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VIEWS OF
EARLY NEW YORK

VIEWS

OF

EARLY NEW YORK

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

PREPARED FOR THE
NEW YORK CHAPTER OF THE
COLONIAL ORDER OF
THE ACORN

NEW YORK
PRIVATELY PRINTED
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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE annual banquets of the Colonial Order for six years from 1896 to 1901 were rendered notable by the presentation to the members and their guests of the series of views of old New York which are included in the present volume. These views were selected with care, and graphically represent the gradual growth of the city from the little Dutch trading-post, situated at the Battery, to the more important city depicted in Rollinson's view of 1801.

The committee having this work in charge was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Edwin Davis French, who has faithfully reproduced on copper all of the features of the original prints, and it is confidently believed that in no other

single volume can so many representative views of the city be obtained.

At a meeting of the Colonial Order, held about two years ago, action was taken to appoint a committee under whose care articles should be prepared, descriptive of the city at the periods represented by these views, to be issued with the prints in a volume which should be a permanent witness to one of the objects for which the Colonial Order was founded. After the usual delay, that in such matters seems inevitable, the articles have been finished, and the present volume is the result.

It is hoped that the careful researches made by the writers will throw new light on the social and political conditions of the city in its early stages of development, and that those interested in early New York will be glad to welcome a new volume on their favorite topic. It only remains to thank the gentlemen who have so carefully undertaken the by no means easy task of preparing these articles, and to bespeak for them the kindly indulgence of the courteous reader.

New York, April, 1904.

VIEWS OF
EARLY NEW YORK

NEW YORK IN 1650

THE simple little picture before us originally appeared in a book of travels concerning America (author unknown), printed at Cologne in 1648. A copy of the book is in the New York Historical Society library, bound up with various other Holland pamphlets.

The next and better-known issue is at the foot of a folded map in Adriaen Vanderdonck's "Description or Prospectus of New Netherland," printed in Amsterdam in 1650.

Our engraver, Mr. French, has faithfully reproduced the original. To be consistent, the letterpress should be dated 1648; but the date on the

letterpress adopted by our society was, in view of all the circumstances, a safe one to insert.

The unknown artist is supposed to be sitting on the deck of a vessel in the Hudson River or on Ellis Island, with his back to the New Jersey shore, while he sketches the south end of Manhattan Island and Brooklyn Heights.

The writer of this notice is limited in his duty. He confines his description to this print of 1648–1650; others will take up the thread of the narrative where the picture ceases to recall events pertinent to or after its date; and we therefore invoke a part of the motto of our order and " Look Backward " upon events which made it possible for a city to be located where the artist has sketched it.

The picture represents in the center a headland with a fort. The flag over the fort is supposed to be in three colors. Five Indian canoes, three European ships, a pinnace, a yawl, and some scattered houses near the fort tell of European and aboriginal inhabitants. The map on which we found the sketch reproduced tells us that the headland is part of an island called Manhattes, which forms a portion of a newly discovered country in the Western Hemisphere called New Netherlands. It was first seen by Europeans in September, 1609, from the deck of a Dutch ship called the *Half Moon,* commanded by an Eng-

lishman, one Henry Hudson. The voyage was made for the purpose of discovering a shorter passage to the far East, so that Hollanders might find an "open door" to China, in spite of the Pope's bull, which gave to the Portuguese the monopoly of the route by the Cape of Good Hope.

Let us enlarge upon the picture before us and imagine ourselves standing alongside the good skipper Henry Hudson on the deck of the *Half Moon* as she sailed up our beautiful bay on that fine autumnal morning. The hills of Manhattan and New Jersey over the bow, Staten Island to port, Long Island to starboard, are clothed with the "forest primeval"; the maples are just beginning to turn, showing bright tints of red and yellow; the somber browns of oak, chestnut, and elm, and the dark green of cedar and pine, bring out the brighter hues of the maple foliage, while the almost Indian summer atmosphere (there was a slight mist that morning) half obscures and then again reveals the towering Palisades, as the white American sunlight burns through the haze. No wonder the gallant captain is enthusiastic over his landfall, and tells us "it is as fair a land as ever was trodden by the foot of man." [1]

[1] Henry Hudson: Hakluyt Society Collection. So-called Hudson's Journal.

The discovery of the site of a city which afterward becomes famous is an event inspiring great interest. Tradition, mythology, religion itself, recall and celebrate those Early Foundings; every language tells the story about them; but no more eventful period had ever existed in the world's history than when our city's site was found.

A few weeks before the *Half Moon* sailed from Old Amsterdam, Philip III of Spain, grandson of Emperor Charles V, had recognized the United Provinces of the Old Netherlands as free and independent states. A truce for twelve years had been agreed upon between Spain and the Low Countries. In this same year a site was found for the New Amsterdam in the New Netherlands. The United States to-day is the New World power, just as little Holland in 1609 began its career as an Old World power.

Bancroft says: "America owes her origin not to dynasties, but to the genius of commerce and corporations."

The Dutch East India Company, intelligent private adventurers, and the Dutch West India Company discovered, established, and for thirty-five years maintained this little "*acorn*" of a city, which has developed into a mighty oak.[1]

Slight assistance was given it by the Holland

[1] The crest of the Colonial Order is an acorn.

government, mostly by parchment and sealing-wax in the shape of licenses and charters. Not until 1623 did their High Mightinesses of Holland give anything so formal as a charter, and before that time only licenses to trade, perhaps a few soldiers and cannon, were furnished, the settlers and private capital paying most of the expenses.[1]

We have some written evidence of these small Dutch beginnings. In those early records, and by the light of contemporaneous European history, we also read between the lines that the settlement at Manhattan was becoming an object of envy to other nationalities; personal and commercial rivalry existed between the various capitalists in Holland who furnished the money for the ships, and a very evident disinclination to assume responsibility prevailed on the part of the Dutch government; for Holland's foreign policy had suddenly become very important: Barneveldt, the Grand Pensionary, and others of the conservative party, feared that the truce with Spain might be violated by irresponsible ship-masters: perhaps the eager searchers after furs might not be too particular about boundary lines between other settlements in the Western World, over which the good friends of Holland, Henry of Navarre and

[1] N. Y. Colonial Documents, I, pages 2 to 10 *et supra.*

James I of England, claimed jurisdiction. It is therefore very plain that to the hardy, brave adventurers themselves, worthy descendants of the "Sea Beggars" who had succeeded in winning liberty from the Spanish yoke, belongs the credit and glory of founding New York,—not to their High Mightinesses of Holland.

The beginning, with such scant governmental aid, was unsystematic, irresponsible. For nearly fourteen years after the discovery there was no general system of law; it was a "place of call" for the cargoes of furs which were brought down from the upper Hudson or upon the various sounds and estuaries by the Indians in their canoes, just as we see them in the picture before us; rival adventurers, not always from Holland,[1] visited the harbor and rivers, and made friends with the aborigines, and but little information was given by those who returned home to their neighbors in Holland concerning the boundaries, resources, or routes of travel in the newly discovered territory. Mariners who had visited the place petitioned the home government to enjoin printers from publishing their charts, and, unlike the emigrants to New England, the persons resorting to the place made no *"solemn league and covenant"*

[1] See the case of the *William* of London. N. Y. Colonial Documents, I.

among themselves for their government, as they were but sojourners under licenses which expired after four voyages, with no assurance of renewals. Neither in those early days was any encouragement given to the development of agriculture, and it may with truth be said that there was nothing but the traffic in furs which bound the people to the soil; probably *ship's discipline* was the only law known to any of the parties who resorted here.

The secrets of the good land-locked harbor, its many contributing rivers, estuaries, and sounds, its wealth in furs, could not long remain to the few; other Netherlanders coveted the gains of the first adventurers, the licenses covering land and sea between several degrees of latitude (40° to 45°) afforded grand opportunities for Hollanders to prey upon the rich argosies of Spain, their perpetual enemy, and the record shows the strange spectacle of the Hollanders petitioning their government not to make a lasting peace, for the game of war on Spanish galleons would be spoiled. So the unregulated but rather profitable voyages continued; in 1621 the truce with Spain was over, the war began again, and the value of the fur-trading station was enhanced by the opportunities it afforded for fitting out expeditions against the Spanish galleons and the West

Indies. In 1623 the home government had granted the charter of the Dutch West India Company. Some permanent settlement had commenced before that date, and the inhabitants were then, as now, cosmopolitan. Dutch from various provinces in Holland; one Swede we know of, Jonas Bronx, whose name is perpetuated in the northern borough of Greater New York; Walloons—the first child born in the neighborhood came of parents of that nationality, bearing in this new land the appropriate name of De Forest; refugee French, Protestant Germans, and here and there an interloping Scotchman or Englishman; in fact, the English who had settled at Leyden, in Holland, and afterward founded the Plymouth Colony, had feasted their longing eyes on the Figurative Chart of New Netherlands, which was made about 1616,[1] and asked the Holland authorities for permission to use it; and one of the earliest accounts of the settlement of the Manhattoes has been preserved in Governor Bradford's letter from Plymouth, dated about 1625. A fair chronicle of voyages to Manhattan could be made up from the ancient records. The *Half Moon* made another trip in 1610–11. In 1612 Christiansen cruised off

[1] Constructed probably from notes of Christiansen and Blok. See *infra*.

Sandy Hook on a return voyage from the West Indies to Holland, taking on board two savages, whom he called Valentine and Orson, and exhibiting them to the people of Holland. A few months later we find him asking for permission to trade here, and soon after he, in the *Fortune,* and Adriaen Blok, in the *Tiger,* must have sailed across the waters we see in the picture. The *Fortune* sailed up the Hudson and started the fur-trade on a firmer basis at Albany; there the fort called Nassau was built; Blok's ship, the *Tiger,* remained at the Manhattoes and was burned, probably at her anchorage off the point of the island shown in the sketch. The shipwrecked skipper and his crew spent the winter on the island, and erected the first white man's habitation, supposed to be where Broadway now runs near Exchange Place. There the small sloop *Onrust,* or *Restless,* was built, forty-four and one half feet long, eleven and one half feet beam, and of sixteen tons' measurement,—just large enough, were she now in existence, to be admitted into the smallest class of vessels which fly the burgee of the New York Yacht Club.[1]

[1] N. Y. Colonial Documents, I, 50, 53, 59, and see the Figurative map bound in with these documents. It faces page 13, Vol. I, N. Y. Colonial Documents, and accompanied a petition dated 1616. In the writer's opinion it is not an unreasonable conjecture that this chart was the one the English refugees at Leyden asked for when

Christiansen not appearing, the shipwrecked captain and crew sailed away in their cockleshell of a sloop through Hell Gate, passed the Stepping Stones, saw from the Middle Ground the red hills we now call New Haven, skirted " Long Island's sandy shore," and, finally, hove in sight of the high bluffs of the island which has ever since been called after the brave Captain Blok. Luckily for these first cruisers on Long Island Sound, the *Fortune* appeared, the vessels changed skippers, Blok took the *Fortune* to Holland, probably with the notes on board for the Figurative map or chart, and Christiansen returned to the Manhattoes in the good little sloop which was afterward to navigate the Delaware on another voyage of discovery. Surely our print is worth looking at, when we see before us the scene of the first ship-building enterprise in New York, recalling also the discovery of Long Island Sound and Delaware River.

But other nations watched the growing commerce at the confluence of Hudson River and Long Island Sound. The recital of one instance, though there were several, must suffice in the space allotted to this article. It was a notable

they were planning their emigration which resulted in the *Mayflower* settlement at Plymouth in 1620.

For this cruise of the *Restless* see also Brodhead, Vol. I.

visit by the English in 1614–15, commanded by Captain Samuel Argall, a character familiar in the history of Virginia. Argall was returning from his memorable cruise to Mount Desert, where he had broken up the Jesuit settlement at North East Harbor. He put in at Hudson River. *He found there "four houses and a pretended Dutch governor,"* and at once demanded that the Hollanders should submit themselves to the King of England and the government of Virginia. Placing Argall's ship on the waters shown in our picture, and taking Parkman's description of her as she appeared elsewhere, this visit presents a most thrilling scene. His ship, with all sails set, drums beating, trumpets blowing, the red flag of England flying, sails close to the settlement. We can imagine the haughty cavalier from the high poop of his caravel commanding Christiansen and his handful of sailors, standing on shore, to come aboard and give an account of themselves. Down goes the Dutch flag, and upon the staff is hoisted the ensign of England, for his Majesty King James I had declared that this land was in the limits of Virginia, and Argall was nephew of the president of the Virginia Company. The wary Christiansen wisely complied, and, thanks to his prudence and Argall's "impetuosity," the English went no fur-

ther and sailed away. A fourteen-gun ship fully equipped might easily have gone further up the river, conquering all before it, and discovered resources which were far better than the " Virginia lowlands " or Maine's rocky shores; thus was the permanent occupation by the British postponed for several years. Historians differ as to this episode, but it seems to the writer that such an event did occur. Argall, the abductor of Pocahontas, the despoiler of a French ship during a time of peace between France and England, related to the president of the Virginia Company, *always audacious* and afterward knighted by the sovereign of England, would not have hesitated to commit another breach of international law against an humble Dutch captain and his few companions, who then had no cannon, no fort, and only four houses on the island.[1] But the records go on to show that Argall and his ship were hardly beyond the Narrows when Christiansen lowered the British flag, and the orange, white, and blue of the United Provinces again flew from the mast.[2] He then set to work to build the fort

[1] Compare Fiske's "Old Virginia and her Neighbors," Vol. I, page 171. Argall's Journal, in Purchas, IV, 1762. Brodhead, Vol. I, page 154. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 334; II, 326. "Pioneers of France" by Parkman, page 308.

[2] Colors of the house of Orange, which the "Beggars of the Sea" adopted as the flag of the provinces in rebellion against Spain, in-

we see in the picture. Its date is probably 1615 or 1616.

It was an earthwork, for we learn that after Stuyvesant's arrival a fence was built about it so as to prevent the cattle from grazing on its slopes and destroying the ramparts.[1]

Christiansen, whom we may by courtesy call the first governor, seems to have returned to Holland, and as the Grand Pensioner Barneveldt, who during his lifetime seemed to hinder the granting of any charter, had for political reasons been executed, this was no longer opposed. The charter of the West India Company, with its privileges and exemptions, took effect in 1623. It did not give the desired relief. It was the erection of a licensed monopoly which in its turn, except on the island before us, had power to grant to favored persons large tracts of land, creating a " landed oligarchy " in the interior, the inevitable result of which was continued disputes

stead of the Burgundian colors, and so continued until, by request of the Dutch Republic, Henry of Navarre conferred the colors of France, red, white, and blue, since then the colors of Holland. " The Flag of the United States and other Flags," Preble, page 98. The red, white, and blue was adopted in 1650 (see Brodhead, " History of New York," Vol. I, page 19), but at the time of the building of the fort, and even at Stuyvesant's accession, the colors were orange, white, and blue, orange on top—*oranje boven.*

[1] Documents relating to New Amsterdam: Ordinances. Brodhead, Vol. I, page 48.

between the patroons and the company, for the director-general had authority, but very little power in men and money to enforce it. English vessels also came to trade and were driven away; in turn, Dutch vessels laden with cargoes from New Amsterdam *en route* to Holland were seized by the English government for trading in English territory without a license: even in one instance, the ship *Eendracht,* with an ex-director-general on board, was seized in an English port.[1]

Yet some good came of the charter. It encouraged agriculture, and settlers came, planted their farms, and raised children. The company, to be just to the Indians, forbade the taking of lands from the Indians without paying for them, and set the example by buying the island of Manhattan for sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars.

But controversies were long and weary. Vanderdonck, after much trouble, even imprisonment for a short time in Holland, succeeded in getting the concession of a sort of representative government, which some call the first charter of the city of New York; but, judging from the colonial Dutch records, we fear that the old halls in the Binnenhof at The Hague echoed with the complaints of the tyranny of the directors-general. Government by company and company's ser-

[1] N. Y. Colonial Documents, I, pages 45, 46, 47 *et supra.*

vants has never, in any country, been successful, and we are all familiar with the chapter of grievances written by Vanderdonck, *the only lawyer who was permitted in the settlement.* One petition in 1638 gives a sad picture which is not pleasant to recite, yet truth should be told: it said the population "does not increase as it ought,"—it was decreasing, and the West India Company was neglecting the settlement; the inhabitants of other colonies belonging to foreign princes and potentates were endeavoring to incorporate New Netherlands into their jurisdictions, and if the people and the government in the old country did not see that it was "*reasonably attended to*" it would be at once entirely *overrun.*

Such was the condition of the settlement in 1647 when Stuyvesant, a strong-willed, well-meaning, ill-supported, loyal and brave director-general, was sent by the company to take charge of affairs. He found the orange, white, and blue flag still flying over the ill-kempt fort, the Indians not in very good subjection, considerable dissatisfaction among the inhabitants, and strangers encroaching on the borders; a dark cloud rested on the settlement; however, it had a silver lining. We leave the future to be described by other pictures and other pens.

In leaving our little town to its fate, with its

fort and ships and Indians, we invoke, however, the other part of the motto of our Colonial Order. In "Looking Backward" we are "Looking Forward," the events of the past we refer to were not all mistakes, and from those events we draw an experience which enables us to prophesy that this little town we see in the picture is the beginning of a great free city, surpassing in magnitude and importance old Amsterdam; here wealth, commerce, art, literature, charity, good will to all comers from every clime, will have its sway; ships from every nation may with impunity fly their ensigns in its harbors; its river, where we see the canoes with Indians, will have mingled with its waters those of the great inland lakes; the railways will begin here and end on the far Pacific; the true Northwest Passage which old Henry Hudson was searching for has been found; the city's rivers are to be spanned by aerial bridges under which ships with topmasts higher than those of the *Half Moon* can sail without any draw-openings, and underneath the beds of their deep channels tunnels will be built through which thousands of people and argosies of freight will be moved to the waiting fleets of the world; and yet the old tale of Holland is not forgotten, for the way of our city *"is in the sea, and her paths are in many waters."*

DUTCH INFLUENCE IN NEW YORK

STANDING in the Parliament Square, London, and looking at Westminster Abbey, the past of the kingdom seems to speak from the building which embodies so many associations and traditions of the kingly rulers and peoples who have builded the British Empire of to-day. The dust of kings and queens rests within its walls; soldiers, statesmen, writers, representatives of all the classes which have contributed to England's greatness, have their monuments here; and, since the time of Edward I, every sovereign of England has been crowned within its walls. And then, as one turns to the Houses of Parliament,

the stately building seems to typify the power of the empire resting upon the combination of representative and hereditary strength which has given this constitutional monarchy its influence on the destinies of the world.

Just in front of the Houses of Parliament and facing Westminster Abbey is the statue of a man who, with others, killed a king, overthrew the monarchy, abolished the House of Lords, and, disregarding traditions, precedents, and laws, governed England by the power of his individual greatness and the strength of his army, and made the might of England dreaded by all her foes, and respected everywhere.

If, at first thought, this statue of Cromwell seems incongruous, and the action of the House of Lords in protesting against its erection appears natural, it comes over one that Lord Rosebery saw more clearly than his associates in the Upper House when, at the unveiling of the statue, he said: "We are all, I imagine, glad, not to say proud, to be here to-night"; for Cromwell led a great movement, which, notwithstanding its excesses, meant much in the development of modern England, and meant more in the founding and upbuilding of our own nation.

Strangely enough, this ultra-Protestant ruler waged war against the only powerful Protestant

people in Europe, and Dutch and English fought for the supremacy of the sea.

Hume, in his "History of England," sets forth the reasons, as he understood them, for the war between the Commonwealth and Holland, and they seem of sufficient interest to warrant the following quotation:

The movements of great states are often directed by as slender springs as those of individuals. Though war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their own neighbors, might seem dangerous to the yet unsettled commonwealth, there were several motives which, at this time, induced the English parliament to embrace hostile measures. Many of the members thought that a foreign war would serve as a pretence for continuing the same parliament, and delaying the new model of a representative with which the nation had so long been flattered. Others hoped that the war would furnish a reason for maintaining, some time longer, that numerous standing army which was so much complained of. On the other hand, some who dreaded the increasing power of Cromwell expected that the great expense of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminishing the military establishment. To divert the attention of the public from domestic quarrels toward foreign transactions seemed, in the present disposition of men's minds, to be good policy. The superior power of the English commonwealth, together with its advantages of situation, promised suc-

cess; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to distress and sink their flourishing commerce, and, by their victories, to throw a lustre on their own establishment, which was so new and unpopular. All these views, enforced by the violent spirit of St. John, who had great influence over Cromwell, determined the parliament to change the purposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces.

Cromwell was not content with fighting the Dutch in the Old World; he decided to carry the war into the New World. He notified the colonial governors in New England that he would send a fleet to America, " and he called upon them to give their utmost assistance for gaining the Manhattans and other places under the power of the Dutch." Four armed vessels were despatched across the Atlantic to New England, where their commanders were to confer with the New England governors regarding the attack upon the Dutch. The instructions given by Secretary Thurlow were as follows:

Being come to the Manhattoes, you shall, by surprise, open force, or otherwise, endeavor to take the place. You have power to give them quarter in case it be rendered upon summons without opposition. If the Lord give his blessing you shall not use cruelty to the inhabitants, but encourage those who are willing to remain

under the English flag, and give liberty to others to transport themselves to Europe.

When Governor Stuyvesant was informed of the proposed attack, with his usual energy he began his preparations for defense. Seventy men were enlisted and the supplies necessary for a siege were collected. The New England colonies responded favorably to the appeal for assistance against the Dutch, and Connecticut promised two hundred men, and Plymouth ordered fifty men into the service, giving the command to Captain Miles Standish and Captain Thomas Willett. Massachusetts consented to the enrolment of five hundred volunteers. Plymouth qualified its action by the statement that "we concur in hostile measures against our ancient Dutch enemies, only in reference unto the national quarrel."

Before the fleet sailed from Boston news was received that peace had been concluded between England and Holland, and further hostilities were in consequence abandoned.

It was natural and right that this war should terminate, and, in 1654, peace was signed by Cromwell, who had then been invested with the dignity of Protector, and a defensive league was made between the two republics.

Cromwell died, and with him perished the fabric of his personal rule; for, like Frederick the Great and Napoleon, he had builded, not on broad principles, but on personal force and ability, which he could not leave in their might and power to any successor; so, after his son's short negative rule, the Stuarts came back in 1660.

In 1664 the Commons passed a vote that

> the wrongs, disasters, and indignities offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces were the greatest obstruction to all foreign trade, and they promised to assist the King with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his Crown against all opposition whatever.

Hume, in speaking of this action, continues as follows:

> This was the first open step towards the Dutch war. We must explain the cause and motives of this measure.
>
> That close union and confederacy which, during a course of near seventy years, has subsisted, almost without interruption or jealousy, between England and Holland, is not so much founded on the natural, unalterable interests of these states, as on their terror of the growing power of the French monarch, who, without their combination, it is apprehended, would soon extend his dominion over Europe. In the first years of Charles' reign, when the ambitious genius of Lewis had not, as

yet, displayed itself, and when the great force of the people was in some measure unknown, even to themselves, the rivalship of commerce, not checked by any other jealousy or apprehension, had, in England, begotten a violent enmity against the neighboring republic.

Trade was beginning among the English to be a matter of general concern; but, notwithstanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce seemed hitherto to stand upon a footing which was somewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by industry and frugality, were able to undersell them in every market, retained possession of the most lucrative branches of commerce; and the English merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loss and dishonor. Their indignation increased when they considered the superior naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and seamen, her favorable situation, which enabled her to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the prospect of these advantages, they were strongly prompted, from motives less just than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to ravish from them by force what they could not obtain, or could obtain but slowly, by superior skill and industry.

Notwithstanding the fact that the two countries were still at peace, Charles II, in 1664, granted to the Duke of York all the territories between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, being practically a grant of New Nether-

lands; in April of the same year four vessels, under the command of Robert Nicolls, with three hundred and fifty soldiers, sailed for New England, and in the month of August the fleet entered the Narrows. In deference to the entreaties of the people, Stuyvesant, who personally was disposed to fight, surrendered to Nicolls. For this act Stuyvesant was severely criticized, and was called to The Hague to explain his conduct; but his action has been deemed by the most careful students of that time to have been a practical necessity in view of the certain defeat of the Dutch had hostilities been commenced. In 1673 the Dutch recaptured the city, but by the treaty of Westminster, signed in 1674, it was agreed that England and Holland should return to each other the conquests made during hostilities, and in accordance with this provision New Netherlands was again transferred to English rule, its name was changed, and since that time it has been known to the world as New York.

The Dutch generally accepted Colonel Nicolls's rule. Two militia companies were organized, the officers of which were among the distinguished Dutch citizens who accepted their commissions from Colonel Nicolls. Nicolls undoubtedly commanded the respect of the Dutch, and after four years' service as governor was succeeded by Colo-

nel Francis Lovelace, who for five years, until 1683, held the position with benefit to all concerned. Peace and quiet marked these years.

In the year 1671, Charles II had for eleven years been King of England, and the austere life of the Puritan rulers had given way to the laxity of the Stuart court. The King, affable and witty and indolent, tried in secret to undermine the power of Parliament. Apparently caring nothing for business, his time given up to pleasure, he was steadily striving to make himself independent of Parliament. He treated the most serious subjects with levity; when the Duke of York told him of plots against his life, he laughingly replied: " They will never kill me to make you king "; and on his death-bed he apologized to those around for being such an unconscionable time in dying; but beneath his frivolity ran the strong undercurrent of the wish for the power of an absolute monarch. " A king," he thought, " who might be checked, and have his ministers called to an account, was but a king in name "; and bribe and flattery were freely used where they could be made effective. Louise la Querouaille had been created Duchess of Portsmouth, and the influence of the French court, though secret, was powerful in England. Louis XIV was, as Green says, the avowed " champion of Catholi-

cism and despotism against civil and religious liberty throughout the world"; and Charles was willing to make almost any terms with Louis if he could secure in return the money which would make him independent. In 1670, he and his sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, made a secret treaty at Dover, as the result of the King's offer to declare himself a Catholic and join France in an attack on Holland, if Louis would "grant him a subsidy equal to a million a year." The secret treaty, among other things, provided that, if necessary, Charles should have a French army sent over to him.

The picture of the life at court, with its deceptions, its falseness, its lack of honor, presents the strongest possible contrast with the simple lives and earnest work of the men who had founded and were developing the colonies in North America. Occasionally some one in America, like Governor Berkeley of Virginia, tried to block progress, as when he said: "There are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" But in the main the schools were laying the broad foundations of public intelli-

gence; while churches were simply and faithfully helping men to be strong and good. The spirit which actuated the Puritans, a spirit sometimes narrow but always earnest, a spirit which protested, perhaps sometimes too forcefully, against the pleasures of the world, but with indomitable energy against its excesses and extravagances, permeated the men and women of New England; while in New Amsterdam, notwithstanding the mingling of races which then, as now, was one of its marked characteristics, the sturdy, honest spirit of the Dutch, the spirit of the men who preferred death by the sword or starvation or drowning to acceptance of the Spanish rule, helped powerfully to form the character of the people.

The early days of the settlement on the island of Manhattan were not its golden age. In 1654 pirates and robbers infested the shores of Long Island, treating with great cruelty the unprotected inhabitants. The rule of Governor Kieft was intensely unsatisfactory, and there were many misunderstandings between the burghers and Kieft's successor, the brave, honest, and impetuous Stuyvesant. One of the most extraordinary traits in Stuyvesant's character was his intolerance in religious matters and his bitterness toward the Quakers. His treatment of the Quaker Hodg-

son was inexplicably severe; beside being fined and imprisoned, Hodgson was chained to a wheelbarrow and whipped by a negro, and, later, he was hung up by his hands and again whipped.

Stuyvesant felt that he was the source of all power and authority, and when Jacob Corlear opened a school without Stuyvesant's permission, it was promptly closed. His treatment of the Indians was not above criticism. In one of the unfortunate wars some of the Indian captives were sent as slaves to the island of Curaçao.

In England and on the Continent there was a desire to know more about the new lands beyond the seas, and in the year 1671 there was published at Amsterdam a description of America by Jacob van Meurs, plate-cutter and book-binder. The book was published in Dutch, and the title-page bears the following description of the work:

The new and unknown World, or Description of America and the South Land; containing the origin of the Americans and the Southlanders; remarkable travels thither, situation of the continental coasts, islands, towns, fortified places, villages, temples, mountains, fountains, streams, houses, the sort of animals, trees, plants and strange herbs, religion and manners, remarkable events, ancient and modern wars, ornamented with figures taken from life in America, and described by Arnoldus Montanus.

Below this there is a figure of a woman with two faces, one looking to the right and one to the left, suggesting the *Respice Prospice* of the Colonial Order. In her right hand she holds a mirror and in her left five snakes, and her foot rests upon a prostrate figure. Beneath the picture are the words *Invidiæ Prudentia Victrix.* Then follow the words, " At Amsterdam by Jacob Meurs, book-binder and plate-cutter."

In the same year there was published in London a book in which the illustrations were made from the same plates as were used in the book by Montanus just referred to. The title-page of this English book is as follows:

America: Being the Latest, and most Accurate Description of the New World, containing the Original of the Inhabitants and the Remarkable Voyages thither. The conquest of the vast Empires of Mexico and Peru, and other large Provinces and Territories, with the several European Plantations in those parts. Also their Cities, Fortresses, Towns, Temples, Mountains and Rivers. Their Habits, Customs, Manners and Religions. Their Plants, Beasts, Birds and Serpents. With an Appendix, containing, besides several other considerable additions, a brief Survey of what hath been discover'd of the Unknown South-Land and the Arctick Region. Collected from most Authentick Authors, Augmented with later Observations and adorned with Maps and

Sculptures by John Ogilby, Esq; His Majesty's Printer and Master of the Revels, of Ireland. London. Printed by the Author and are to be had at his House in White Fryers, M.DC.LXXI.

It appears to be impossible to determine with absolute certainty what relation these two publications bore to each other. Mr. William Loring Andrews, in his interesting book "New Amsterdam, New Orange, New York," says that the English publication "is a plagiarism (probably authorized) of the work of Montanus," and he speaks of it as "Ogilby's clumsy folio volume." The experts in the Congressional Library, however, state that it is a matter of surmise as to what were the relations between the publishers of the two books or the terms upon which the use of the plates was secured. They also state that it has not yet been proved whether the plates were originally made by Meurs and afterward secured by Ogilby, or the reverse; but the inference is perhaps a safe one that Meurs was the engraver by whom the plates were executed, although there is no evidence establishing conclusively the fact that he engraved the illustrations for this work. Comparatively little is known about him. He was born at Amsterdam. The date of his birth is uncertain, but his work was done between the

years 1648 and 1671. He was a painter, draftsman, engraver, and publisher. He engraved frontispieces and other decorative work for publishers, and title-pages and illustrations. He also engraved portraits; in a list furnished by the chief of the print division of the Congressional Library, the following eleven portraits are attributed to him:

1. Nicholaus Copernicus, astronomer.
2. Charles II, King of Great Britain (after Van Dyck).
3. Sibrandus Franciscus Eydelschemius (after S. Faber).
4. Georgius Calixtus.
5. Heinrich von Diest.
6. Sibylla van Griethuysen.
7. Andreas Rivetus, 1650.
8. Carolus D. G. Anglie, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ, Rex.
9. Samuel Meresius Picardus, SS.
10. Rombout Hogerbeets, 1648.
11. Tycho Brahe.

This list does not include the portraits in the Montanus and Ogilby folios, and in the German translation.

The only portrait which bears his name is that of Tycho Brahe.

In the year 1673 there was published at Am-

sterdam a German translation of the work by Montanus. The title-page bears the name of Jacob van Meurs, and this would indicate that the German publication was made in accordance with an arrangement effected with Meurs, who published the Montanus work; the same plates were used for the German publication.

The plate which is the subject of this article appears on page 124 of the book by Montanus referred to above.

In the Ogilby folio the following description of New York accompanies this plate:

Now begins New Netherland to lose the Name, for His Majesty having conferr'd by Patent upon His Royal Highness the Duke of York and Albany, all the acquisitions made upon Foreigners, together with Long-Island, the West end whereof was early settled and peopled by Dutch-men; His Royal Highness impowered, by Commission as his Deputy-Governor, Colonel Nicols, Groom of his Bed-chamber, to take the Charge and Direction of Reducing and Governing all those Territories; it was by him thought fit, to change some principal denominations of Places, viz., New Netherland into Yorkshire; New Amsterdam into New York; Fort Amscel into Fort James; Fort Orange into Fort Albany; and withal, to change Burgomasters, Schepen, and Schout, into Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriff, with Justices of the Peace; so that all the Civil Policy is conformable to the

Methods and Practice of England, whereas New England retains only the name of Constable in their whole Rolls of Civil Officers.

It is placed upon the neck of the Island Manhatans, looking towards the Sea; encompass'd with Hudson's River which is Six Miles broad; the town is compact and oval, with very fair streets and several good Houses; the rest are built much after the manner of Holland, to the number of about four hundred Houses, which in those parts are held considerable: Upon one side of the Town is James-Fort, capable to lodge three hundred Souldiers and officers; it hath four Bastions; forty Pieces of Cannon mounted; the walls of Stone, lin'd with a thick Rampart of Earth; well accommodated with a Spring of fresh Water, always furnished with Arms and Ammunition, against Accidents: Distant from the Sea seven Leagues, it affords a safe entrance, even to unskilful Pilots; under the Town side, Ships of any Burthen may Ride secure against any Storms, the Current of the River being broken by the interposition of a small Island, which lies a Mile distant from the Town.

About ten Miles from New York is a Place call'd Hell-Gate, which being a narrow Passage, there runneth a violent Stream both upon Flood and Ebb; and in the middle lie some Rocky Islands which the Current sets so violently upon that it threatens present Shipwrack; and upon the Flood is a large Whirlwind, which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any Stranger from passing farther, and to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those who are

well acquainted, little or no danger: It is a place of great Defence against any Enemy coming in that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the West end of Long Island by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island forces them within the Command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best pieces of Defence in the North parts of America. It is built most of brick and Stone, and coverr'd with red and black Tyle, and the Land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing prospect to the Spectators. The Inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with Indians for Beaver, Otter and Rackoon-Skins, with other Furrs: as also for Bear, Deer and Elke-Skins; and are supply'd with Venison and Fowl in the Winter, and Fish in the Summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easie Rate; and having the countrey round about them, they are continually furnish'd with all such Provisions as are needful for the life of Man not only by the English and Dutch within their own but likewise by the adjacent Colonies.

The church which appears in the picture was begun under somewhat interesting circumstances. The energetic De Vries told Governor Kieft that a church should be built, and he contributed one hundred guilders for the purpose. Kieft promised one thousand guilders in behalf of the West India Company, and at the wedding-feast of a daughter of Domine Bogardus, "after the

fourth or fifth round of drinking," a subscription list was produced and generous amounts were promptly placed upon it by the guests. In the front wall of the church there was a stone with the inscription: "Anno Domini 1642, William Kieft, Director-General, Hath the Commonalty built this Temple." Worship was carried on here until 1693, after which the building was used for military purposes until it was destroyed by fire in 1741. In 1790 the stone upon which the inscription had been cut was found by workmen who were digging at the southern end of Bowling Green. The stone was put inside the Garden Street Church, but was destroyed when that building was burned in 1835.

The gallows in the picture in question remind us that even in those early days there were malefactors, and that the people of 1671 had to deal with criminals. The higher gallows has the representation of a man suspended from it. This was a punishment for malefactors introduced by Governor Kieft. The convicted man had a belt fastened around his waist and was then suspended in the air. In the print, the representation of a number of people gathered about the gallows indicates that there was public interest in watching the operation of this method of punishment. Governor Kieft's rule was in many ways most un-

fortunate, and while the records do not tell when this method of punishment was abandoned, it may be assumed that public sentiment finally condemned it.

Perhaps not the least interesting feature of the book is its maps, which show a remarkable accuracy in their general delineation of the outlines of the Western Hemisphere. The Atlantic Coast, the Gulf of Mexico, the West Indies, and South America are in their general outlines reproduced with surprising accuracy. California is, however, represented as an island, and no attempt is made to complete the map of the northwestern part of North America. The island of Magellan—called on the map Maggelanica—is placed south of the continent of South America, with Cape Horn as its southern point.

The volume contains many engravings, representing the various phases of the lives of the people described, their religious ceremonies, including human sacrifices, and the chase, as well as pictures of cities and villages.

A striking contrast is presented between the plate which accompanies the description of New York and that which pictures the city of Havana. At the entrance of the harbor of Havana there are stone piers and fortresses and a stone tower; two tall spires rise above churches of considerable size,

and there are many more houses, and they are of larger size and more substantial appearance, than those which appear in the picture of New York.

Although the plate which is reproduced here from the work of Montanus bears the date 1671, it represents the city at an earlier time. The picture is generally considered to be a reproduction, with slight changes, of the plate which is an inset in the map of N. J. Visscher, entitled "Novi Belgii novæque Angliæ nec non Partis Virginiæ Tabula, multis in locis emendata a Nicolas Joannis Visscher, 1656," and it is believed by some, although this is not established with certainty, that the picture of Visscher's map was taken from a sketch or drawing made by Augustine Hermans in the year 1656. The following account of him is given in Jasper Dankers' and Peter Sluyter's "Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in several of the American Colonies in 1679–80," translated from the original manuscript and edited by Henry C. Murphy, Brooklyn, 1867 (Long Island Historical Society Memoirs, Vol. I, page 230, foot-note):

Augustine Hermans or Heermans, called also Harman, was a Bohemian by birth but came from Holland to New Amsterdam in or before 1647, in which year he was appointed by the Director and Council of New

Netherland one of the Nine Men, a body of citizens selected to assist the Government by their counsel and advice. He came over to this country as a clerk to John and Charles Gabry of Amsterdam. He was sent in company with Resolved Waldron by the Dutch Governor to the Governor of Maryland to confer in relation to the claim of title of the proprietor of Maryland to the South River. This no doubt led to his subsequent settlement on Bohemia river, so named by him, in that province. He seems to have been a surveyor and draughtsman. In addition to the map of Maryland, stated by our journal to have been made by him, which seems to have been the consideration for the grant of Bohemia manor, he made a sketch of the city of New Amsterdam, which was engraved on Nicolas Jan Visscher's map Novi Belgii Novæque Angliæ nec non partis Virginiæ, published in 1650–6, and also on a reduced scale from Visscher's map on the map prefixed to the second edition of Vanderdonk's Description of New Netherland.

The influence of the Dutch upon the city of New York has been lasting. Some of the names which are to-day honored in the great metropolis of the Western world are found in the records of the early years of the little settlement; and although the throng of newcomers which has poured into the city from every corner of the world has taken from it its distinctively Dutch

characteristics, yet it must be recognized that the honesty and worth of men like Stuyvesant and his contemporaries have contributed in no small measure to the maintenance of the best traditions of the city.

ORANJE BOVEN

ON June 29, 1672, the partisans of the young Prince of Orange, welcomed him at Dordrecht with the old national song, "Wilhelmus Van Nassauwen," and by hoisting an orange flag above a white flag, the upper one bearing an inscription in Dutch:

Oranje Boven! de Witten ander,
Die 't Anders Meend die Slaat den Donder.
(Orange above, the whites under,
Who thinks not so be struck by thunder.)[1]

The use of the word "de Witten" in the above couplet was a pun upon the name de Witt. "De Witten," meaning white, referred to the grand

[1] Brodhead, History N. Y., Vol. II, page 203.

pensionary John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, against whom the Dutch, at that time, had a strong feeling of resentment, and both of whom were afterward murdered by the populace on August 20, 1672, as Cornelius de Witt was being released from prison.

According to the historian of the Holland Society of New York, which has done so much to perpetuate the memory of the Dutch founders of our city, the origin of the cry "Oranje Boven!" is as follows: When the "Sea Beggars" first flung aloft the colors of William the Silent, orange, white, and blue in horizontal bars, there was some uncertainty as to which of the colors should be uppermost. To obviate the danger of mistake, it grew to be the custom of the skipper, in giving the command to raise the flag, to shout "Oranje Boven!" so that the Prince's colors should float nearest heaven.[1] This old cry, which had been revived in the Fatherland, was soon to become as popular in that distant colony of the Netherlands across the sea.

On August 12, 1673, the Dutch in America came again into their own. When the Dutch admirals Evertsen and Bencks, after having captured the fort on Manhattan Island without a shot fired in its defense, ordered the Prince's

[1] Holland Society Year Book 1901, page 108.

colors to be flung to the breeze from its flagstaff, the old cry of "Oranje Boven!" must have rung out from the sturdy burghers as they welcomed their own countrymen marching down Broadway into the fort. In honor of this victorious young prince, then only twenty-two, the city of New Amsterdam, which for nine years had been called "New York," was now rechristened "New Orange," and Fort Amsterdam, which under English rule had been known as "Fort James," received the new name of "Fort William Hendrick."

To the conqueror as well as to the conquered, this event, which transferred the province from the possession of the English to the States-General of Holland, was entirely unexpected.

The recapture of New York was not due to any well-formed design, but was brought about by one of those lucky fortunes of war of which the Dutch took advantage. The Dutch fleet just prior to this time was cruising off the coast of Virginia and had captured a sloop of which a Yankee, Samuel Davis, was master. The admirals questioned Davis as to the forces at New York. Davis replied with Yankee bluff that in two hours' time Governor Lovelace could raise five thousand men in defense of the fort, and that there were one hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance mounted,

fit for service, upon its walls. After receiving this information the Dutch admirals, it is said, felt no desire to go to New York. But on the sloop which they had captured was another New Englander, a Mr. Samuel Hopkins, who is referred to as a " professor," and who had been living for some years at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. The admirals next inquired of him as to the defenses of New York, and received the reply that there might possibly be between sixty and eighty men at the fort; that in three or four days' time it might be possible to raise three or four hundred men; that there were only thirty to thirty-six pieces of ordnance on the walls of the fort, and that a shot or two would shake them out of their carriages.[1] It was this information that started the Dutch fleet for New York, and it was due to Hopkins's veracity and the Dutch ability to get at the real facts that the English lost control of the Province of New York from August, 1673, to November, 1674. Honesty seems to have been the best policy for the professor, for subsequent events, as proved by the records, show that on September 1, 1673, Hopkins was appointed, by the Dutch Council, secretary for the six New

[1] Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of N. Y., Vol. III, page 200.

Jersey towns, viz., Elizabethtown, Newark, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Middletown, and Shrewsbury.[1] Hopkins's information upon the subject proved quite correct, for, according to Captain Manning, there were only seventy or eighty men in the fort and forty guns mounted on its walls.

The third of the series of views issued by the New York Chapter of the Colonial Order at their annual banquet, November 30, 1898, shows our city at this very interesting period in its history. Like the other five views of the city issued by the order, it is a line engraving by E. D. French, and it is entitled "New York in 1673"; but, unlike some of the other views, the date which the title ascribes to it is approximately correct. Mr. French has faithfully reproduced this view of the city as it appears on the border of a map of the Dutch possessions in America, made by Matthew Seutter, Mr. William Loring Andrews having kindly loaned the order this map from his collection.

This view of the city of New York was published toward the close of the seventeenth century and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, on several maps and in various collec-

[1] Documents Rel. Colonial History, Vol. II, page 595.

tions of views. The following is a list of the publications, arranged as nearly as possible in the chronological order of their appearance:

1. Map of Hugo Allard.
2. The first map of Carolus Allard.
3. The second map of Carolus Allard.
4. Carolus Allard's "Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitutus."
5. Peter Schenk's "Hecatompolis."
6. Peter Mortier's engraving of New Amsterdam.
7. Maps of Matthew Seutter.
8. Map of Tobias Cornelius Lotter.
9. Map of Joacim Ottens.
10. Map of Reinier and Joshua Ottens.

1. MAP OF HUGO ALLARD:—This map of a part of America, showing the New Netherlands, was published toward the end of the seventeenth century by Hugo Allard. It has the following title: *"TOTIUS NEOBELGII NOVA ET ACCURATISSIMA TABULA,"* and this view of New York City appears on its border with the following title: *"Nieuw-Amsterdam onlangs Nieuw Jork genoemt en nu hernomen by de Nederlanders den 24 aug. 1673."*[1] The map bears this inscription: *"Hugo Allardt, excut."* A reproduction of this view, as it appears on

[1] Asher's Bibliography of New Netherlands.

Hugo Allard's map, may be seen in Asher's "List of the Maps and Charts of New Netherlands and of the Views of New Amsterdam." As there is in this city no original of this map with which a comparison can be made, it cannot be stated whether the view has been accurately reproduced in all its details. There are evidences that it probably has not been faithfully reproduced. Hugo (or Huyck) Allard was a Dutch portrait engraver,[1] his principal portrait being that of Adrian Pau.[2] He is said to have flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century, but no biography of him gives either the date of his birth or death. There is a landscape by him dated "1696." It is the opinion of Asher that the original engraving for the view on Hugo Allard's map was made by the celebrated artist, Romeyn de Hooge, who was born at The Hague in 1646 and died in 1708.[3] Strutt says that Romeyn de Hooge was a designer of considerable note,[4] and that, "as to his etchings, no man ever handled the point with more facility than he." Most of his important engravings were dedicated to his pa-

[1] Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Vol. I, page 21. Kramm, Vols. I–II, page 12. Nagler, Vol. I, page 60.

[2] Spooner's Biographical History of the Fine Arts, page 18.

[3] Bryan's Dictionary Painters and Engravers, Vol. I, page 370. Spooner, page 410. Kramm, Vols. III–IV, page 736.

[4] Strutt, Biographical Dictionary Engravers, Vol. II, page 30.

tron, the Prince of Orange, but in no account of his works is this engraving mentioned.

2 and 3. THE MAPS OF CAROLUS ALLARD:—Carolus Allard published two maps of the New Netherlands. The first of these bore the same title as Hugo Allard's map, except that it had the signature "*Carolus Allardt, excut.,*" in the place of "*Hugo Allardt, excut.*" His first map is said to have been the same as Hugo Allard's map, and the view of New York on its border is the same as Hugo Allard's view. When he issued his second map, he is said to have made changes in the map and to have made additions both to the title of the view and to the signature of the map.[1] The title of the view on his second map has the following words added: "*eindelijk aan de Engelse Weder afgestaan*" (meaning "finally again surrendered to the English").[2] The signature to the map was changed so that it reads as follows: "*Typis Caroli Allard Amstelodami cum privilegio.*" Windsor, in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," reproduces this view of New York, and states that it is from Carolus Allard's second map, and gives a key showing the various buildings in the city by initial letters.

[1] Asher's Bibliography of New Netherlands.
[2] Wilson's Memorial History N. Y., page 347.

This key, as given by Windsor, corresponds exactly with the key accompanying the view on Otten's map, which will be referred to later. Carolus Allard, sometimes called Karl Allard, was a copperplate engraver at Amsterdam who flourished toward the close of the seventeenth century and in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[1] He was also a print-seller. He published at Amsterdam in 1695 and again in 1705 a book called "Niewe Hollandse Scheeps-Bouw," etc., being a treatise on the architecture of ships, and containing engravings of English, Dutch, and French admirals' ships, also engravings of the flags of all nations. He also published engravings of portraits of various distinguished persons, including the Lady Cleverland, Nell Gwyn, Louise, Duchess of Portsmouth, and others.[2]

4. CAROLUS ALLARD'S "ORBIS HABITABILIS OPPIDA ET VESTITUTUS":—This was a book published at Amsterdam (no date) by Carolus Allard, containing one hundred colored views of various cities, two of which are of New York, both being our view; but in one a greater part of the city is obscured by al-

[1] Bryan's Dictionary Painters and Engravers, Vol. I, page 21. Nagler, Vol. I, page 60. Spooner, page 18.

[2] Kramm, Vols. I-II, page 11. Strutt's Biographical Dictionary of Engravers, Vol. I, page 13. Spooner, page 18.

legorical figures in the foreground. A reproduction of these two views may be seen in Mr. William Loring Andrews's book, " New Amsterdam, New Orange and New York." A copy of this book may be found at the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library in this city. A careful comparison of this view with those produced on the above-mentioned maps will show several noticeable variations. In this view, as well as in the two succeeding views that will be mentioned, the weigh-house is situated between the dock at the foot of Whitehall Street and the pier next north, extending in the East River, while on all the map views the weigh-house is situated to the north of the long dock. The direction of the wind, as shown by the flags in this view, appears to be northeast, while in the views on the maps it always appears to be from the southwest.

5. PETER SCHENK'S "HECATOMPOLIS":—In the year 1702 Peter Schenk published at Amsterdam a book with the following title: "*Hecatompolis sive Totius Orbis Terrarum Oppida Nobiliora Centum exquisite Collecta atque eleganter depicta.*" This work contains one hundred views in black and white of various cities of the world, and our view is given on plate 92 with the following title:

Nieu Amsterdam een stedeken in Noord Amerikaes | Nieu Hollant, op het eilant Mankattan: namaels Nieu-jork genaemt, | toen het geraekte in 't gebiet der Engelschen.

Amstelodamum recens, postea Anglis illud possidentibus | dictum Eboarcum novum, Hollandiae novae, id est Americae | Mexicanae sive Septentrionalis oppidulum.

A copy of this book may be seen in the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library, and there is another copy in Mr. William Loring Andrews's library. The two copies seem to differ only in the fact that in Mr. Andrews's copy the plates are all numbered, whereas in the Lenox copy they have no numbers. Peter Schenk was an engraver, publisher, and art collector. He was born at Elberfeld in Germany in 1645. He married the daughter of Gerard Valck, a celebrated portrait-painter, who was born about 1626 and died 1720. Peter Schenk went into partnership some time after 1672 with his father-in-law Valck, and together they bought out the stock of J. Jansen at Amsterdam, who had been a publisher of maps, and who was then deceased. Schenk and Valck published a multitude of prints engraved both by themselves and others. In 1683 Schenk and Valck published in two volumes their large Dutch Atlas. Schenk was named by Augustus II, King of Poland, as

"Hofgraveur." Peter Schenk died in 1715. Nagler gives a list of 179 of his engravings.[1] Gerard Valck is said to have engraved one of the finest prints we have. It is that of the Duchess of Mazarin, done in 1678. Valck was at work in England in 1672, where he engraved a portrait of James II, and also of Nell Gwyn.[2]

6. PETER MORTIER'S ENGRAVING OF NEW AMSTERDAM:—This engraving is supposed to have been published about the year 1690. It is on a plate 7¼ inches by 9⅝ inches, and was probably originally published in a collection of views. A copy of this engraving by itself may be seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, in the Huntington Collection. Its title is as follows: "*N. Amsterdam ou N. Jork in Ameriq.*" Information as to Peter Mortier, his birth and death and other circumstances of his life, is very meager. It is known, however, that he was an art collector at Amsterdam, and a publisher, and that his name appears on the pages of a work by Luyken.[3] He

[1] Bryan's Dictionary Painters and Engravers, Vol. II, page 465. Kramm, Vols. V-VI, page 1473. Nagler, Vol. XV, page 185. Spooner, page 859. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. XXXI, page 56.

[2] Bryan's Dictionary Painters and Engravers, Vol. II, page 603. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. III, page 940. Nagler, Vol. XIX, page 304. Spooner, page 1009. Kramm, Vols. V-VI, page 1669.

[3] Nagler, Vol. IX, page 510.

published at Amsterdam, in the year 1700, a folio entitled: "*Atlas Nouveau, Contenant Toutes Les Parties Du Monde. Par Sanson. Présenté au Dauphin par Jaillot.*" He also published "*Atlas Maior*" of Frederick de Wit at Amsterdam, which on its colored frontispiece has the notice, "Sold by Christopher Browne at ye Globe at the West End of St. Paul's Church."[1] This was probably published about the year 1690. A close comparison of this view as shown in the three prints made by Carolus Allard, Peter Schenk, and Peter Mortier, would lead to the conclusion that though different plates were used, yet the three are copies of each other; but as to who was the originator and who were the followers it is difficult to determine.

7. MAPS OF MATTHEW SEUTTER: —Matthew Seutter was a German map manufacturer and publisher and engraver on copper. He was born at Augsburg, Germany, in 1678, and when young was apprenticed at Nuremberg to Johann Baptist Homann, who at that time was one of the most noted map-manufacturers, and upon whom the Emperor Charles VI in 1715 conferred the title of "Imperial Geographer." Homann was born in 1663 and died in 1724.[2]

[1] See Atlas in Lenox Library.

[2] Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. XIII, page 35.

After serving an apprenticeship with Homann, Seutter commenced the work of publishing maps in 1707 at Augsburg, and in 1730, Homann being then dead, he received the title of " Imperial Geographer." He continued the publication of maps at Augsburg until his death in 1757, when his business was continued by his son-in-law Lotter.[1] Seutter published maps of all countries, and on many of them he engraved plans and views of cities. Many of his maps may be seen in the libraries of the various societies in this city. His map from which Mr. French copied the view at the head of this article bore the following title:

RECENS EDITA | TOTIUS | NOVI BELGII | IN | AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALI | SITI, | DELINEATIO | CURA ET SUMTIBUS, | MATTHAEI SEUTTERI, | SAC. CAES. MAJ. GEOGRAPHI | AUGUST VIND.
Cum Gratia et Privil. S. R. I. Vicariat | in parti Rheni, Sveviae, et Juris | Franconicis.

The view has the simple title, " Neu Jorck sive Neu Amsterdam." Below the view on this map appears a key in the Latin language, showing by initial letters the various public buildings and places of interest. It will be seen from the title of this map, which is in Mr. Andrews's collection,

[1] Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. XXXIV, page 70.

that it was published after the year 1730, as Seutter has inscribed himself "Sac. Caes. Maj. Geographi" (Imperial Geographer) "August Vind." (Augsburg or Augusta Vindelicorum). There is in the New York Historical Society library another map published by Seutter with the same title and view, except that he has added after his own name the simple designation "Chalcographi Augustani," "Chart-maker of Augsburg," omitting his title of "Imperial Geographer," which would indicate that the Historical Society map was published before he received that royal favor, and therefore at an earlier date than Mr. Andrews's copy. The Seutter map at the Historical Society is bound in a very interesting collection of old maps, some eighteen or twenty of which are Seutter's work, and a few of the maps showing various parts of North America. This volume of maps is entitled: *"Atlas of 185 Maps | collected in Holland | about the year 1760 | by | Dirk Van Der Weyde, A. M., | bound in the City of Old Amsterdam | 1763; | presented to the | Historical Society | in the City of New Amsterdam | by his grandson | Pieter Hendrik Van Der Weyde, M.D., | 1863."* Seutter's work on these maps, when compared with that of the other publishers, appears much inferior, the lines being heavy and the work clumsily done.

8. MAP OF TOBIAS CORNELIUS LOTTER:—Asher states that Lotter published a map of New Netherlands with a title identical with that of Seutter's, except that in place of the words "Matthaei Seutteri," appear the words "Tob. Conr. Lotteri." As Tobias Lotter was Seutter's son-in-law and succeeded to his business in 1757, and also to his title of Imperial Geographer, the date of the publication of Lotter's map may be placed certainly as late as 1757. No original of this map has been accessible for reference in this city, but Asher states that it contains our view of the city on its border. Lotter was born in 1717 and died in 1777.

9. MAP OF JOACIM OTTENS:—Asher states that Joacim Ottens published a map of New Netherlands which was exactly the same as Carolus Allard's second map, the only change being that the words "Joacim Ottens" appear in the signature in place of the words "Carolus Allard," and that it contains this same view of the city.[1]

10. MAP OF REINIER AND JOSHUA OTTENS:—A very fine copy of this map may be seen in the Lenox Branch of the New York

[1] Asher's Bibliography of New Netherlands.

Public Library, bound in an extra illustrated copy of Mary L. Booth's "History of the City of New York." The title of the map is identical with that of the title of Carolus Allard's second map, and the signature is the same as Joacim Ottens's map, except that the words "*Typis Joacim*" have been replaced by the words "*apud Reinier & Joshua.*" The title of the view on this map is as follows: "*Nieuw Amsterdam onlangs Nieuw Jorck genaemt, ende hernomen bj de Nederlanders op den 24 aug. 1673, eindelyk aan de Engelse weder afgestaan.*" This title corresponds exactly with the title of the view on Carolus Allard's second map, as quoted by Windsor. This map was reproduced in 1897 by the historian of the State of New York in the Historical Series, Volume II. Below the view on this map appears the key in the Dutch language, showing by initial letters the various public buildings, etc. Asher states that this map was struck off from the same plate as that used by Carolus Allard for his second map. If Ottens did not change the plate, there are indications on the map itself which would go to prove that the view on Carolus Allard's second map was intended to represent the recapture of New York by the Dutch. On the south side of Long Island, on this Ottens map, just off the shore there appear several ships, and

below them appears this inscription: "*Vleet van Corn. Evertsen.*" This Ottens map was probably published about the middle of the eighteenth century. About the year 1738 Reinier and Joshua Ottens published at Amsterdam an Atlas entitled: "Atlas van Zeevaert en Koophandel," etc., giving maps of the various countries in the world, but which does not contain this map, although it contains a map of the extreme northern part of America.

Joseph W. Moulton published in 1825 this view of New York, stating that it represented the recapture of New York by the Dutch in 1673. Moulton also states that this view is a reproduction of a manuscript copy of the view on Ottens's map, made by Du Simitier in 1679. In a later pamphlet, entitled "New York 170 years ago," published by Moulton in 1843 with this view, he repeats his statement as to its being a copy of Du Simitier's manuscript, but does not state the source from which Du Simitier made his copy. Moulton's print is much more distinct than the view on Ottens's map, and varies from it in several respects; and it is possible that he later concluded that he was mistaken in the statement as to its being a copy of Ottens. In one or two points, such as the direction of the wind and the location of the gate-house at Wall Street, it re-

sembles the view on the prints published by Schenk and by Mortier, while in all other respects it bears a very close resemblance to the Ottens view.

The key designating the various public places, as it appears in Dutch on the Allard and Ottens maps, and in Latin on the Seutter map, is given on page 70 with a translation into English.

Seutter Map.

A. Castellum Oraniense vel N. Albanenses Celoces.
B. Perlica cui Aplustria vel vexilla imponuntur quando naves portum intrant.
C. Propugnaculum Amsterdam, ab Anglis Jeams fort dictum.
D. Domus Captivorum.
E. Templum Reformatorum.
F. Domus Gubernatoris.
G. Granarium publicum.
H. Trutina publica.
I. Dominorum Fossa.
K. Curia.
L. Templum Lutheranorum.
M. Porta Aquatica.
N. Fabrorum arca.
O. Porta Continentem versus.
P. Via ad aquam dulcem.
Q. Mola alata.
R. Propugnacula.
S. Domus Stuyvesantii.
T. Fluvius Orientalis currens inter infulam Manhattans in Jorck Shire vel Ins. longa.

Allards Map and Ottens Map.

A. Fort Orangiensche oft N. Albanishe Jachten.
B. Vlagge-Spil daer de Vlag Wordt opgehaelt, alffercomen Schepen in dese Haven.
C. Fort Amsterdam, genaemt Jeams-Fort by de Engelsche
D. Gevangen-huys.
E. Gereformeede kerck.
F. Gouverneurs huys.
G. 't magazijn.
H. de Waeg.
I. Heeren gracht.
K. Stadt huys.
L. Luthersche Kerck.
M. Waterpoort.
N. Smidts-valley.
O. Landpoort.
P. Weg na 't versche water.
Q. Wint-molen.
R. Ronduyten.
S. Stuyvesants Huys.
T. Oost Rivier lopende tusſchen 't Eylant Manhatans, en Jorckshire oft t lange Eylandt.

Translation.

A. Fort Orange or New Albany sloops.
B. Staff upon which pennants or flags are placed when ships enter port.
C. Fort Amsterdam, by the English called Fort James.
D. Jail.
E. Reformed Church.
F. Governor's House.
G. Public Storehouses.
H. Public Scales.
I. The Great Ditch.
K. The State House or Court House.
L. Lutheran Church.
M. The Water Gate.
N. The Smith's Valley.
O. The Land Gate.
P. The Way to the Fresh Water.
Q. Windmill.
R. Fortresses.
S. Stuyvesant's House.
T. The East River, flowing between Manhattan Island and Yorkshire or Long Island.

To briefly state the history of some of the buildings and locations which have now become historic will, it is believed, add much to the interest of the picture and serve to recall the customs, manners, and men of those times, the memory of which the Colonial Order seeks to perpetuate.

A. Albany Sloops.—There are five of these sloops, whose sails may be seen to the southwest of the fort, anchored in the Hudson River. In Governor Andros's report, made in 1678, he says: " There may lately have traded to ye Collony in a year from tenn to fifteen shipps or vessells of about together 100 tunns each, English, New England and our owne built; of which five small shipps and a Ketch now belonging to New Yorke, foure of them built there."

B. Flagstaff.—In the various forms which this view has taken, the flagstaff has always appeared the same, with the little steps or crosspieces nailed on it at regular intervals to help the heavy Dutchman reach the top, where he watched for ships coming into the bay. The flag which flew from the staff has not always been the same. Up to 1650 it was the flag of the Dutch West India Company, which, like the national ensign of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, consisted of three horizontal bars, orange, white, and

blue, but with a monogram of the letters " G. W. C." added to the white stripe.

The national ensign was adopted in 1582 at the suggestion of William I, Prince of Nassau and Orange, and was composed of his colors, orange, white, and blue.[1] After the year 1650, upon the death of William II, a red stripe was substituted for the orange. It was probably this new national ensign that floated over the fort until its surrender to the British in 1664. At that time the English Jack was then flung to the breeze and waved until 1673, when it gave place again to the Dutch national ensign. It is possible that the old ensign of orange, white, and blue was used at this time instead of the red, white, and blue, for in the account of the commissioners sent in October, 1673, to the Long Island towns to compel submission to the Dutch authority, it is stated that they carried on their ships the Prince's colors at the mastheads.

C. The Fort.—The fort, which was commenced in 1626, was finished in 1635, and known as Fort Amsterdam until 1664, when it was called " James Fort," and from 1673 to 1674 it is referred to in all the official records as " Fort William Hendrick." From 1674 to 1689 it was again known as " Fort James"; from 1689 to

[1] Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I, page 19.

1691 it was called " Fort William "; from 1691 to 1702 it was called " Fort William Henry "; from 1702 to 1714 it was called " Fort Anne "; and from 1714 till after the Revolution it was called " Fort George." It was demolished in 1790. A tablet at No. 4 Bowling Green marks its site.

At the time the English surrendered, the fort had fallen into bad repair, and all the fortifications along the river front and across Wall Street were in a dilapidated condition.[1] The Dutch authorities started in at once to put matters in better shape for defense, and at the time of this view much had already been done, and at a great expenditure of money. On February 9, 1674, a tax was laid upon all the citizens owning over $200 worth of property. There were 135 such persons, and the total assessed valuation was $208,360. Failing to raise a sufficient amount by taxation, the authorities went so far as to mortgage, in default of other ready effects, the cannon in the fort, as appears by the following extract from the Council meeting on May 12, 1674:

We, the undersigned, Governor-General and Council of War of New Netherlands, do hypothecate, pawn,

[1] Documents Relating to Colonial History, Vol. III, page 199.

place, and bond the metal cannon lying in Fort Willem Hendrick as a special mortgage to Nicholas Bayard, Secretary and Receiver-General of New Netherlands, as security for the moneys advanced and to be advanced by him and which have been borrowed by him from divers merchants in this city, and in case of non-payment of said moneys, with a special power to ship the said cannon and sell the same in Fatherland, and in case said cannon in the conveyance to Fatherland happen, contrary to hope, to be lost, the same shall be absolutely at the risk and damage of the State, in which case the said Receiver Bayard shall be paid out of the other most available public property.[1]

The work must have been well done, for the Rev. Charles Wooley, who was the first English chaplin at the fort, states:

It is one of the strongest and best situated garrisons in the North parts of America, and was never taken but once, through the default of Captain Manning, who in absence of the Governor suffered the Dutch to take it, for which he was condemned to exile to a small island, from his name called Manning's Island, where I have been several times with the said captain, whose entertainment was continually a bowl of rum punch.[2]

D. The Jail.—This building in the fort, built by Governor Kieft, was used for prisoners of the

[1] Documents Relating to Colonial History, Vol. II, page 710.
[2] Wooley's Journal.

West India Company, and a part of the City Hall was used as a jail for the burgher prisoners.[1]

E. The Reformed Church.—This building was usually known as the Church in the Fort, and also as the Church of St. Nicholas. It was built in the year 1642 and was seventy-two feet long, fifty-two feet wide, and sixteen feet high, and cost 2500 guilders, or £416 13s. 4d. Just prior to the time of our view the city authorities had granted the petition of the church, presented on March 21, 1672, and made an allowance of five hundred guilders for the purpose of renovating the same.[2] The church was demolished in 1693. It had a tower, faced on three sides with a sun-dial, and in which a new bell, made about this time, had just been placed. The bell bore the following inscription:[3]

> Dulcior e nostris tinnitibus resonat aer.
> (The air resounds sweeter from our ringing.)
> P. Hemony me fecit, 1674.

This building was destroyed by fire in 1741. At the time of our view the services were conducted by the minister, Rev. Samuel Drisius, who preached in the morning, and by the Rev. Ægi-

[1] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. II, page 289.
[2] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VI, page 367.
[3] Historical Discourse by Thomas De Witt, 1857, page 98.

dius Luyck, who preached in the afternoon.[1] Rev. Samuel Drisius came from Holland in 1652 to act as assistant minister. He died in 1681. Ægidius Luyck was in 1660 a young man of twenty-two, employed as a tutor in the family of Governor Stuyvesant. After 1664 he went to Holland and studied theology, and returned to New York, where he conducted a Latin school. He took a prominent part in the affairs of the city, and was a member of the last Dutch government of the city in 1674. After 1678 the Rev. Charles Wooley, the first English chaplain, held service in the church in the afternoons, with an attendance of but twenty-five or thirty persons.

F. The Governor's House.—This house is shown in the earlier views of the city at the same place in the fort. It was built by Governor Kieft, being one hundred feet long, fifty feet wide, and twenty-four feet high. At the time of our view it was occupied by Anthony Colve, who had been appointed governor by the Dutch Council of War.

G. The Public Storehouses.—

H. Public Scales, or the Weigh-house.—In 1653 the Dutch West India Company granted to the citizens the right to erect a weigh-scales

[1] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VI, page 292.

at the wharf. This building was erected at the right hand or northerly side of the long dock extending out into the East River between Whitehall Street and Broad Street. This dock, which the Dutch called the "Hooft," and which had been in existence for many years, was extended in 1659, and again extended four rods farther in 1660, and renewed in 1667. The Duke's plan of the city, made in 1661, shows this dock with the weigh-house situated on the north side. The drawing made by the Labadists in 1679 shows this dock with the weigh-house on its northerly side and another house on its southerly side. The house on the southerly side was the market-house, which was erected by the city in the year 1677, as the records of January in that year state that "the market is now being built by the waterside, near the bridge and the weigh-house." This market building was removed in 1684.[1]

I. The Great Ditch, as it was then called, now Broad Street.—As appears by the earlier views of the city, Broad Street was formerly nothing more than an open ditch and a marshy piece of ground. It was first built up and planked on its sides in the year 1657. In the year 1659 the planking was completed, and in 1660 a tax was levied upon the property facing the ditch to pay

[1] Valentine's Manual, 1862, page 504.

for the work. In 1671 the work of building up the sides of the ditch, in the same manner as heretofore, was extended as far as Exchange Place, and Broad Street remained an open canal with a paved way on each side until the year 1676, when the city authorities ordered it filled up and leveled over. Dancker's sketch, made in 1679, shows Broad Street leveled over, and no trace left of the canal or ditch but the opening of a sewer on the East River shore.[1]

K. The Stadt House, or City Hall.—This building, which was situated at the place which is now the head of Coenties Slip, was formerly the City Tavern, built by the West India Company in 1646, but granted to the city for a city hall in the year 1653. In April, 1652, permission was given by the West India Company for its use as a public school by the new schoolmaster, Jan de la Montagnie. This building was also used for a time as a prison about the year 1656. The building had a belfry or little tower on it, in which was hung a bell which was purchased in the year 1656. Our view fails to show the belfry, but it is quite apparent in the Duke's plan made in 1661, and also in Dancker's view made in 1679. A gallows was erected in front of the City Hall in 1660, but it is not shown in our view. In front

[1] Valentine's Manual, 1862, page 514.

of this building the declaration of war made by England against Holland April 4, 1672, was read to the people on July 9, 1672, and the treaty of peace between England and Holland, concluded February 19, 1674, was also proclaimed from the State House July 11, 1674.[1]

In this building were held the sessions of the Burgomaster's Court, where, on December 8, 1654, Director-General Stuyvesant delivered to the presiding burgomaster the first seal of the city, together with a painted coat of arms and a silver signet, all of which had just arrived in the ship *Pear Tree*. Here also at a later date—on October 6, 1669—Governor Lovelace presented to the mayor and aldermen, as a particular testimony of His Royal Highness's grace and favor to his city of New York, a public seal for the corporation, a silver mace, and seven gowns for the use of the mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and stated that while His Royal Highness esteemed some of these "but as the gaiety and circumstantial part of government," he wished to assure the city that it would receive all encouragement and his hearty assistance.[2] Great weight seems to have been given at this time to forms and cere-

[1] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VII, page 106.
[2] Documentary History, Vol. III, page 398.

monies in the conduct of the city government, as appears by the entry in the city records for November 9, 1674, which was the last official designation of the city as "New Orange," when the then governor-general, Anthony Colve, appeared in the Burgomaster's Court and stated that he should "deliver the fort and province of New Netherlands to Major Andrews [Andros] in behalf of His Majesty of Great Britain," and directing that "the five flags of the outside people, with the cushions and table-cloth now in the City Hall, be taken in charge by Burgomaster Johannes Van Brugh, until they should be demanded and taken away by supreme authority." [1]

At this time a mace was carried by a mace-bearer at the head of the procession of city magistrates when they appeared in court, and the magistrates wore the gowns which had been especially prepared for them. The beadles and other subordinate officers of the city wore a livery, the colors being blue tipped with orange.

The last representatives of the Dutch who occupied the high places in the City Hall and administered the government of the city, were:

[1] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VII, page 138.

Schout,	Captain Willem Knyff.
Burgomasters,	Johannes Van Brugh.
	Willem Beekman.
Schepens,	Jacob Kip.
	Guilaine Verplanck.
	François Rombouts.
	Christopher Hooghland.
	Stephanus Van Cortlandt.

L. Lutheran Church.—The Lutherans were not favored while the city was under Dutch government, as the Reformed Church was the State church. They had been compelled to erect their church outside the city wall. Their church was built in the year 1671 outside of the wall, and was situated on Broadway. After the Dutch regained possession of the city and commenced to put the place in better shape for defense, several houses and buildings which lay in front of the fort and fortifications of the city were ordered demolished and removed.[1] Among them was the Lutheran church, which was situated just north of Wall Street on Broadway. The owners of the property which was destroyed under this order of the government were reimbursed by having new lots assigned to them and partially by the payment of moneys.

[1] Records of New Amsterdam, Vol. VII, page 12.

To the Lutheran church on May 26, 1674, was assigned lot No. 5 in the Company's garden, which was a plot on Broadway at the present southwest corner of Rector Street. The minister of the Lutheran church at this time was the Rev. Bernard Arensius.[1] The former minister, Jacobus Frabitius, who seems to have been a man of not irreproachable character, had been given permission by the governor to preach his farewell sermon on August 11, 1671, and to install the new come minister.[2] Wooley in his Journal states that in 1680 the Lutheran minister in New York was one Bernhardus Frazius.[3]

M. and O. The Water Gate and the Land Gate.—These were the two gates in the city wall built from the East to the North rivers, across the island, and which is now commemorated by the existence of Wall Street, along the line where the palisades or wall originally stood. In the year 1665 there were but ten houses fronting the wall, and the number had grown to but seventeen in 1677. The wall was first built in the year 1653, with stakes or palisades of the height of twelve feet, and the city was compelled to borrow the money in order to pay for the same. The

[1] Brodhead, Vol. II, page 174.

[2] Documentary History of the State of New York, Vol. III, page 399.

[3] Wooley's Journal, page 67.

work was finished on July 21 of that year. In the year 1656 the gate near the East River, known as the Water Gate, was erected under the special direction of Captain Coninck. In the year 1673, after the Dutch recaptured New York, the wall and fortifications were renewed.

On December 27, 1673, the governor made a provision for grand rounds, and provided that the city gates should be closed at sundown by the mayor of the city and his attendant train bands, and in like manner should be opened at sunrise each day. As appears by the view, the city at this time did not extend above Wall Street, except in a few scattered houses. The unsettled state of the country is best shown by the regulation passed November 14, 1673, in regard to a bounty upon wolves, reciting that on account of the great ravages by wolves, any wolf shot on Manhattan Island south of Harlem would be paid for by a bounty of twenty florins, and for each she-wolf thirty florins.

N. The Smith's Valley.—This was the name of what is now Pearl Street, between Wall Street and Franklin Square. It was sometimes called the Smith's Fly. It was known by this name as early as 1639. In 1674 there were twenty-four owners of property between Franklin Square and Wall Street on Smith's Valley.

P. The Way to the Fresh Water.—This was the road leading to the fresh-water pond called the Collect, a corruption of Calch Hook, which was situated at where Broadway and Canal Street now are. The Way to the Fresh Water has now become Broadway. At this time there were but four residents on this road.

Q. The Windmill.—This is probably the windmill of Peter Jansen Mesier. A windmill was erected in 1662 on Broadway between Liberty and Cortlandt streets, the stone and iron for which were given by the governor and Council.

R. Fortresses.—These are the little round docks or half-moons built out into the East River. The half-moon in front of the City Hall was repaired in July, 1672. This was called the " Stadt Huys Battery." The one between this battery and Wall Street was called the " Burgher Battery," and the half-moon at the foot of Wall Street was called the " Wall Street Battery."

S. Stuyvesant's House.—Stuyvesant's house, which appears at the foot of Whitehall Street, had been built by Governor Peter Stuyvesant some time prior to 1658, in which year the city authorities confirmed his title to the property, he having stated in a petition that he had at great expense to himself filled up this low land and planked the shore and erected his house thereon.

This was not his official residence, but his private property. At the time of our view the last of the Dutch governors had departed to his long rest, having died between January 1 and March 25, 1672.

T. The East River, flowing between Manhattan Island and Yorkshire or Long Island.—The shore of the East River appears to have been beautifully built up and bulkheaded at the time of this view, and from an inspection of the earlier views of New York it would appear to have been a work of great magnitude to make such improvement. From an inspection of the city records it seems to have been a difficult thing for even Dutchmen, used to building dikes and dams, to bring the shore of the river up to its then condition. In 1654 only one person, one Sybout Claesen, living next to the City Hall, had commenced shoring up the bank and protecting his front from the waters of the East River. In that year, however, the city authorities ordered that all gardens from Broad Street to the City Hall should be planked up, or, as the Dutch called this work, "schoeinge." In 1655, a further order of the authorities was made for sheet-piling along the East River from the City Hall to Wall Street. In 1656 the work was finished in front of the City Hall. The owners of the property along the East

River seemed to have been rather slow in carrying out this improvement, for in the records of the Mayor's Court, on December 20, 1671, appears an order that the marshal give warning to the neighbors between the State House and the Graft to cause their proportions of the wall before their houses to be finished and filled up. Again on April 30, 1672, the sheriff complains that certain people have failed to pave the street and construct sheet-pilings on the strand. Among those cited were persons owning property between Broad and Wall streets on the East River.

In comparing the various publications of this view of the city, the differences which appear are so slight that it seems reasonably certain they all had their origin in one source. According to Asher, that source was probably an engraving made by Romeyn de Hooge, and first published on Hugo Allard's map. While it is probably true that this view was first published on Hugo Allard's map, there is nothing to indicate that it was the work of Romeyn de Hooge. Where did Allard get the material for this view? Did he use a sketch made here in this country by an eye-witness, or did he take the earlier published views of the city for a groundwork, making changes and additions according to the latest in-

formation received as to the improvements made since their publication? Though the view is in the main a faithful portrayal of the appearance of the city at the time it is supposed to speak, the absence of such a striking feature as the belfry on the Stadt Huys, which is shown in the Labadists' sketches made in 1679, and which from the Duke's Plan we know had been built before 1661, is an indication that the view was not the work of an eye-witness. Another fact that would lead to the same conclusion is the substantial appearance of Stuyvesant's house and the other buildings shown in the view, when as a matter of fact these buildings were of a most primitive nature, as shown by the Labadists' sketches. The two Labadists, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sleutter, came here in September, 1679, and made several sketches of the city, which are probably the most correct representations now existing of the appearance of New York at the time of its surrender by the Dutch. These interesting sketches may be seen in Henry C. Murphy's publication of the journal of these travelers.

This view, notwithstanding its inaccuracies, nevertheless contains enough evidence to prove its date. It must have been made after the year 1670, for the canal in Broad Street, which in this view appears regularly built up and planked its

entire length, was more or less of an open ditch until the year 1671. On the other hand, its date must have been prior to the year 1676, for in that year the canal disappeared entirely, having then been filled up and leveled over; and in the same year a slaughter-house was erected at the foot of Wall Street which does not appear in this view. In this view the Lutheran church is shown as situated below Wall Street. As the records of the city show that the Lutheran church was without the gate as late as October 17, 1673, when it was ordered removed, we have further evidence that the date of the view must have been later than 1673; and the fact that the new lot for the Lutheran church, being No. 5 in the Company's Garden, on Broadway below Wall Street, at the present southwest corner of Rector Street, was not assigned to the Lutherans until May 26, 1674, would indicate the date of the view as late as the fall of that year.

From all these facts it seems fair to conclude that this view was made just previous to the province passing finally into the possession of the English, and that it is the last representation of our city under the Dutch administration.

NEW YORK IN 1733

So far as we are at present informed, the first publisher of copperplate engravings in this part of North America was one William Burgis, a man of whom not a line is anywhere recorded, and whose name consequently would have passed into oblivion but for the fact that fortunately both for him and for us, a few—a very few—of his productions remain. They can all be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

In the year 1717 William Burgis brought out "A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York in the Province of New York in North America," which is of the liberal dimensions of six feet three and one-half inches in

length by twenty inches in width when the four separate sheets of paper upon which it is printed, each twenty inches square, are joined together. It is a careful and doubtless an accurate drawing made upon the spot: the first view of our city engraved within its borders and beyond dispute the most interesting and important picture that exists of the city of New York. Only one solitary copy of this engraving so far as we know has escaped the ravages of time, to wit, the one of which the New York Historical Society is the custodian. This is tattered and torn, badly frayed at the edges, and the inscription, which contained a key to the buildings and other objects of interest shown in the picture, has been entirely sheared away by some vandal hand.

At page 78 of that gossipy little book, "Watson's Historic Tales of Olden Time in New York City and State," published in 1832, there is the following reference to this Burgis "Prospect of New York" and to the Map of New York City published by William Bradford after a survey by James Lyne, in which the author curiously confounds these two important publications.

"One of the original Philadelphians—William Bradford the first printer of Philadelphia, has

left us a lively picture of the city of New York as it stood about the year 1729, being his publication from an original survey by James Lyne. The one which I have seen (a great *rarity* considered) at the City Commissioners' should be, I should think, but a reduced copy, inasmuch as the MSS. 'Annals of Philadelphia' show that in the year 1721, the son of the above William Bradford (named Andrew) advertises in his 'Mercury' the sale of a 'curious prospect of New York on four sheets of paper, royal size.' What an article for an antiquary!"

Watson's inference that the advertisement in Andrew Bradford's "American Weekly Mercury," Philadelphia, 1721, to which he draws attention referred to the Bradford Map (which it is interesting to learn was considered a rarity seventy years ago) is an error on its face, for a Map or a "Prospect" of the City in 1729 could not well have been offered for sale in 1721. This would throw into the shade the achievements of the enterprising journalists of the present day, for the most that they essay is, the issue of a six o'clock evening edition of their papers before the hour of noon. The notice in the "Mercury" is undoubtedly an advertisement of the "Prospect of New York in 1717" by William Burgis, which engraving it describes to a nicety.

This engraving was dedicated, with the fulsome adulation displayed by dependent and impecunious authors and artists towards their high and mighty patrons in those days of semi-feudal customs and usages, to Governor Hunter, by his Excellency's most humble and obedient servant, William Burgis. Robert Hunter filled the office of governor as acceptably to the people and the Assembly, and had as few quarrels and contentions with them as any other of the vicegerents that Queen Anne or the Georges sent to rule over their " Provinces of New York, New Jersey and Territories depending thereon in America; " but the antiquarians at least of this metropolis in the century which has just dawned upon it, will feel under greater obligations to, and take a livelier interest in, his " very humble servant," William Burgis, and his art, than they will in Governor Hunter and his state craft.

This copperplate published by William Burgis fell into the hands of one Thomas Bakewell, a London Map and Print-seller, who unceremoniously erased the name of Burgis and substituted for the dedication to Governor Hunter one to Governor George Clinton. Bakewell also made a necessary addition to the engraving in order to show a semi-circular battery which had been thrown out from the straight shore line in front

of the ruins of Whitehall [1] after the Burgis plate had been completed. This pirated engraving was published by Thomas Bakewell, March 25, 1746. Only two copies of this engraving are at present known. One deposited in that venerable institution, The New York Society Library, the other in the New York Historical Society, presented to it by William Libby, Esquire, the former partner of the great dry-goods merchant whose marble palace on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street happens to be in process of demolition as we pen these lines.

In 1733, A View of New York by Henry Popple, engraved by Henry Toms, appeared among a large collection of Maps of the British Empire in America, and in 1761 a long and narrow folding plate, entitled " The South Prospect of the City of New York in America," was published in the " London Magazine." Both of these pictures are doubtless based upon the Burgis print. There are discrepancies here and there, and in the Burgis *" Prospect "* the East River is crowded with vessels large and small, most of which have gone to sea or leastwise vanished out of Popple's picture, and they are also conspicuous by their ab-

[1] The house built by Governor Thomas Dongan, from which Whitehall Street derives its name. It was named Whitehall after the London palace of the kings of England from Henry VIII to William III.

sence in the engraving in the "London Magazine." But a number of tell tales are left, notably Colonel Morris's yacht *Fancy* turning to windward in the extreme right-hand foreground of the picture. In the "warfs" for building ships, in the Burgis print, a vessel is depicted under construction on the stocks. We find it cradled there still, and no nearer to completion in Popple's View, and again it confronts us in the picture in the "London Magazine." Half a century is a long time for even a slow and phlegmatic Dutchman to occupy in the building of a "Vlieboat" or even in that of a full masted "Schip."

These three engravings, we therefore conclude, are in their genesis one and the same, although they are dated respectively 1717, 1733 and 1761. The city of New York did not make rapid progress during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. From the year 1700 to 1731 its growth was in fact discouragingly slow; the town almost stood still and added only about 2500 to the number of its inhabitants (6000 to 8622) in these thirty years; so that Burgis's picture answered Popple's purpose sufficiently well, but the editors of the "London Magazine" strained a point when they put it forth as a picture of New York in the year of grace 1761, for by that time the

town contained some 15,000 souls and they must all have had roofs of some sort to shelter them.

At the time that Popple's Map and View were published "Ye City of New York well scituate in Lat. 41/40, North and Long. 74/30 Wt. in a good Air" had, as has just been stated, a population of less than 9000 (whites, negroes and red men included), who inhabited 1400 dwellings, all of which, except the outlying country houses with which the farm lands around the town were dotted, lay below the "Common," now the City Hall Park. Broadway was paved with cobble stones and planted on each side with a row of shade trees from Bowling Green to Maiden Lane; above that point it speedily assumed the aspect of a country road, and where St. Paul's Chapel—which was not erected until 1764—now rears its graceful spire, fields of grain bent their golden heads in obeisance to the summer wind. "King's Farm" (the Trinity Church property granted to that religious body by Lord Cornbury in 1705) stretched in an unbroken expanse northward and westward to the banks of the "lordly Hudson," and when, after divine service, the congregation streamed forth from the open doors of the small square structure at the head of Wall Street, in which Trinity's parishioners worshipped from 1697

to 1735, no building obstructed the view of the " Great River of the North," flowing not more than a bow-shot's length away, clear and unpolluted onward to its union with the sea. " Very pleasantly situated on the banks of Hudson's river " was the " English Church " of Trinity in 1733, for no street was as yet laid out along the North River shore, and there were only four docks upon it, all in the neighborhood of Cortlandt Street, which in this same year (1733) was first opened by the owners of the land and registered as a public street.

On the east side, the town had grown with more rapidity, and the start it then secured in advance of the section which looked out upon the continent, it has ever since maintained. There were wharfs and " keys " along the East River water front (which was then defined by Water Street) from Whitehall all the way to Beekman Street, and the streets were laid out as far as " Frankford " and " Cherry," and around but not through Beekman's Swamp, all of which tract of land had recently been sold to Roosevelt for one hundred pounds. Here in this marshy ground the tanners of the city sank their pits after they had been ousted from "The Shoemaker's Land," [1]

[1] A tract of land bounded very nearly by Nassau, Ann, and William streets, and Maiden Lane.

and the curriers and leather dealers established in one abiding place the only business in this city that has not shifted its location again and again within the last one hundred and fifty years. All other trades have been nomadic, wanderers over the face of the island. Only the money-changers and the leather trade have clung tenaciously to their original haunts and homes.

From the "Common" started the highroad to Boston and Albany, winding its way for a distance along the present Bowery, then traversing the island diagonally and crossing the Harlem River at Kingsbridge. Over this highway the mail was carried weekly in summer, fortnightly in winter, on horseback if the condition of the road permitted, otherwise on foot. A stage was first started in 1732 to run to Boston once a month and was, so our City Guide, Goodrich, affirms, fourteen days on the journey, but the statement appears incredible. There was a weekly post to Philadelphia which consumed three days in making the journey. We have mightily changed all that.

Bowling Green was laid out in 1733, and was in reality the only public pleasure ground the city then possessed, for the "Common" although recognized long before this time as public property, having been ceded to the Corporation of

the City of New York by Governor Dongan in 1686, was an unenclosed and neglected waste, used principally as a cow pasture and a dumping ground for refuse, although bonfires, illuminations and gatherings of the people took place there from time to time.

The city of our great grandsires was a low-roofed one. The houses were at most but three stories in height besides the dormer windowed attic. Those remaining of the Dutch period—built of yellow-tinted Holland brick—were many of them peak-roofed and stood with their gable ends to the street. These gables tapered to the top by a succession of steps, the pinnacle of which was frequently surmounted by a weather-cock which " veered with every breeze and battled with the wind." The heads of the anchoring irons in these gables were occasionally fashioned into the numerals which denoted the date of the erection of the building.

Our local historians tell us that one of the finest residences in the city at this period was that of Stephen Delancy on the west side of Broadway, a short distance above Trinity Church. This building was probably a typical one of the English style of domestic architecture which is described as being " plain, but strong and neat." One of its features was an " outlook " or balcony

on the roof, which was either shingled with white "fir" tiles, as they were called, or else covered with slate. The materials used in construction were wood, stone and brick. The plague of the soft and friable Connecticut free stone had not yet fallen upon the city it was destined in such large measure to disfigure.

Aside from the City Hall in Wall Street, the most conspicuous buildings were the churches. "Trinity" on the site of the present edifice. The "Eglise du St. Esprit" [1] in Pine Street, to which the French Huguenots of New Rochelle journeyed in the night time on foot, "singing the hymns of Clement Marot by the way." The Presbyterian Church in Wall Street where Jonathan Edwards preached for the space of eight months, and the buildings belonging to the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, the primitive religious denomination in New York City and the one which held precedency over all others until the English occupation.

The Old Dutch Church in the Fort which had been standing for nearly a century was still in existence in 1733, but after the surrender to the British in 1664, it was known as the King's Chapel and Church of England services were

[1] On Pine Street below Nassau, the burial ground running back to Cedar Street. Dimensions of the building 50 x 77 feet.

statedly held there. In 1741 it was destroyed by fire and not rebuilt.

The Dutch Church in Garden Street, now Exchange Place, known as the Old or South Church after the erection of the one in Nassau Street, stood in the centre of a carefully cultivated garden, "imposed in all the formal stiffness of the cut box and trimmed cedar" of the gardens of the Fatherland, in the native tongue of which the church services were conducted. The Dutch language was still in common use in 1733, not only in the pulpits of the Collegiate Church, but also in the market places of the city, and services in the former were conducted solely in the Holland tongue down to the year 1764. After that date it was alternated with the English language.

When the Garden Street Church was first erected in 1693, at a cost of 64,178 guilders, in what was then known as "Garden Alley," adjacent to the orchard belonging to Elizabeth, widow of Domine Drisius,[1] the location was objected to by some as being too far out of town. Our wonderment at this protest ceases when we read the following advertisement in Bradford's "New York Gazette" of March 18th to 25th,

[1] Colleague pastor, with Megapolensis the younger, of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York from 1652–1671.

1734, which indicates the rural character of Wall Street and its vicinity at this period in our city's history:

The House, Store-house and Garden of BENJ[a] D'harriet, situate in *Wall Street* in this City is to be Sold, as also the Household Goods therein, at reasonable Rates. There are also several Lots of Ground in *John Street* on the West corner of *Gold Street* (formerly the Garden of Mr. John Outman) whoever inclines to buy the whole or any part of the same, may apply to the said Benjamin D'harriet who will dispose of the said premises on reasonable Terms.

The New or Middle Dutch Church which was opened for worship in 1729 stood surrounded by its graveyard and burial vaults on Nassau Street between Liberty and Cedar on the site now occupied by The Mutual Life Insurance Company's fine building. This church was "a most substantial edifice 100 feet long and 70 feet wide with a good steeple and bell." An engraving of this building inscribed to the Honourable Rip van Dam, President of his Majesty's Council, was published shortly after its completion by the same William Burgis who issued the View of New York in 1717, and only ONE copy of this engraving is known. There is in fact no print bearing

the name of William Burgis of which more than one copy, so far as we are aware, remains.

The value of real estate in New York in 1733 appears to have been so inconsiderable that the prominent merchant ship-builder and politician, Rip van Dam (who held among other offices the exalted one of Governor of the Province in the interregnum between the death of Governor Montgomerie and the arrival of Governor Cosby), to whom Burgis inscribed his plate of the Middle Dutch Church, petitioned for and was given a gore of land at the present intersection of Liberty Street (formerly Crown) and Maiden Lane (formerly the Maiden's path) of 103 feet in length, for the nominal sum of 10 shillings, on the ground that it was of no use to any one else but him.

At what was heralded abroad as a great sale of lots near the Custom House in Dock Street (now Pearl) east of Whitehall, held May 6, 1732, the seven lots advertised brought a little under 200 pounds sterling apiece; the size of the lots is not given, but if they were situated on the South side of Dock Street, as the description would indicate, they were of small dimensions, as the entire block lying east of and adjacent to Whitehall measures on the Bradford map only about 50 by 100 feet. The property sold may have included the Old Market Place or Strand,

as it was called; if so, it was probably at the time one of the most desirable business locations in the City.

The King's Arms Tavern on Broad Street opposite the Old Exchange, kept by a Mrs. Steel, was the principal hostelry of the town in 1733, but evidently there has never been any dearth of places where liquid refreshments could be found in this "happy and peaceful little Burg," for it is recorded that at as remote a period as the year 1679 Francis Romboult, Mayor, licensed no less than sixteen persons to sell wines, which we presume included Dutch Schnapps and rum which we read in "Dankers and Sluyters Journal," 1679, "was everywhere." We have none of Romboult's licenses to transcribe, but in lieu thereof we copy one granted in 1785 by Mayor James Duane, the phraseology of which is doubtless similar to that in those issued by his predecessors in office. The phrasing of legal documents for some reason not apparent to the layman's mind does not greatly vary from age to age.

New York
City of } *ss*

Be It remembered, that on the *first* Day of *March* 1785 personally appeared before me, James Duane Esquire Mayor of the said City, *Mary Clark*—Innholder,

and acknowledged *herself* indebted unto the *People* of the State of New York, in the penal sum of Fifty Pounds Lawful Money of the faid State, to be levied of *her* Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements, for the Use of the People of the faid State, if Failure fhall be made in the Performance of the Conditions following:

WHEREAS the faid *Mary Clark* — on the Day of the Date hereof, hath obtained a Licence to keep an INN or TAVERN for retailing ftrong Liquors in *her* Dwelling-House, in the faid City, from the Date of the faid Licenfe untill the firft Day of March next enfuing.

NOW THE CONDITION of this Recognizance is fuch. That if the faid *Mary Clark* — do not during the Time that *she* fhall keep an Inn or Tavern, keep a diforderly Inn or Tavern, or fuffer or permit any Cock-fighting or Gaming to be practised within the Inn or Tavern by *her* kept, or within any Out-House, Yard or Garden belonging thereto: Then this Recognizance to be void, elfe to remain in full Force

Taken and acknowledged the
Day and Year above written
BEFORE ME

Jas. Duane.

Fraunces' famous Tavern on the Southeast corner of Pearl and Broad Streets, built in the early part of the eighteenth century by the De-

lancey family, and still standing—a building around which cluster more interesting historical associations than attach to any other pile of brick and mortar in our city, did not begin its career as a public house until 1762, when the property was acquired by Samuel Francis and opened as a Tavern, called the Queens Head, under the sign of Queen Charlotte. Previously it had been occupied as a residence by Colonel Joseph Robinson, and then as a store, as is shown by the following advertisement in Hugh Gaine's "Mercury," May 28, 1757.

Delancy Robinson & Co. have removed their store to the house wherein the late Col. Joseph Robinson lived, being the corner house next the Royal Exchange where they continue to sell all sorts of European and East India Goods, etc. etc.

The first theatre established in New York, says Chronicler Goodrich in his compact, very useful, but not always implicitly reliable little "Picture of New York and Strangers Guide" to the Commercial Metropolis of the United States (New York, 1828), was in an old building on Crugers Wharf, near Old Slip, but the first regular theatre in New York, we are informed by another historian, was erected in 1750, and was a stone building in the vicinity of the Dutch

Church near Maiden Lane. Joseph N. Ireland's statement of this matter in his "Annals of the New York Stage" which we quote below is probably the most reliable.

An advertisement of George Talbot, Merchant, in Bradford's "Gazette," of October, 1733, directs inquiries to be made at his store, "next door to the Play-House." No other reference to the drama in New York at this early period is to be found. We hear nothing more of the Theatre until February 26, 1750, when in the columns of the "New York Gazette," revived in the "Weekly Post Boy," published by James Parker, appeared the following editorial notice: "Last week arrived here a company of comedians from Philadelphia who we hear have taken a convenient room for their purpose in one of the buildings lately belonging to the Honorable Rip van Dam, Esq., deceased, in Nassau Street, where they intend to perform as long as the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement."

This building—Ireland states—was situated on the east side of Nassau Street (formerly Kip Street) between John Street and Maiden Lane on lots now (1866) known by the numbers 64 and 66.

The advertisement of George Talbot, in Bradford's "Gazette," to which Ireland refers, shows

him to have been a dealer in a curious variety of commodities. "All sorts of Household goods, viz.: Beds, Chairs, Tables, Chest of Drawers, Looking Glasses, Andirons and Pictures, as also several sorts of Drugs and Medicines, also a *Negro girl about* 16 *years of age, has had the small-pox and is fit for the town or country.*"

For amusements, the men of 1733 had their weekly evening clubs, and for the entertainment of both sexes there were concerts and assemblies, balls and sleighing parties in the winter, excursions on the water and fishing parties in the summer. The church calendar was thickly studded with festivals and fast days, and there were also numerous secular holidays throughout the year. In the half Dutch, half English town of our ancestors, it was necessary that the high days of both England and Holland should be duly observed and fittingly commemorated.

For the greater part of the year 1733, there was but one paper, and that a weekly publication, to furnish the inhabitants of New York City with news, for the first issue of John Peter Zenger's "Weekly Gazette" did not make its appearance until October, 1733. Bradford's "Weekly Gazette," first issued in 1725 on a half sheet of foolscap (small folio) paper, had risen at the time of which we write to the dignity of a whole sheet of

foolscap or four pages. It was filled mostly with European news three to six months old, flat, stale and unprofitable reading to us now, but a corner in his columns was allotted by Bradford to Custom House entries, advertisements of, and rewards offered for runaway slaves, and notices of bondmen for sale at public vendue, sales of real estate, etc. These items of local news hold a mirror up to the times and life of the day and as such are and always will be of interest to the student of history and the antiquary.

The Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of New York, New Jersey and the Territories thereon depending in America, Vice-Admiral of the same and Colonel of His Majesty's Army (as his imposing string of titles ran), at this time, was William Cosby, who held office from 1732 to 1736. Robert Lurting, whose house near the Ferry Stairs we find advertised for sale in Bradford's "Gazette" for December, 1735, was Mayor of the City, a position which he occupied for eleven years. The office of Recorder was filled by Francis Harison, and the Alderman and assistants who served in 1733–1734 were the following:

DOCK WARD

Alderman	*Assistant*
John Cruger	John Moore

NEW YORK IN 1733

WEST WARD

Alderman	*Assistant*
Harmanns Vangelder	John Chambers

SOUTH WARD

Frederick Philipse	Isaac De Peyster

NORTH WARD

Anthony Rutgers	Garrett Roos

EAST WARD

John Roosevelt	Petrus Rutgers

MONTGOMERIE WARD

Johannes Hardenbrook	Abel Hardenbrook

OUT WARD

Gerardus Stuyvesant	Thomas Dekey

The preponderance of Dutch names in this list would appear to signify that although the flag of Oranje Boven had long ceased to wave over the Fort at the Bowling Green, the voices of the descendants of the Hollanders were still potent in the Councils of the Corporation.

This early period in our city's history, this unsophisticated age, when, as Diedrich Knickerbocker recites, every well regulated family always rose with the dawn, dined at eleven, and went to bed at sundown, was not a golden one, nor was

the country an Arcadia. The people had troubles a-plenty. Epidemics of small-pox and yellow fever ravaged their homes at times, numerous fire alarms in their highly combustible town, and dread of negro uprisings disturbed their midnight slumbers, but they kept the prosaic tenor of their way. A frugal, industrious, home-loving and Sabbath-keeping community, there were none very wealthy among them to excite the envy of their neighbors, although we are told that Frederick Philipse by his enterprise and thrift added to the wealth which he inherited, and became passing rich, and that Rip van Dam and a few other magnates were well-to-do and rode in their own chaises. What clumsy and inconvenient vehicles they were, he who runs may read in Burgis's picture of the "New Dutch Church," for there, in the foreground, is supposed to be depicted the identical coach in which Rip van Dam took his airings and rumbled in much state, but we imagine with only a modicum of comfort over the cobble-stone pavements of the New York of 1733.

CITY OF NEW YORK BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

IN 1778, during "the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and her colonies," to use the words on its title-page, William Russell's "History of America" was published in London in two volumes, with illustrations. In the first volume there appears at page 270 an unsigned plate with the title "South West View of Fort George with the City of New York." It is this that Mr. French has reproduced in his line engraving forming the subject of this paper, the size having been considerably reduced, for the Russell plate measures $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Russell's History must have been partly writ-

ten many years before its publication, for the author refers to " the late peace " in speaking of that of 1763, and the illustrations, by no means always recent, as we shall see in this case, had probably been gathered long before 1778. Indeed, it is probable that the revolt of the colonies merely hastened the publication of a work that had been begun soon after British supremacy was acknowledged throughout that region of extraordinary interest which had been the scene of such stirring events as those of Louisburg, Ticonderoga, Duquesne, and Quebec.

The view shown on this plate is known as Carwitham's because of its close correspondence with and undoubted derivation from a larger print, measuring about 16½ inches by 10½ inches, signed by J. Carwitham, an English engraver.

The Carwitham plate was used with different titles by successive publishers, and both colored and uncolored prints exist. An excellent copy of the earliest form of the print, colored, and with the imprint " A View of Fort George with the City of New York from the S. W., Printed for Carington Bowles, Map and Print Seller, at No. 69 in St. Paul's Churchyard, London," is in the collection of Mr. Richard T. H. Halsey. A specimen of a later issue, colored, and called " A Southwest View of the City of New York in

North America," and printed for Bowles & Carver, No. 69 St. Paul's Churchyard, is in the possession of Mr. William Loring Andrews. A copy of this issue, also colored, owned by Mr. Edwin B. Holden, is of special interest because the flags displayed on the fort and ships, while engraved with the crosses of the Union Jack, have been colored over with the Stars and Stripes. On the Carwitham plate the spires and cupolas are numbered from left to right, but unfortunately the key to which the numbers refer is not known to exist.

Carwitham also did a view of Boston, of which at least two issues are in existence. The earlier, called " South East View of the Great Town of Boston in North America," was printed for Carington Bowles; and the later, called " South East View of the City of Boston in North America," was printed for Bowles & Carver.

As evidence that the copperplates of these old views were put to hard service, it may be said that the later issues of the Carwitham prints, referred to above as printed for Bowles & Carver, must have been published after 1793, for in that year, according to the London city directories, Bowles & Carver succeeded Carington Bowles at No. 69 St. Paul's Churchyard.

The date of the publication of the first of the

Carwitham views of New York is uncertain. Carwitham himself, according to Joseph Strutt's "Biographical Dictionary of Engravers," flourished about 1730, executing a considerable number of book-plates, prints, and other work, some bearing date as early as 1723, and some as late as 1741. These facts alone would be sufficient to justify us in assigning to this view of New York a much earlier date than has been heretofore given it, owing to its publication in Russell's history in 1778; but in addition to this there is internal evidence that is quite sufficient to lead us independently to the conclusion that the view itself represents the city of New York as it was about 1740.

In the "Memorial History of Boston," Volume II, page 531, is a discussion of the date of the original of the Carwitham views of Boston, leading to the conclusion, based on a study of the architecture and a comparison with other prints, that it must have been prior to 1743.

In like manner internal evidence of the early date of the New York picture is afforded by the buildings shown, most of which can be definitely identified by their architecture. The view, it will be remembered, is from the southwest. On the left is Trinity Church, with its spire one hundred and seventy-five feet in height, facing the river,

being the structure built in 1696, and enlarged in 1737, which stood until destroyed by the great fire of 1776. The small spire to the right should be more detached, as in the Carwitham print, being that of the Lutheran Church that stood on a plot of ground at the south corner of Broadway and Rector Street. Next on the right is the Middle Dutch Church, which stood on the east side of Nassau Street, between Cedar and Liberty streets, and faced the north. The ground it occupied is now covered by the building of the Mutual Life Insurance Company. Then the French Church is shown, which stood on the north side of Pine Street east of Nassau Street. The cupola of the City Hall is shown next on the right. This building stood at the head of Broad Street where the front of the Sub-Treasury building now is, and extended nearly to the center of Wall Street. Still further to the right is the Dutch Church in Garden Street, occupying a plot of ground on Exchange Place just east of Broad Street, now part of the site of the Mills Building. At the corner of the fort is seen the secretary's office, and adjoining it are the barracks. The tower on the right has been identified as that of the chapel in the fort, through its close resemblance to the structure shown in the view engraved on the margin of Popple's map, published in 1733, and

there designated "The Chappel," and also by reason of its position at the exact spot in the fort which, on the Bradford map of the city of New York (1731), is indicated by a reference letter and key as the site of "King's Chapel built 1694." No such structure is shown in the Kitchin view on the margin of the Ratzer map (1766), and this accords with what we would expect, for William Smith, the historian, writing in 1757 of the fort, says: "At the South end there was formerly a chapel but this was burnt down in the negro conspiracy of the Spring 1741."

The identification of the buildings enables us to fix very closely the date of the view, for the Middle Dutch Church and the chapel in the fort are both shown, and the former was not built until 1731, and the latter was destroyed in 1741. Between these dates, therefore, the view must have been drawn. Other indications are not wanting. The Bradford map (1731) shows a general size of the city and a condition of surroundings and shore-line near the fort and Trinity Church corresponding very nearly with this view, while the Montresor map (1765) shows the land filled in and streets laid out between Trinity Church and the river, and dock improvements just above the church. Again, in this view between Trinity Church and the City Hall there is no spire promi-

nent enough to be the spire, one hundred and forty-five feet high, of the Presbyterian Church built in 1748 on the north side of Wall Street between Broadway and Nassau Street. One further indication leads us to fix the date still more closely, as the spire of Trinity Church prominently shown in the view is probably that of the remodeled structure of 1737. Hence the date of the view must be accepted as between 1737 and 1741.

When the original sketch of this view was made the artist was probably on the deck of a ship lying in the North River almost due west from the present Aquarium and not more than five hundred feet from the present sea wall. It is to be remembered that almost the whole of Battery Park is an encroachment on the original river-bed, and that the old shore-line is now closely followed by Greenwich and State streets. The small dock shown in the picture stood almost exactly where the Battery Place station of the elevated railroad now is.

That this was the point of view may be confirmed, if upon an accurate map of the lower part of the city and the bay a mark be made at the spot above indicated and radial lines be drawn through the several sites of the various buildings above named. These structures will then be

found to arrange themselves in the order shown in the picture, and the angles between the lines will correspond exactly to the spaces between the buildings in the view itself.

The identification of the buildings is confirmed by this test and further by the present street levels. Broadway at Trinity Church is thirty-four feet above datum. Nassau Street at the Mutual Life Building is thirty-four feet three inches above datum, while Wall Street at the Sub-Treasury is twelve feet lower, and State Street, near the site of the fort, is but eleven feet above datum. These elevations correspond closely to the relative prominence of the several buildings.

Compared with this Russell print the Carwitham is much the better picture, though in balance and proportion the two are closely alike. The latter gives far more detail and shows many more buildings both north and east of the fort. The spire identified above as that of the Lutheran Church is clearly shown as detached and remote from Trinity Church. The impossible background of hills in the Russell view is not shown in Carwitham's, and must have been arbitrarily added by the artist to relieve the bareness of the derived print and make up somewhat for the absence of much of the detail of the original picture.

The city of New York in 1740 extended north

about as far as Reade Street and east to Catherine Street, though the upper portions were, of course, much less closely settled than the lower, even then. Carwitham has drawn it as an attractive, peaceful village. But we should err in imagining the New York of that day as a sleepy place. William Smith, an almost contemporary historian already quoted, has enabled us to see what a veritable bee-hive of industry, as he himself calls it, the place was. Its population was almost twelve thousand. Most of the free inhabitants of the city were merchants, shop-keepers, or tradesmen, active and industrious, and making the most of the city's natural advantages. In lieu of a harbor the present East River afforded a "safe and commodious road," facing which were docks for the shipping, that to the number of two hundred and fifty or three hundred sail in each year cleared for the various ports of Europe and America. The export trade to the West Indies, embracing cereals, fruits, lumber, furs, live stock, dairy products, and meats, was large. Of flour alone, over eighty thousand barrels per annum were exported. So important was this branch of industry that to preserve its credit there were appointed officers to inspect and brand every cask before exportation. While perhaps coals were not carried to Newcastle, certainly flax-seed in quanti-

ties was sent to Ireland in exchange for linens. Felt hats were sent in large number to the West Indies until British manufacturers induced Parliament to prohibit the exportation. With other places than Great Britain the balance of trade was in favor of New York, but the annual importation of dry-goods from England, amounting to over one hundred thousand pounds, obliged the colonists " to betake themselves to all possible arts to make remittances to the British merchants."

The social life of the city took the form of evening clubs for men, and concerts and assemblies for the ladies. Of the latter, Smith says: " They are comely and dress well, and scarce any of them have distorted shapes. Tinctured with Dutch education, they manage their families with becoming parsimony, good providence, and singular neatness." But he unkindly adds, " There is nothing they so generally neglect as reading, and indeed all arts for the improvement of the mind."

Indeed, education generally seems not to have been of a high grade. The schools were not good, for the instructors were incompetent. Speech was corrupt, and, in public and private, there were abundant evidences of a low standard of taste in thought and language. Slavery flour-

ished, quite one sixth of the population being blacks.

In religion the Episcopalians, Dutch Reformed, and English Presbyterians formed a majority. The place of worship of the first-named was, of course, Trinity Church. It then faced the river, as shown in our view, and is described as having " a large cemetery on each side enclosed in the front by a painted paled fence. Before it a long walk is railed off from the Broadway, the pleasantest street of any in the whole town." The church was burned in the great fire of 1776. The Episcopalians, though but one fifteenth of the population, were of considerable influence, but their claim of the establishment of the church here as in England was stoutly denied by the " dissenters," and occasioned many serious arguments and misunderstandings. The rector of Trinity Church at this time was Rev. William Vesey, a graduate of Harvard College, who had been ordained in England and instituted rector of the parish on Christmas day in 1697. His induction and the services of the parish for some time thereafter were held, by the favor of the Dutch Reformed Church, in their Garden Street edifice pending the completion of the English church. The rector was by reason of his personality a man of great prominence in the life of the city and

colony, and held the appointment of Commissary of the Bishop of London in the Province of New York. He died July 11, 1746, having been at the head of the parish for nearly half a century.

The Dutch Reformed congregation at this time had two churches in use, both shown in our view —the old Garden Street Church and the newer Middle Church. The former had been built in 1693, and up to 1807 was in continuous use as a church, except during the Revolution, when it was used as a hospital by the British. The Middle Church, completed in 1731, was, during the Revolution, prostituted by the British to the base uses of a prison at first, and then quarters for cavalry. In 1790 it was restored, and thereafter used as a church continuously to 1844, when it was leased to the United States government for the post-office. The government purchased it in 1861, continuing its use as a post-office up to 1875. The building was thereafter given over to business purposes until 1882, when the Mutual Life Insurance Company bought it and demolished it. Its bell, brought from Holland in 1731, was hidden during the Revolution and replaced after 1783, and is now in the church at Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street.

The ministers in charge of the congregation of the Dutch churches were two, the colleagues giv-

ing the name since used to the Collegiate Church. Domine Gualterus Du Bois had come in 1699 as colleague to Domine Selyns, and when the latter died, in 1701, had continued alone until the arrival of Rev. Henricus Boel in 1713. Thereafter these two worked together for many years, the former dying in 1751, and the latter in 1754. They alternated in charge of the two church buildings, as the congregation was considered but one church. Services were conducted in the Dutch language up to 1764, when, after much serious opposition, English was substituted. In character these two ministers admirably supplemented each other, Domine Du Bois being described as wise and amiable, and his colleague as vigorous and somewhat uncompromising. They were of great power and usefulness.

The City Hall had been erected at the head of Broad Street in 1699. It was an oblong, two-story structure somewhat like the letter H, with peaked roof and dormer windows, and a cupola. It contained the common-council room, a court-room, jury-room, debtors' prison, fire-engine room, and a dungeon for criminals. In the street before it were pillory and stocks. In 1740 it was the official residence of Mayor John Cruger. This is the building that later, in altered form, witnessed the inauguration of the first President

of the United States, and became the seat of government. In after years it gave place to the present Sub-Treasury building.

The Lutheran Church stood on the west side of Broadway, just south of Rector Street. The congregation had had an earlier edifice " without the gate," but prior to 1684 had been compelled to remove it and had erected this one within. This appears from the statements made in that year in their petition for a confirmation of their patent. The building was rebuilt in 1702, but the spire must have been added later, for the Burgis view of 1717 does not show the spire, while Thomas Bakewell's edition, in 1746, of the Burgis view with alterations shows it plainly. The structure stood until the fire of 1776.

The French Church stood on the north side of Pine Street, east of Nassau Street, on a lot seventy-five feet in width, extending through to Cedar Street. The building was erected in 1704, and had a stone tower surmounted by a cupola with bell. It is clearly shown in the Burgis view of 1717. The congregation was founded by the Huguenots and included many of the most influential families in the province at this time.

Fort George (and this, of nine successive names, is the last it was destined to bear) stood below the Bowling Green on the land now to be used

for the new Custom-House. There is said to have been a palisade work there as early as 1615. In "Wassenaers Historie van Europa," published in Amsterdam from 1621 to 1632, are papers descriptive of New Netherlands, and in one the statement is made that the colony was planted in 1625 on the Manhates, "where a fort was staked out by Master Kryn Frederycke, an engineer." Later it is said, "When the fort staked out at the Manhates will be completed, it is to be named Amsterdam." A further note, in 1628, refers to the fort "having four points and faced outside entirely with stone, as the walls of sand fall down, and are now more compact."

In 1642–43 the Rev. Isaac Jogues, who had been a Jesuit missionary to Canada, was a refugee in New Amsterdam, having eluded his Mohawk captors. His observations during his stay were embodied in a sketch written in 1646, wherein he describes Fort Amsterdam, at the point of the island, as having "four regular bastions mounted with several pieces of artillery. All these bastions and the curtains were in 1643 but ramparts of earth, most of which had crumbled away, so that the fort could be entered on all sides. There were no ditches. There were sixty soldiers to garrison the said fort and another which they had built still further up against the

incursions of the savages, their enemies. They were beginning to face the gates and bastions with stone. Within this fort stood a pretty large church built of stone, the house of the Governor, whom they called Director General, quite neatly built of brick, the store house and barracks." Father Jogues notes that " Some mechanics who ply their trades are ranged under the fort; all the others were exposed to the incursions of the natives." This peril led the settlers later to range their dwellings close to the southern and eastern walls of the fort, even overtopping them, and thus later affording to Stuyvesant one means of explaining his surrender of the fort to the English, because of the ready base the houses afforded for scaling-ladders.

In 1678 Governor Andros, replying to inquiries about New York, described, among others, " James ffort seated upon a point of New Yorke Towne between Hudsons river and ye Sound, its a square with stone walls, foure bastions almost regular, and in it 46 gunnes mounted and stores for service accordingly."

In 1687 Governor Dongan, in his report to the Committee of Trade in the Province of New York, states that " At New York there is a fortification of four bastions built formerly against the Indians, of dry stone and earth with sods as

a breastwork, well and pleasantly situated for the defense of the harbor. . . . One Flanker, the face of the north bastion, and three points of Bastions and a Courlin has been done and are rebuilt by me with lime and mortar and all the rest of the Fort pinnd and rough-cast with lime since my coming here." Most of the guns he found dismounted and the breastwork upon the wall so moldered away as to need repair.

Lieutenant-Governor Clarke in 1738 wrote to the Board of Trade, describing the fort in its then condition, as follows: " In the town of New York is an old fort of very little defense, cannon we have, but the carriages are good for little, we have ball but no powder, nor will the board of ordinance send any on pretense that a large quantity was sent in 1711 for the Canada expedition which is 27 year agoe, much of it has for many years been trodden under foot in the magazine, the barrells having been rotten."

From these descriptions it will be seen that the various governors were either unable or not anxious to preserve the public works in their charge. Indeed, Montresor, describing the fort and battery in 1765, states that the latter " was constructed at an enormous expense and seems to have been intended for profit and form and then for defense." The fort continued to be the place

of residence of the governors up to December 29, 1773, when Governor Tryon's house was burned. Thereafter Tryon resided in a house outside of the fort, and the fort ceased to be the headquarters of the government. At the time of which we are writing the fort also contained the secretary's office, barracks, and chapel. All were burned in the fire started during the negro riots in 1741. The barracks were rebuilt, but a new secretary's office was constructed outside the fort on the present corner of Bowling Green and Whitehall Street. Fort George was removed, pursuant to an act of the Legislature passed in 1790, and then consisted of a green bank which was sloping and about fourteen feet high, on which were erected the walls in about twenty feet additional height. In its front, toward the Bowling Green, were two apple trees and an old linden tree, which were about the same height as the walls.

The executive at the head of the government of the colony in 1740 was Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke, who had been the secretary of the province under Governor Cosby at the time of the latter's death in 1736, and had then been designated to act as governor pending the appointment of a successor to Cosby. Clarke continued in office until the arrival of Governor George

Clinton in 1743, and during his incumbency many occurrences showed that even then there smoldered in the minds of the colonists that idea of independence that later was fanned into flame. The form of government then embraced, besides the crown governor, a Council of twelve, also holding commissions from the king, and the Assembly of twenty-seven representatives chosen by the colonists. In 1741 the lieutenant-governor in a speech to the popular branch said "that he now hoped the House was returning to a sense of duty to His Majesty and would make Parliament a model of its proceedings; that this conduct alone would remove the jealousy prevailing in Great Britain that the colony wished to be emancipated from the Crown, and would enable His Majesty to pay his own officers and servants, whereby they will be re-claimed to their proper dependence." And this because the shrewd representatives kept a tight hold on the purse-strings, knowing that therein lay their only restraint on royal appointees.

It was during Clarke's administration that the most determined effort was made by the people to secure the enactment of a law providing for more frequent elections of representatives. It had been the contention of previous governors that while the election of representatives was by

the people, the dissolution of the Assembly was a royal prerogative. The Legislature that was dissolved in 1737, after Governor Cosby's death, had existed for nine years, and generally the life of the House was measured by its subserviency to the executive. The new Assembly passed a bill for triennial elections, which received the sanction of the lieutenant-governor and was forwarded to England strongly recommended to royal favor. But the committee of the Privy Council advised a veto and the measure failed. Subsequently, in 1743, an act limiting the life of the Assembly to seven years was finally passed.

Yet while these and kindred questions kept up a mild excitement, the general tone of the life was quiet, frugal, and simple. Smith says the New Yorkers of those days were " not so gay a people as their neighbors at Boston and several of the Southern Colonies," nor was there any great inequality in wealth, " as is common in Boston." How great the change now, not only relatively to the Hub, but actually, as well! We are now gay even to the extent of making jests about our serious New England neighbors, and inequality of wealth now exists such as is impossible until the right-hand column contains nine figures.

It is difficult to realize that out of the simplicity

of those days has grown the rushing, complicated life of to-day. It is almost impossible to believe that the city that then had annual revenues of £750 has produced Tammany Hall. The aspect of Carwitham's New York suggests no such skyline as to-day's, made up of towering office-buildings that dwarf to insignificance even the ambitious business structures of fifty years ago and overtop the spire of Trinity itself. Not growth but transformation has produced the twentieth-century New York. Carwitham drew for us only the chrysalis.

NEW YORK IN 1801

THE picture presented to us shows little with which we are familiar on either side of the river. The fishermen on the Long Island shore would now find small opportunity to pursue their vocation in front of the warehouses, amid the puffing tugs and steamers, and beneath the lofty bridge which occupy the then vacant space, while their vision would be surprised by the equally impressive towering buildings and massive wharves which have replaced the old structures of New York. Even the few church spires which then formed such prominent features of the landscape, and still remain in the lower part of the city, are so dwarfed by their surroundings as to be barely discernible. But at that time these were so con-

spicuous as to be the first objects to attract our attention. First, and most obvious to the sight, is Trinity Church at the head of Wall Street, its tall steeple dominating all the others, being on the building erected in 1788 to replace the one destroyed by fire during the Revolution, to be, in its turn, taken down to make room for the present stately edifice consecrated in May, 1846. The spire next on the right I imagine to belong to the Presbyterian Church in Wall Street, near Broadway, which was built in 1719, and enlarged in 1748. Rebuilt on a greater scale in 1810, it was destroyed by fire in 1834, restored the following year, and occupied until 1844, when it was taken down, the congregation having acquired a new site on Fifth Avenue, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets, which it still occupies. Immediately to the north of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church stood the Scotch Covenanters Church, on the south side of Cedar Street, and its steeple is probably the northerly one of the three clustered together, but the latter may be that of the Middle Dutch Church on Nassau and Cedar streets, on the ground now occupied by the building of The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. Next, to the right, appears the spire of the North Dutch Church, completed and opened for public worship on May 25, 1769,

a fine stone building measuring one hundred by seventy feet, on the corner of William and Fulton streets. Almost up to this time the services in the Dutch Reformed churches had been held in the mother tongue, but the increasing use of the English language had become so marked, especially among the younger people, that it became necessary to make a change, and in 1764 English was used in the Middle Church, to the great wrath of the elderly conservatives. Dutch, however, continued the language in the South or Garden Street Church until 1803.

Passing on to the right, the next tall spire is that of St. Paul's Church, erected in 1766, where, during the days of the English occupation of the city, Major André, Lord Howe, and Sir Guy Carleton attended the services, and with them the English midshipman who afterward became William IV. Immediately after his inauguration as first President of the United States, Washington, together with all the civil and military dignitaries who had graced the occasion, repaired thither for public worship, and during his residence in the city he retained a pew there, and constantly attended the services. It has frequently since been the scene of stately ceremonies, not the least imposing of which were the funeral services held under the auspices of the Sons of the Revolution in honor

of the late President McKinley, on the 18th of September, 1901.

The eye next rests upon the Brick Church then standing at the corner of Beekman and Nassau streets, upon ground which is now partly occupied by the building of the New York *Times,* and which was built in 1768 in the fields, and quite out of town. During the Revolution it was used as a hospital, but restored to ecclesiastical purposes thereafter, and continued as a place of worship until 1854, when the congregation removed to their present building at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street. It remained for years a branch of the Presbyterian Church in Wall Street, and the formal separation and its erection to the dignity of an independent church did not occur until 1809.

Last on our list towers the spire of St. George's Church on the Chapel Hill, at the corner of Beekman and Cliff streets, built in 1748 as a chapel of Trinity Church, and made an independent organization in 1809. In 1846, Mr. Peter G. Stuyvesant gave the church some lots of ground on Rutherford Place and Sixteenth Street, sufficient for a new church and rectory, and the parish erected buildings on that site which it still occupies.

This brief review of the church steeples shown

in our picture makes it clear that our fathers did not lack opportunities for religious instruction and worship, and justifies the remark of Mr. Felix Oldboy when he terms the New York of that day "the paradise of churches."

Having considered the ecclesiastical buildings with sufficient fullness, we may properly turn our attention to the more worldly features of the landscape, but I cannot attempt with any confidence to identify the other buildings shown. I am inclined to think that the high roof, to the right of Trinity and the two other steeples, covers the new City, afterward Federal, Hall, which stood on the north side of Wall Street, opposite Broad Street extending across what is now Nassau Street, but I do not venture to speak with certainty. Fraunce's Tavern, the City Hotel, the Tontine Building, the Golden Hill Inn, and many other landmarks of the old city, are, doubtless, there, but cannot be recognized. South Street had not then been reclaimed from the river, and Water Street was the city's front on the east side—along it was extended the shipping of the port, as the North River with its width and direct continuation of the bay was thought to afford only an unsafe and hazardous anchorage. Along the shore, from the Battery to Peck Slip, the ships lay at the wharves, or at anchor in the river, and

above were the shipyards—then scenes of busy industry. Here and there were receiving docks, as at Coenties Slip, Wall Street, and Maiden Lane, which were afterward filled up to make the broad spaces which are now found at the foot of those streets. The Fly Market, so called, a corruption from V'lei or Valley, from a stream which ran through Maiden Lane, the favorite location for the laundry work of our mothers, consisted of three market houses on that street extending from Pearl Street to the river, and from the slip connected with it a ferry ran to Brooklyn.

Before passing to the consideration of the general condition of the city at that time, our engraver deserves a moment's attention. "Engraving," says General James Grant Wilson in his "Memorial History of the City of New York" (Vol. IV, p. 357), "did not antedate sculpture in its artistic and technical development, although a number of engravers, most of them foreigners, began to practise their calling in this city in the last decade of the Eighteenth Century," and among the names he mentions as prominent in the art at that time is that of William Rollinson, by whom the engraving before us was made. The artist who prepared the drawing, John Wood, has not handed down his fame to posterity in any

other work than this, so far as I can ascertain. The plate is most accurately and artistically engraved, and will bear the closest examination under the most powerful glasses.

The city of our homes and our love arose from the destruction of the Revolutionary period like a phenix from its ashes. With her population scattered, her commerce destroyed, most of her buildings burned, ruin and desolation on every hand, she went to work with undaunted courage, unrivaled energy, and far-seeing sagacity, immediately upon the withdrawal of the British troops in 1783, to rebuild the Metropolis of the West. The fact that she became the seat of the new government was unquestionably a strong factor in her favor, and in 1801 she had already acquired a population of between fifty and sixty thousand. An estimate of the funds required for the support of the city's institutions for the year 1800, which has been preserved by General Wilson, gives us a good idea of the responsibilities the city authorities of those days had to bear, and forms a marvelous contrast to the budget of the present city. For the almshouse the sum of thirty thousand dollars was needed, an amount which seems disproportionately large, and which may have been in some degree attributable to the losses incurred in the Revolution by those who were too old

or too helpless to restore their fortunes. For the bridewell, or workhouse, five thousand dollars was required, and for the support of the prisoners three thousand dollars was appropriated. In view of the cost of our present police system, the maintenance of the watch for twenty-five thousand dollars seems idyllic, as does an appropriation of five thousand dollars for streets. To this last must be added other items which seem properly to belong to the same subject, such as lamps to cost fifteen thousand dollars for being kept in order and lighted on nights when there was no "light moon," and wells and pumps, for fire and domestic purposes, for which twenty-five thousand dollars were needed. The Manhattan Company, which had been chartered the year before, had already gone into the banking business under its charter, but had done very little in the line of its ostensible purpose of supplying the city with pure water. For roads about the city seventy-five hundred dollars were appropriated. But even in those days, which so many people who know little about them consider purer and better than these so far as politics and politicians are concerned, our predecessors showed their appreciation of the advantages to be derived from the useful application of money by making appropriations for "contingencies" of twenty-nine

thousand four hundred and fifty dollars, and for "city contingencies" of seventy-five hundred dollars, moneys doubtless intended to be applied where they would do the most good, as the contingencies might arise.

The city then occupied only the lower end of the island. The Battery was the favorite promenade. Many of the prominent merchants lived along State Street, and in Pearl Street, over their stores. The banks and financial institutions were in Wall Street, where also resided many of our ancestors, and their wives went shopping in William Street.

The only theater was the one on Park Row, between Ann and Beekman streets, called the Park Theater, which was opened in 1798, and there appear to have been no other public amusements. There was much social life, but considering the proportion of the number of churches to the population, these must have afforded the principal opportunities for social gatherings. I have enumerated those conspicuous by their steeples, but there were many others, such as the Garden Street (or Exchange Place) Church, Grace Church on the corner of Rector Street and Broadway, where the Empire Building now towers, the French Church in Pine Street, Christ Church in Ann Street, and St. Peter's in Bar-

clay Street, built in 1786, the home of the oldest Roman Catholic congregation in the city.

I can find no words to conclude this brief sketch better or more appropriate than those used by the President of the United States in his "New York," pp. 166, 167. Says Mr. Roosevelt, speaking of this period very characteristically: "The divisions between the upper, lower, and middle classes were sharply marked. The old families formed a rather exclusive circle, and among the large land-owners still claimed the lead, though the rich merchants, who were of similar ancestry, much outnumbered them, and stood practically on the same plane. But the days of this social and political aristocracy were numbered. They lost their political power first. . . . The fall of this class, as a class, was not to be regretted, for its individual members did not share the general fate, unless they themselves deserved to fall. The descendant of any old family who was worth his salt still had as fair a chance as any one else to make his way in the world of politics, of business, or of literature; and, according to our code and standard, the man who asks more is a craven."