above enumerated may be gained without such consolidation. A competent body may be constituted, with all needed powers for the purpose, without territorial consolidation, and without raising those purely political considerations which may be delayed until the necessity of territorial annexation demands immediate attention.

Heretofore, where a measure has involved the interest of both counties, it has been usual to compose a body of citizens, selected from both counties, for its execution; and perhaps this would be the preferable way, though it does not seem to have worked very well on the Third Avenue Bridge. The method to be adopted will probably be left to be determined, so far as Westchester is concerned, by the wish of the people of that county, as expressed by its representatives in the Legislature.

It is not intended now to do more than direct attention to the important subject of bringing the City of New York and the County of Kings, a part of Westchester County and a part of Queens and Richmond, including the various suburbs of the city within a certain radial distance from the centre, under one common municipal government, to be arranged in departments under a single executive head.

It would not be difficult to present reasons for such a territorial consolidation that will increase in cogency as population augments, and as facilities of inter-communication are developed to meet in some degree the demand of this population.

More than 1,500,000 of people are comprehended (1868) within the area of this city and its immediate neighborhood, all drawing sustenance from the commerce of New York, and many of them contributing but little toward the support of its government.

An area that could be readily described, of convenient distances from the centre, would comprehend within its limits the residence as well as the place of business of most of its population; thus resolving the difficult question of taxation of non-residents that now exists.

Each department would be ratably represented in a common legislative assembly, and the expenses of government would be apportioned and borne by separate departments, and judicial, police and sanitary powers executed under equal and uniform regulations. The existing public property of each department would be left to be applied to its separate indebtedness and improvement.

It would be best, at the outset, to disturb but few existing officials; their

offices should be left to expire with time and with the general conviction that they were not wanted; all purely political questions and jurisdictions might remain as at present — the idea being gradually to bring, without a shock or conflict, the whole territory under uniform government.

Can any one doubt that this question will force itself upon the public attention at no very distant period? Ingenuity is now taxed to devise methods of carrying people from the suburbs to the centre, and the relations of the city with the suburbs are daily becoming more direct and immediate

The great procession that continually moves toward our city from the Old World makes its first halt at Staten Island in Richmond County, preparatory to its western progress.

Measures are now on foot to unite Brooklyn with New York by two magnificent bridges, which are but the precursors of others, and which are to supplement the thronged ferries. A system of capacious ways is already projected to connect the extensive parks that both municipalities are now engaged in adorning — each with its own characteristics and each with its own public attractions.

Westchester is demanding ways to transmit her population to the city; Richmond County, by her ferries and railways, is exerting herself in the same direction; all progress points toward eventual consolidation and unity of administration; the disadvantage of an incongruous and disjointed authority over communities that are striving by all material methods that the skill of man can devise to become one, will be more and more apparent, and the small jealousies and petty interests that seek to keep them separated will be less and less effectual.

COMPREHENSIVE OUTLINE OF THE WORK OF THE
GREATER NEW YORK COMMISSION

NEW YORK, March 4, 1890.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of New York:

The undersigned respectfully represents that, at the session of the Legislature of 1889, a bill to create a commission to inquire into the expediency of enlarging the area of the City of New York passed the Assembly and through various steps of legislation in the Senate, but in the last hours of the session failed to reach a third reading.

Its object was simply to authorize official examination of a very interesting and important subject.

Notwithstanding the measure failed to reach the final stage of legislative sanction, its progress up to the point advanced gives augury of growing favor and inspires the belief that popular sentiment, enlightened by study, is keeping

step with the swift material tendencies of closer approximation of borders, assimilation of peoples, and identification of interests toward speedy and inevitable consolidation.

Having in view similar objects and advocating similar measures, this communication is submitted, not with the intent of hastening a future which, urged by the material influences referred to, is already rapidly approaching, but rather of preparing with a proper sense of duties and responsibilities to meet it in the broad spirit which the magnitude of the subject demands.

While there are those reluctant to yield to the movement, there are but very few who deny its growing force and certainty of result, and the question which faces our population here is not whether we shall be drawn into closer union, but how and upon what basis such union can be best established.

It is the object of this communication to impress the importance of official inquiry into this subject, and its presentation is neither premature nor will it be in advance of time or events. It is proposed to ordain nothing finally, but at present to go no further than to provide forms for authentic inquiry to make record of objections and disadvantages no less than of advantages and inducements to nearer association, and to leave parties to the inquiry in the same free and uncompromised condition as before. It does not look to enforcement of any measure of consolidation against reluctant municipalities, but on the contrary affords time, place, manner, and opportunity for emphasizing officially and authentically reasons and purpose of dissent, or, if agreement is found desirable under any conditions, to suggest what those conditions shall be.

The proposed commission is to report the result of its examination to succeeding Legislatures, which, if they see fit, may pass an enabling act under the provisions of which such of the communities as may desire so to do may form closer associations or still preserve their separate attitude.

There are those who look upon this measure with apprehension as the first step in the development of a new policy and in the line of movement ending in consolidation.

It is too late to take counsel from such misgivings. It is not a question of policy or of plans, but of progress of the law of evolution, no less natural or inevitable than the meeting of waters which, fed by inexhaustible streams first finding lodgment in separate places among various depressions of the surface, but rising higher with the growing volume, surmount the barriers of division and become one.

The first step toward union of our peoples here was taken when nature grouped together in close indissoluble relation, at the mouth of a great river, our three islands, Manhattan, Long, and Staten, making them buttresses and breakwaters of a capacious harbor, placing them in line of shortest communi-

cation between the great region of which Boston was to become the commercial centre and the other great region of which Philadelphia was to become the metropolis; interposing mountains to the west and the sea to the east, obstructing any other path; determining, by the same conditions which were to make, and have made, this the chief emporium of foreign commerce, that it was also to be, the chief *entrepôt* of domestic trade; and preordaining that here was to be, as there is, the great city of the continent, to become in time the great city of the world and of all time.

These anticipations are not now for the first time advanced by me. As early as 1868, in an official communication in which various interests of the city were considered on the subject of consolidation of various areas about the city, I wrote as follows:

(Here follows an extract from the preceding report of 1868.)

It is scarcely necessary to restate the manifest advantages to accrue to the population intimately to occupy the territory to be comprehended in this consolidated area, from a plan conceived with full apprehension of its future physical needs, rather than from the results of the feeble action of various petty authorities. Observation of progressive development since the date of the above official suggestions assures me that I then read aright the promise of destiny, and that the legislative measure I have the honor to propose is but a step in inevitable consummation, supreme over considerations of transient policies or expediency.

If reason did not sufficiently explain that tendencies to further consolidation are irresistible, the fact would be shown in the actual advances made in that direction — advances by which approximating communities have already merged early rivalries and jealousies in union of forces for coöperative work, thus covering divided areas by one harmonious administration, as shown by the annexation of three towns of Westchester County to this city, by the consolidation of Williamsburg with Brooklyn, and the proposed union of Long Island City and Flatbush with Brooklyn.

The various rivers, estuaries, streams, straits, and inlets which thread our situation here were once the frontier lines of barbaric jurisdictions of a vanished race. Our own people fell into that framing for a while, but, as we grew in numbers and expanded, these ancient limitations ceased to be regarded. What was probably once a divisional line of aboriginal authority at the Canal Street estuary has been effaced, and progress of a wider sway, by a more intelligent race, has marched into common possession of the divided areas. Advancing farther, it has bridged the Harlem and annexed what was once the hostile dominion of the Raracas.

To the east of us the same new peoples have effaced the lines which in ancient days separated the districts upon which the growing cities of Brooklyn and

Williamsburg now stand, crossed the line of what is now Gowanus inlet, and consolidated in one expanding rule all below. The movement still progresses, but we have yet our Sachems, great chiefs and small, who cling to the traditions of barbaric times, and seek to preserve their clans and clanships by fencing them out upon little lines of narrow demarcations against the gathering strength of popular dominion. But the encounter is one between the retreating forces of the tribal system and the coming forces of the coöperative system, between barbaric tradition and educated aspiration, to which there can be but one result, when the frontier lines of the Manhattan, the Montauks, and the Raritans shall be obliterated, and New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City, and Staten Island shall be one politically as they are already in every other relation. In this, future history will only repeat itself, doing here what has been done in London, Paris, Brooklyn, and Chicago, all of which cities have become great and prosperous, not alone by accumulation of numbers within their first restricted bounds, but by expansion, annexation, and consolidation.

But few, even among our most observant citizens, realize the degree and number of governmental antagonisms by which civil administration around the port of New York is disorganized. The situation is strange and presents a subject for philosophic study. Occupied by what may be considered substantially one people having common pursuits, views, and habits of life, dwelling under the same conditions, participating alike in the bounties and privations of their region, drawing subsistence from the same source and impoverished by the same denials, there is probably nowhere another three and a half millions of people so thoroughly assimilated as the populations grouped about this port. There is thus, in the world over, no other area of a hundred and fifty square miles whose welfare could be better promoted by one general administration; yet there is not, in the world over, another like area so disturbed by multiplicity of conflicting authorities. The scheme is one which the observer may well pause to consider. It is divided up and parcelled out among two states, four cities, and six counties. I trust I may be excused for saying that the arrangement is a travesty upon government.

That these conditions have prevailed for a century without precipitating the anarchy inherent in them is extraordinary. The relations of the various parties to the complex scheme have been often strained to the point of rupture, developing antagonisms for which, if left to the control of the many-headed municipalities, shrievalties, bailiwicks, and townships which mottle the varied space, there was no arbitrament but that of the sword and cannon. Fortunately, at this stage, extraneous authorities greater than our own intervened to enforce peaceful solution. This has been done in the instance of the controversy between this state and New Jersey upon the subject of controlling the navigation of the Hudson River. The controversy between a mayor of

this city and other authorities upon the subject of the appointment of police commissioners and the extent of New York police protection reached a stage of disturbance very nearly, if not quite, beyond the control of the municipal authorities. The burning of the quarantine buildings at Staten Island, by the resident citizens, was a proceeding of tumultuous character, and resulted from the circumstance that these persons had no voice in the counsels which inflicted the nuisance upon them.

The disposition to rebel against existing dismembered authority is further illustrated by a project once advanced by Jersey City to be set off from New York as an independent port of entry, and by her successful resistance of the scheme to have passengers from foreign ports landed at the Barge Office on the Battery. Recourse to extraneous authority for internal redress should be a proceeding of last resort, and is never employed without some infraction of domestic right and public decorum.

Could prescience have devised at the beginning of our settlements here that these islands which form our port were to be, in the short period which has elapsed, the dwelling place of two and a half millions of people, and have received the assurances conclusive to us that in thirty additional years there would be not far from two and a half millions more, the scheme of development would have been cast on a scale vastly more comprehensive and the authority over the entire situation would have been reserved to one municipal administration. If this was ever true, its truth is more impressive now than before and must become manifest as time passes.

There are some spheres of administration whose proper regulation is most vitally important to the common welfare and which cannot be apportioned out among different territorial authorities. The navigable water system of the port belongs in common to all the cities and towns and counties of the port. Its development and protection is the concern of all, but under existing arrangements is the duty of none. It provides for us not only approaches from abroad and from our far interior, but constitutes for us locally a system of natural canals of superior excellence serving alike all the municipalities involved; by which canals may be transported bulks and tonnage of freight so immense as to preclude their movement by other methods.

It is a misconstruction of terms and things to define as barriers or divisional lines the means by which communities meet and mingle; by which merchants and business men of one near shore are enabled to employ upon the other necessary utilities not found on their own; by which bankers, merchants, professional men, laboring men and women, equalling in number the entire population of other large cities, pass daily to and fro to offices, stores, houses, factories, and residences; by which on festive days holiday boats gather from schools, churches, guilds, labor unions, and other societies upon either shore,

and from all the towns their contingents of pleasure seekers to enjoy the reunion of common citizenship, as moving upon these waters they pass in review the splendid scenery of their common possession; by which, in the neighborhood of the ferries, there is established between New York and Brooklyn not only communication, but communion closer and more intimate than is found existing between the eastern and western water fronts of the metropolis; and by which Staten Island is placed in closer relation to the Battery districts of New York than it was formerly possible to establish between that district and Harlem or Morrisania. Though geographically separating them, commercially and socially these water-ways and natural canals really unite all the municipalities, and it is perversion of thought and policy to regard these bonds of union as symbols of division, and to find in the paths by which we are united the lines by which we are all separated.

This misconstruction of the relation of our water-ways to the local situation; this failure to recognize, though we abundantly use them as local canals, relegates their custody to the irresponsible charge of all, without permitting them to the special concern of any. The water front of no municipality here belongs to it to be extended, filled in, or aligned as its authorities may determine. This front has relation to the water front of all the other municipalities. Artificial change in one section creates, by natural operation, change often prejudicial in another. The action of tides and currents is so subtle and inscrutable as to baffle inquiry of the most expert, and injuries to one remote section are untraceable to what are considered improvements in another, except by the circumstantial evidence that they are contemporaneous.

We are building anew yet, and some margin of discrepancy may be allowed to the energies of development, even when carefully directed by such advisory authority as is empowered to suggest method and direction; but our water system is subject to that spoliation and perversion which proceeds covertly without semblance of any warrant or official direction whatever. The rogueries of garbage and mudscow boatmen in making the channels dumping places for all sorts of waste are past finding out. From Sandy Hook to Yonkers all the shore and all the water space is open to lawless enterprise. Every little district has its marauders, who by encroachment, appropriation, and misuse deplete the general system, to transfuse its vitalities into some niggard scheme or individual profit.

Parasite companies, usurping the name of giant corporations, stake broad lines far out in this common domain and bid the waters come no further, and they obey.

The right of way to the south and to the capital of the nation, once as broad as the southern shore of the port, is practically narrowed to two roadways, and it is but a question of stock jobbing when they shall be merged into one.

It was thought this monopolistic array was broken by the advance to the water front of a new and competing line by Staten Island. So strongly were the older companies entrenched in their lines of water frontage, and so strong their grasp of all agencies for organizing popular sentiment, in the local press, town councils, and Legislatures, that the new Baltimore & Ohio road was enabled to perfect its route only by intervention of the National Government, overruling the protests, feigned in the interests of state rights and local freedom, as uttered by hired claquers of public opinion and officially formulated by subservient authority; yet no sooner does the new road, by a bridge across the Staten Island kills, chartered by Congress, reach our shore, than it too is seized with the frenzy of riparian acquisition, and is now before the Legislature of New York with a proposition seeking charter to deliver Staten Island and her belongings into the universal railroad trust.

What this shall mean the people of Richmond County will learn when expanding population and growing business shall make indispensable the provision of additional ferries and the opening of new streets to the water front; or when, rebelling against unendurable impositions, all our populations here shall desire the chartering of new trunk lines from this port to the interior, to compete, in the interests of all private rights and economies, which are the units of public right and public thrift, with the exactions of colossal and all-pervading monopoly.

Actuated by selfish motives, all private interests tend to consolidation and trusts. The only interest which refrains is that of our unselfish, thoughtless peoples and their fatuous municipalities, which in broken form carry on desultory and futile war against the organized forces of relentless and absentee capitalism resident in Boston, San Francisco, New Orleans, London, Paris, or Frankfort, voting by proxy or loaned stock in secret corporate directory, and determining for us what we shall do with our own, or whether it shall be our own; taking from us the meat of butchered freedom, and leaving us the skin and bones to be taxidermed into living semblance and imposed upon our many-headed municipalities as life, form, and substance of true original heaven-born liberty, for our various mayors, supervisors, and councilmen with their henchmen and heelers to apostrophize and adore. All society, at least our society here, may be considered as classified in regular forces, which, animated by intelligence, move in concert upon fixed plans to definite purpose; and guerilla bands which, without design or concert or ultimate aim, skirmish weakly and vainly against the advance of superior organization. The corporate powers represent here the regular force, and our divided municipalities, though invested with responsibility of protecting all that belongs to the people in the sphere of civil administration, represent the guerillas. The continuance of this relation between the corporate power and the power of the people de-

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pends upon the length of the period during which we shall choose to maintain the attitude of municipal-disseveration and refuse to assume that supreme mastery of the situation which union of our people alone can secure.

Some assuagement might be permitted were depredation and encroachment confined to the shores; but the same abuse of privileges and misuse of power mark the path of the corporations at the interior point where they enter our municipal jurisdictions and along its entire progress. We are as inadequate to discipline or propitiate the forces which usurp control over approaches from the interior by land as over terminals at the water front. Popular right is still subordinated to the corporate power. Without taking counsel with the resident populations who, in the order of things, might be considered most interested, the great corporations make their approaches without question of lines, of terms, of method of operation, or public interest to be promoted, or of restoring in the interest of public health and convenience surfaces which their embankments and excavations have thrown out of relation. Ignoring city plots, grades, or topographical outline which mark adaptations to other business than their own, they force their way through, above, below, or around, as cheap instinct may best prompt, forecasting forever lines of abnormal development or desolation, character of future growth or decay, nature of industry and employment for large areas in the limits of our various cities, often wantonly making the havoc of neighborhoods the visible sign of their power and presence. If there are any who dispute their right, there are none to resist their might. Some village or town or minor city may cry out against sharper pressure, but their troubles are not of concern to disassociate neighbors. One by one they are encountered in detail, and in detail overmastered. Occasionally a fresh and heroic figure, embodying the authority of his bailiwick and resenting its wrongs, rides a tilt at the colossus, which simply waits, as one to whom all things shall come in time.

The business of transportation, the assemblage of the various products of the country from north, south, east, and west, and their manufacture and redistribution, is that by which our commercial cities live and thrive. The roads are indispensable to all the cities and towns here, and we might in time become accustomed to their tyrannies, repair their ravages, and go on in our divided way as before, did not new apprehensions urge more strongly than ever concert of action to meet a fresh deployment of the railroad forces against our whole position in the relation in which we have considered it impregnable. The new demonstration indicates a purpose to divert from us, by new routes constructed and contemplated upon independent lines, a portion of the business heretofore converging at New York — a matter which will be examined further on in a part of this communication which discusses the geographical and commercial relation of this port to tributary regions, and institutes a com-

parison between the forces of foreign and domestic trade as factors in the business and progress of this city. It is farthest from my intention that anything that is here written shall be taken as indicating hostility to these modern forms of corporate contrivances, by means of which such vast results have been achieved in the development of our country and in furtherance of the interests of mankind, especially when they have as an object the facilitating of the transportation of persons and property. They are the marvel of the age in which we live; experience shows, however, that they must be regulated and controlled by governmental intervention.

But there are other matters of common local concern which require a common authority for their regulation. The atmosphere which envelops the situation, together with the waters which surround and penetrate it, supply the conditions which determine the health of all our communities.

Upon these elements it is impossible to fasten municipal jurisdictions. We cannot parcel out the air among us nor partition the fleeting tides. In defiance of enactment by council and mayor of one city, malaria will evolve from the limits of another, float thence upon the free winds, and precipitate into the general atmosphere, for inhalation by distant patients, exotic microbes, bacteria, and all varieties of poisonous germic life. The procession of tides marches through the limits of all the municipalities, impartially collecting and distributing everywhere offal and sewerage loaded with contagion. Each community has done full duty to itself in injecting its smoke, stenches, and sewerage into another province or mayoralty, so that some of our people live in the interchange of reciprocal nuisances or medley of conglomerate nauseas.

The police arrangements of our several municipalities are inefficient for general service to the exact degree in which they are subordinate to different authorities. The laws and ordinances are substantially the same in all our territorial divisions. Yet their enforcement is entrusted to four different police boards and as many different police systems. Law-breakers, rogues, and criminals ignore city boundaries in their proceedings and are cosmopolitan, as should be the forces for their discipline. Disorderly persons in large numbers often resort to some neighboring district with slender population and overpower its small police force, in whose behalf no other force is allowed to interfere. Separate jurisdictions in the divided areas thwart and impede administration of justice in its various fragments. A criminal escaping from the locality of his misdeeds to another has made a step to entire immunity or to such confusion and delay in legal processes as renders them virtually inoperative. The expenses of the various police organizations are augmented in the same ratio as that in which the value of their services is diminished. Not many years ago the cities of New York and Brooklyn united their health and police departments in joint administration. For these the lines of municipal juris-

diction were effaced. The duties of both departments were admirably discharged under this arrangement. It is quite probable they were administered with too close regard to the order and health of the associate cities to suit the views of some engaged in pursuits and occupations which were best promoted by neglect of sanitary law and civil order, or that the joint administration conducted by a single board and staff, dispensing with a portion of those necessary for a double service, diminished public disbursements and lessened the official consequence of some public retainers.

While there was nothing in the experience of this association of the two cities in these departments of administration to justify doubt of their greater efficiency, there may be drawn on the other hand conclusive evidences that more intimate and thorough association of the two governments, in all departments, would greatly promote the welfare of both communities. They would not, at least, be entering upon an entirely new field in combining once more for coöperative work.

It would be reasonable to suppose that, in compensation for the obvious sacrifice which this material isolation entails, some great and manifest advantage were to result; yet it is not possible to discover any, and it is difficult to imagine any. There prevails among some Brooklyn citizens an apprehension that consolidation with New York means the merger of the smaller city, yet the desire to be merged is manifested and promoted in every way but by that which will accomplish it.

The citizens of Brooklyn are among the most active, enterprising, and successful men engaged in business in the metropolis. They are bankers, brokers, railroad officials, government clerks, merchants, lawyers, journalists, laboring men, truckmen, and others of all variety of employment, taking as much pride in the progress of the larger city as in their own, conscious that the prosperity of one must promote that of the other. Her eminent lawyers have more business in the New York courts and at the City Hall than in their own. Her streets are lined with spacious mansions whose cost has been defrayed from profits of New York trade. Her residence localities are nearer the official quarter of the metropolis, in the Battery district, than are the residence localities in the larger city; and this silent but potent fact will ever have, as it always has had, conclusive force, with or without legal enactment or recognition, to determine features of common policy and mutual coöperation. By every expedient which ingenuity, capital, and inclination can devise, Brooklyn strives to get nearer to and to be identified and merged in the metropolis. The bridge across the East River was an enterprise of Brooklyn's initiation, and constructed mainly at her expense. Other bridges, tunnels, and new ferries are contemplated by her citizens to make the merger more complete. Reviewing what Brooklyn has done, and deliberately designed to do, in her

efforts to establish closer and more complete relations with New York, it is pertinent to inquire if the attitude of political separation maintained by her has promoted or retarded the work? There can be but one answer to the question. Had the cities been one, communication between its different wards, by bridges or tunnels across or under the East River, would have been established years before it was effected, all would have been reciprocally benefited, and points and places which yet wait the forming touch of progress would have been brought into the circuit of established improvement.

New York, too, has her misgivings in regard to the doctrine of consolidation, but is at the same time pursuing a policy which recognizes and promotes it. There was a business tradition, still surviving, to control what is called conservative opinion, that all commerce, traffic, movement which did not originate in the lower quarter of the city, and find shipping, storage, sale, and despatch there, was conducted beyond the line of legitimate business and in derogation of the rights and privileges of their "High Mightinesses" of the ancient Amsterdam company, and that consolidation with the other shore means diversion to annexed districts of commercial advantages not properly belonging there. Yet the merchants of New York have been first in this work of diversion, first in the work of commercially habilitating the adjoining district and in making its utilities their own. The water front of Long Island, from Astoria to Bay Ridge, is largely owned, developed, built upon, and used by New York merchants — the docks are frequented by ships, the warehouses filled with merchandise by their order; New York merchants, bankers, workmen, own lots, blocks, and larger areas, embracing many acres, in Brooklyn, which they develop and pay taxes on, build railroads, houses, and labor to promote the growth of the city as zealously as if they resided there.

In the days of small beginnings, when population was small and traffic light, there was some apparent reason for declining to distribute the advantages which each separate district thought itself in some special matter and manner to be able to control. It was then held that there was not, and would not be, a sufficiency of commercial benefactions to justify expansive bestowal, but these benefactions are shown to be illimitable, not only enough for all, on whatever scale we may provide, but crowding upon us in such volume that their accumulation will exceed provisions for despatch however rapidly we may hasten it.

The strength of opinion adverse to union is believed to reside in the official class, in politicians and officeholders. These on both sides of the river apprehend diminution of their number and some diminution of influence under the change. To weakling aspirants for public honor this fear may be well entertained, but should inspire no concern to stronger natures, who will find in larger fields ample reward and fame. Under all conditions each community

or section of a community must have in general assemblage its official contingent, which parts with none of its influence or individuality in combination with others. There is no principle so well understood and theoretically and practically adopted in political management as the justice and expediency of allowing to each portion of the general population and to each district its due share of the general administration; and the apprehension that any less populous district may lose its influence by annexation to a larger, is based upon ignorance of the theories and methods of elective governments and party management.

The reflections thus far suggested refer more particularly to matters of present importance and to existing conditions, but a view of the situation would be very incomplete which did not give a glance to the future and suggest inquiry into the fitness of our scheme, as now formulated, to answer all the ends of civil administration of a community to be as much more populous expanded and wealthy, in contrast with our conditions now, as these last are in contrast with those prevailing fifty years ago. Plans for inaugurating what may be considered a new era, in the plotting of cities with relation to new methods of transit now being introduced, new methods of illuminating, warming, and ventilating, the enlarged and improved plans of domestic architecture and of public buildings, the adaptation of certain districts for certain uses, their fitness for manufactories, docks, warehouses, residences, bridge terminals, ferry landings, reservoirs, and railroad stations and parks, may with advantage to ourselves and to those who are to follow be now carefully studied and projected.

The cities of this port have grown up in entire misapprehension of the forces of their development. It is the belief now, as it has always been, that they owe their prosperity to the excellence of their harbor attracting foreign shipping to its shelter; but it can be demonstrated that foreign commerce has been no more than an auxiliary to the forces of domestic traffic centring here. There is what may be termed a certain pageantry and poetry in the process of foreign commerce, which attract the eye and confuse the judgment when these processes are compared with the more prosaic methods of domestic production and exchange.

The port of New York is easily first of all of our continental ports in the value, bulk, and variety of foreign productions landed at her docks, and first in the value of exports, and to this circumstance is supposed to be due the fact that we are the chief of our manufacturing cities and the chief domestic market.

Properly construed, however, the relation of forces is exactly reversed, and we are made the chief emporium of foreign commerce for the reason that we control, by virtue of our routes to the interior, the domestic market. It is

well that we should appreciate this, so that in our eager effort to secure the secondary advantage we may not be led to sacrifice the primary. Defined by the character of the greater portion of her production and exchange, New York may be said to be an interior city. By the last census it appears that the value of the manufactures of all the cities of the port considerably exceeded the value of the combined foreign exports and imports. When it is estimated that foreign merchandise has employed no labor here, has paid no wages in our community, that much of it is simply shipped through the port in bulk to remote destination; and when it is taken into consideration that the assemblage here from our own interior of crude commodities employs large amounts of our capital, that its transportation to this point calls for the aid of home labor, its manufacture calls for the aid of another labor army, and its redistribution in perfected stage still calls for another equal force of merchants, clerks, laboring men, porters, and carriers; and when it is further manifest that the ground structures and material facilities required for the preparation and despatch of these commodities constitute an immense share of the assessed wealth of the community, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the forces of development pertaining to our domestic business are vastly stronger than those of foreign commerce. New York, Brooklyn, Staten Island, and the cities of Hudson County, New Jersey, constitute substantially the port of New York. In 1880, as appears by the census, there were paid out in these cities wages to manufacturing labor not far from the sum of \$126,000,000. Adding to this the wages paid to labor in handling these commodities before as well as after manufacture, and in their final despatch to ultimate destination, we may approximate the amount of aggregate sums disbursed locally in our purely domestic business. To the degree in which our foreign trade falls short of disbursing a like sum among us in its various phases, to that degree is it a minor force in providing for us employment, substantial wages, and all the elements of communal wealth. Newport, in our near vicinity, has as fine a harbor as our own, and Norfolk a better, yet they are but little else than summer watering places. They are situated beyond the line of interior domestic movement, and cannot conveniently be made centres of domestic trade, without which no position can ever become commercially dominating. The great cities of the world and of history are and have been interior cities. The historic cities of Asia and of Egypt are interior. Rome, the most populous and powerful city of her day, had no foreign commerce as we now weigh that word. Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, Madrid, Brussels, Peking, Cairo, Mexico, Lima, Santiago, the largest cities of their respective nationalities, are interior cities. London is sixty-six miles from the Straits of Dover, and over three hundred from the Atlantic, and owes her immensity to her interior position, where the bridges across the Thames placed her in early times in communication

with the areas which the river had divided, and made her a domestic thoroughfare. Liverpool is situate far out of the line of direct communication with the open sea, and is reached, by ships engaged in foreign trade, only by long detour of dangerous navigation in the days when Liverpool established herself as chief emporium of British-Atlantic commerce. But though located at the point of deepest intrusion of a gulf of the Irish Sea, and thus remote from sea routes, she is by the same arrangement made a centring point of commerce for land routes, through which all communication between Wales and South-west England on one side and North England and Scotland must pass, and here in front of the great industries of Lancashire she has grown to be the mistress of British-Atlantic commerce. The British port which reaches farthest to receive foreign shipping is that of Falmouth, but the situation is peninsular, having remote communication with the interior; is territorially isolated, with no possibility of being made a domestic market; and the conveniences of the port are in consequence disregarded by passing vessels, which pursue their voyage three or four hundred miles farther to reach the London and Liverpool centres. Foreign commercial movement, as governed by the superior forces of interior domestic movement, is no less distinctly manifested upon our shore. Boston is by no means the best and most accessible harbor in New England, but is situated at the deepest intrusion of the sea, along that portion of the coast where it narrows to bridging compass, and thus enables first communication by land between the areas which up to this point the sea divides, making it a thoroughfare between these areas, a general point of assemblage, a central domestic market, and by relation to these conditions the metropolis of its region and the emporium of its foreign trade. Coming south, the line of commercial development avoids the splendid harbor of Newport at the mouth of Narragansett Bay, and builds in Providence, at the head of this bay, at a point inaccessible to heavy foreign shipping, the second of New England cities; thence it proceeds southwardly on line of shortest communication to the pass between the mountains and the sea as defined by the termination of the Catskill range at Jersey City, and the approach of the sea to the mouth of the Hudson, and here in this gateway, between the sections, it creates New York, making it the chief centre of domestic trade and by relation the chief centre of foreign exchange. Continuing southerly, foreign commerce does not seek the most accessible and commodious accommodations on Delaware Bay, but rather appears to avoid them, and proceeds in long and tortuous navigation to the farthest reach of that estuary, to find at Philadelphia, most attractive resort, a city which grew to its present magnificence from the circumstance that the domestic movement, north and south, found shortest communication through the position, after the impediment of the Schuylkill River had been neutralized by bridge. Foreign commercial move-

ment, still controlled by the same law, avoids the nearer and more commodious accommodations of the Chesapeake Bay, and pushes on for 250 miles to those most remote and of least accommodation at Baltimore, located at the most westerly advance of that bay, at a point through which interior movement is compelled to pass; thence proceeding, to avoid the obstruction of the broader Potomac, it crosses at the head of tidewater, constitutes Alexandria and Georgetown the centres of domestic trade of that region, and so of foreign commerce, and finds at the end of navigation for small craft, on the James River at Richmond, a situation best adapted to the uses of a central domestic market, and creates there the chief foreign market for an immense and fertile region, leaving unemployed at Norfolk the best harbor of our coast. There are thus great cities without harbors and great harbors without cities. There are also great cities without any foreign trade whatever, and of those which do have large external commerce it will be found in all that the volume of interior trade vastly excels it.

New York was once situate at the single point of convergence of superior routes, from many regions upon which interior trade and travel was compelled to concentrate, but these conditions exist no longer. The business of transporting freight and passengers is progressive. Improvements have been made in roadbeds, rails, cars, stations, locomotives, and bridges. Notwithstanding natural advantages, New York cannot afford to neglect the equipment of her routes, or allow them to be inferior to other routes laid upon lines independent of her, upon lines which do not touch her position, upon lines constructed for the express purpose of diverting her trade — yet that is exactly what we do allow, and is just what many champions of public welfare strenuously advocate. When the route now constructed between Boston and Philadelphia and their relating regions by way of Poughkeepsie Bridge shall be in full operation, and the route now under construction between districts heretofore tributary to us shall be completed by a bridge crossing at Peekskill, the unbridged line by New York will be discriminated against to the extent of fifty cents of passenger fare and an hour's despatch, thirty cents per ton on freight and possibly days in despatch. The entire relation of the city to some of the most affluent tributaries is changed.

Whether we shall have the best or worst roads to our sources of supply depend upon the view we take of the construction of a bridge across the Hudson River at this point. Apart from the importance of such a structure as perfecting communication with remote tributaries, it is indispensable as a local convenience. Farther, in an area in New Jersey, comprised in a circuit drawn twenty-five miles from our City Hall, is a population equal to that of Kings County, of which 50,000 persons go and come daily to and from the metropolis. In every relation but in that of political jurisdiction this area is a suburb

of New York. There are, moreover, so many enterprises for remodelling the business of the city, and its movement — such as the widening and deepening of Harlem River for the accommodation of the canal-boat fleet; the concurrent improvement of the ship passage through the Sound and Hell Gate, with a view of making the upper portion of the city a resort for foreign ships coming by way of the Sound; and the completion of the Baltimore & Ohio route, which opens a new route south for Brooklyn and New York — that a strong guard must be thrown out to protect against disturbance the old line of freight and travel despatch upon which many hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended in various agencies, accessories, and accommodations, and which constitute an immense share of our wealth and business.

The great cities of the West are growing by the influence of interior trade. Chicago presents some features in her development which we may with advantage study. It is generally held that this great city owes her prosperity to the opportunities of Lake Michigan, but if conditions be rightly construed it will be found that it is more due to the obstruction by the lake to the projection of roads through any other point. For a breadth of nearly five hundred miles the lake system prevents the construction of trunk lines over the area into which its convolutions enter, and it is only where the obstruction ceases at the southern limit of Lake Michigan, where Chicago stands, that the delayed routes find transit, and speediest communication is found between the states of the Northeast and the Northwest. In this arrangement will be found the chief strength of the position; while the lake, having served its chief use as a barrier to other land routes, has in an auxiliary way supplied a capacious water route. Had the lake been a river easily crossed by bridges through its entire length, Chicago would have been distributed in attenuate settlements along all its banks instead of being massed in gathered strength at its head. As it is, her position is made impregnable to the north by nature, and the energy, enterprise, and intelligence of her people have rendered its southern front equally so. The position of New York is still more commanding if its relations be intelligently examined and maintained. The sea serves for it the double service of obstruction to any other land route between the American areas which the sea here separates, and affords at the same time opportunities of its world-reaching water routes. To the east therefore the situation is impregnable. There is no reason why it should not be on the west. This the line of shortest communication between our northern and southern regions, and the line directed through this point passes in all its extension over surfaces most easily reducible to economic transportation and travel. These conditions are not, however, so strong by nature that they may not be flanked and turned. Neglect to develop and improve natural facilities of transport may prompt, as they have done, competing routes upon lines remote and independent of us.

The Hudson River and the parallel mountains have heretofore been guides for all movement to this point and guards against movement elsewhere, but have ceased to serve us so absolutely in this character. Engineering skill has reduced the impediments of the mountains and bridged the river far above this position, and there is already in successful operation a road, powerfully organized, which will divert to its lines an immense business heretofore despatched upon our routes. Other roads and bridges are chartered and contemplated, all of which will to their capacity undermine and supplant this point as *entrepôt* between sections heretofore unavoidably tributary to it. With the construction of a route equipped with a bridge crossing the Hudson above us, our unbridged line may soon cease, if it has not already ceased, to be the one of cheapest transport and travel, and, though it still remains the shortest, it is not perhaps of quickest despatch. We are therefore brought to a point in our progress where we must compete for the elements of business of which we have had until now undisputed control.

The evidences cited of the superior influences of domestic trade in the development of great commercial cities, and of their capacity to draw to their centres, through many impediments, foreign commerce and its ships, should impress the truth that neglect of our domestic routes involves the smaller use of our sea routes; that a diminution of the strength of the position as an *entrepôt* of domestic trade correspondingly diminishes its strength as an emporium of foreign commerce.

It is not impossible that some competing intelligences demonstrating upon other lines, and some coöperative ignorance demonstrating upon our own, may in time bring about the result that New York shall be operated in the chief relation as a seaport and serve to some interior position the secondary use that Hamburg renders to Berlin, that Havre renders to Paris, Southampton to London, Vera Cruz to Mexico, Valparaiso to Santiago, and Callao to Lima. Intelligent citizens of all the cities of the port will in time understand, however, how disastrous such tendencies must be to all their interests, and unite in common policy to conserve the conditions which have made us primarily the first manufacturing community, have centred here the chief continental domestic market, and by this relation alone have made this the principal seat of foreign commercial exchange. This common policy cannot, with best advantage, be advanced by the loose municipal formations in which we permit ourselves to be divided, but by presenting a consolidated front to all rivalries. In combined strength we are adequate to any encounters. Division exposes us to the vicissitudes of incoherent plans resulting in possible defeat, and to the certainty in any event that the fruits of whatever victory we may secure will be less ample and satisfactory.

This review of the situations involving considerations of the relative strength

of foreign and domestic agencies in the maintenance and progression of our intermunicipal schemes is essential to proper understanding of the work before us, and is submitted with the design to suggest that in planning for the city of the future there should be provision for all the domestic and interior agencies by which alone great cities live; that the adaptations of certain areas to specific uses, such as factories, docks, bridges, terminals, and markets, should be now examined, so that progress may deploy in symmetrical lines. In plotting the surface for occupation by the incoming peoples, the situation covered by our several municipalities must be treated as a whole and single area. Proper lines and general configuration of land and water spaces hold relation to each other which cannot, without loss of accommodation and symmetry, be ignored. These adaptations have not been studied in the multifarious schemes upon which development has so far been variously made, and which in some respects are inadequate to the needs of the future, as is the arrangement of streets, alleys, courts, and places of the lower portion of this city to the business conducted there at this day. Were that section now open to such projection as should best economize space, promote convenience, and insure despatch, the arrangement would be quite different. Efforts to correct existing faults have been costly and but partially successful. Propositions to widen Church Street and extend it, to widen Nassau Street, to extend Wall Street westerly, and Center Street northerly, are samples of many measures yearly presented to the consideration of the authorities, but are forbidden by the immense cost which would attend them. The expansion of the city has made necessary more ample and expeditious transit between the widening areas than was needed fifty years ago, but this, though only partly secured, has been effected by severest exercise of public right and power over private property and privilege. The first settled portion of Brooklyn was plotted with no comprehension of the great city of which it was the nucleus. The development of Long Island City and Staten Island has been made upon lines different from those which would have been approved had projectors appreciated their future use. What has been done cannot be undone, but a lesson may be derived from experience; we can learn that in the work of building up towns it is more difficult to correct the past than to open up the future, and so arrange our plans with regard to future need that there shall be fewer faults to correct.

There are some considerations pertinent to the subject which, referring neither to its material nor official aspect, are yet more important than either. Organized for contention, as the arrangement here is, it develops issues for which, in the absence of any arbitrament among ourselves, we are compelled to resort to the authorities of the State and Nation for adjustment, which other American communities differently situated are enabled to reach without such extraneous recourse. Complexities requiring solution by State or Federal

intervention must increase in number and intensity as approximation brings nearer together the forces of difference, at the same time increasing, as the years go by, the number of participants and insuring to the movements of these larger masses the character and energy of popular tumults. Appeals for intervention on the part of the citizens here, familiarity with it, and the habit of exercising it by authorities not local, create in all quarters a misunderstanding of the relation between citizens, municipalities, State and Nation. Based throughout all its lines of foundation upon the principle of self-government, every appeal for intervention and every exercise of intervening authority is a denial of the validity of that principle.

There are none more prompt than our citizens in all this vicinity to criticise and take exceptions to the employment of extraneous authorities for internal redress, but a fairer and more reasonable view would direct criticism and censure to the conditions of our own making, out of which must inevitably proceed the contentions and issue which render intervention unavoidable. I desire here to impress the consideration that a state of affairs becoming chronic is dislocating our theories and practice of civil administration as understood elsewhere in this country, and is ripening to that consummation which will vest all authority for the regulation of the cities of this vicinage in bodies which they neither elect nor control nor advise.

Moved by influences easily recognized, there has been for many years a growing tendency among modern people to mass themselves in cities. It may be explained in the increase in the variety, quantity, and value of manufactures produced in cities, and the release from the farm of many whose labor is now accomplished by the employment of machinery, and the larger fields of daily supply opened by modern transportation. To such a degree has this tendency of populations to the cities proceeded, and so many novel questions of policy are presented, that a new problem arises in governmental science, and the government of great cities has become a new study of paramount interest. However divided upon minor topics, the American people cherish the faith that this problem will find solution in the adequacy of every community to govern itself; but to accomplish this it is a self-evident proposition that every harmonious community, one by circumstance of vicinage, by daily personal intercourse of its members, by identification of interests, properties, pursuit, and aspiration, should be endowed and invested with authority for its own control, and not dissevered into varied forms of multiple governments, which imply and create in their very condition differences and misgovernment.

It remains to be said that the question of government of great cities is nowhere else brought to such conspicuous trial as it now undergoes in this single commonwealth of divided municipalities. Great as our interests in this result are, they are trivial in comparison with those which our example

will affect through this country, the world, and history, and without exaggeration it may be said that we owe it to ourselves, to all our countrymen, and perhaps even to mankind, to eliminate from this test of popular institutions now proceeding all unnecessary factors of disturbance, and allow the principle of self-government fair dispositions for acquittal against the incompetencies which factitious conditions of multiplicity of governments in the same sphere have heretofore made it subject of reproach.

Experience of the past and revelations of the future inspire the belief that the time has now arrived when new methods of administration on broader scale must be adopted to meet the wider and still expanding situation, and that the measure which I have the honor to submit is but signal of an inevitable and imminent future and admonition to prepare for its coming.

ANDREW H. GREEN.

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