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"REFORM!"

1863



A HISTORY OF THE
NEW YORK RIOT
OF 1871.

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CIVIL RIGHTS.

THE HIBERNIAN RIOT

AND THE

“INSURRECTION OF THE CAPITALISTS.”

A HISTORY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN NEW YORK,
IN THE MIDSUMMER OF 1871.

WITH NUMEROUS PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS,

A CARTOON BY THOMAS NAST,

AND

A N A P P E N D I X ,

INCLUDING

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, SKETCHES OF PROMINENT TAMMANY
LEADERS, “THE SECRET ACCOUNTS,”

AS PUBLISHED BY THE TIMES, ETC., ETC.,

WITH MUCH NEW AND ORIGINAL MATTER.

NEW YORK:
BAKER & GODWIN, PRINTERS,
PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE.

1871.

CIVIL RIGHTS

THE HIBERNIAN RIOT

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHAOS

AND OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE

THEATRE

ON THE 17TH OF MARCH 1842

BY THOMAS WATSON

LONDON

PRINTED BY W. CLAY AND COMPANY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE

WITH NOTES NEW AND ORIGINAL MATTER

NEW YORK

WALKER & GODWIN, PRINTERS

1842

1842

27 SEP 88

THE following pages have been prepared with the view of furnishing a record in convenient form of the prevailing sentiment of the good citizens of New York, in 1871, upon the subject of Civil Rights, as illustrated by their unanimous and imperative demand, that, the entire military and civil force should be employed for the protection of the Orangemen in parading; and by their equally vehement demand for the long-withheld statement of the financial condition of the City Government. That there should be any relation whatever between the Hibernian Riot and the so-called "insurrection of the capitalists," will be a matter of surprise to any person who has not carefully studied the events of the Summer; and it is hoped that the complete and authentic information given herein will leave no doubt upon the subject.

[The illustrations of Riot scenes herein have been copied, by permission, from the admirable drawings of *Frank Leslie*. The cartoon by the distinguished artist Thomas Nast, was prepared expressly for this work. Mr. Nast does double duty against the rioters and corruptionists in New York; for, while producing by his pencil effects among the people, unsurpassed by those of any leader-writer, he also holds himself in readiness, at all times, to answer the calls made upon him as a member of the Seventh Regiment, in the ranks of which he marched on the day of the Riot.]

New York, August, 1871.

Sept. 88. See
6.38

THE BIBLE

The following pages have been prepared with the view of furnishing a complete and accurate translation of the Hebrew text of the Bible, as it is now generally received, and as it is found in the best editions of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Latin Bible. The text is given in the original Hebrew, with the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, and the Latin Bible. The text is given in the original Hebrew, with the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, and the Latin Bible.

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THE HIBERNIAN RIOT.

ON the 12th day of July, 1870, certain citizens, residing in New York, indulged in a picnic at Elm Park. They included nearly equal numbers of men, women, and children—husbands, wives, and little ones. They reached the picnic grounds in a quiet way, without any procession, and had passed the day in innocent and peaceable enjoyment; but when it became known to the Irish herding in the neighborhood of the Park, that the gathering was made up of “Orangemen,” there followed an immense excitement among the Celtic population, more especially noticeable among the laborers in the employment of the city, who, at the time were working, or rather pretending to work, on one of the new Boulevards then constructing. The result was, that late in the day, a most brutal and indiscriminate attack was made upon the Orangemen, by the Irish laborers alluded to, in which men unarmed, and helpless women, and even infants were assailed with demoniac violence. It must be especially observed that these rioters were really hirelings of Tammany Hall, and lived off the industry of tax-payers of the city. While the riot was in progress, it was difficult to ascertain whether the police present were not supporting the rioters. The end was, that two of the Orangemen were killed, and a number were wounded, among these latter being women and infant children.

In the accomplishment of this direful result, the same heathen barbarism which attended the death of Capt. O'Brien, in the “Draft Riots,” cropped out. Every sentiment of humanity was outraged. It would seem as if the perpetrators were simply savages, inspired by the single insane idea of shedding blood. To these great wrongs the judicial authorities of the city afforded no redress. The murderers, who even probably not only known to the authorities, but whose names were on the pay-rolls of the city, *were never arrested*, and to this day, no notice has been officially taken of this most unchristian outrage.

On the approach of the 12th of July, 1871, the horrid scenes and wicked results of the riot alluded to were recalled by our citizens, and soon the excitement became intense, as the announcement was made through the press, that the Orangemen not only intended to have their annual picnic, but intended to march to their camping ground in proces-

sion, accompanied by their wives and children, wearing the insignia of their "lodges," or bearing aloft their banners. To every class of our cosmopolitan population, this announcement gave only the surprise, that the Irish Catholics who were so demonstrative on "St. Patrick's day," and the occasion of "Fenian celebrations," and the reception of "the pardoned Irish convicts from British prisons," should take the matter in such serious and anti-American spirit; but the feeling among our well-disposed and law-abiding citizens reached a climax of interest, as developments were made, that the Hibernians had decided that the Orangemen should not appear, and that this threat was to be carried out by men who had the temerity to call preliminary meetings, by glaring advertisements in the papers, and by inflammatory appeals to the lowest portion of a brutalized and fanatical mob. The chief men in this illegal agitation being well-known Tammany politicians, the most conspicuous for evil, being one Edward L. Carey, a port-warden of the city, drawing from the State \$7,500 per annum, for his pretended services, under his appointment from Governor Hoffman.

On pretence of having target excursions, the Hibernian societies held their meetings, openly advertised for volunteers, and announced that arms would be furnished. The cheaper class of gun-shops were depleted of every sort of deadly weapon, and in the vicinity of these Hibernian places of meeting could be seen, at mid-day, men drunk with vile whisky brandishing their muskets and knives, and swearing vengeance upon the Protestants who dared to unfurl their banners in the city of New York. All this characteristic conduct on the part of these men, disgraceful alike to the race they represented, the religion they professed, and the country that gave them a hospitable home, culminated with the "orders" that the different divisions of the Hibernians, fully armed, meet on the 12th of July to engage nominally in a grand target excursion, but really to put down the Orange procession.

To Mayor Hall, as chief magistrate, public opinion turned, with the full expectation that he would issue a proclamation commanding that all law-abiding citizens should have nothing to do with breaking the peace, and, at the same time, declaring the great American principle of government, that liberty was, by law, accorded to all citizens in the enjoyment of any civil or religious rights, and that neither political, nor especially religious influences, should interfere. But no proclamation was issued, and the suspicion was aroused that none would be. In the meantime, the preparations were going on, both on the Orange side and on that of their Catholic opponents, of a very formidable character. It was said

that the Catholic Irishmen had taken measures for the most bitter opposition to any procession taking place, and that they were bound to stop it by any means in their power. It was even said that about 10,000 Catholics were arming in this city, and would be out on the 12th, with the express purpose of stopping the other side from parading. On the Orange side, the preparations were of a no less positive character, and it was stated that some 5,000 would be out fully equipped to defend themselves against any attack which may be made upon them. Determined as both these opposing elements were, it was certain that if they did meet, a bloody riot in the streets of our city would be the result. By a general order of Superintendent Kelso, the entire force had been ordered on duty for the 12th, and specially to protect the Orangemen. It was even said that some regiments of the militia would be in readiness to give help, if necessary.

The Orangemen seemed more quiet than their opponents, but no less determined. They held that if the Irish paraded on St. Patrick's day, they had a perfect right to parade on any other day. But between right and policy, there seemed to be an abyss which possibly and probably was to be filled with human blood.

At the meeting of the Conventions of Irish Societies, the special business was to consider what action would be taken in the event of the Orangemen celebrating the 12th of July by a parade and picnic. None were admitted except delegates. At and around the doors, large crowds collected, and warmly discussed the question of Orange celebrations being allowed in New York by the authorities, and also the duty of liberal Irishmen in such an event.

One delegate, it was understood, made a motion at a meeting to the effect that a committee be appointed to wait on the Mayor, to request him to issue a proclamation prohibiting the Orangemen turning out, and if he did not do so, then the societies would take the matter in hand, and settle it at once and forever by cutting down every Orangeman in the procession, and to be found in the city with an emblem of Orangeism about him. The delegate also suggested that, in case the Mayor should not issue the proclamation, the party in power should lose the Irish Catholic vote.

On Saturday, the 8th, the agitation in the city became so alarming, at the demonstration of the Irish Catholics against the Orangemen, that certain papers, on the following day, contained a request from Archbishop McCloskey, that the clergy under his authority would speak of the coming parade at each mass, and advise their congregations to avoid

any overt act. This appeal had, apparently, a directly opposite effect from the one intended, for the Bishop spoke of the Orangemen as "violating the law," a cruel assumption that placed the Orangemen before the Bishop's blind adherents as really unworthy of protection; and consequently, on the 10th of July, there was an increasing excitement among the Irish. Their Hibernian halls were more than ever crowded to excess, and the streets in front of them were blockaded by the lowest "roughs," desperadoes, and thieves. The public mind became agitated in its very depths, and the "people," for the moment, abandoned their business pursuits, and joined with the patriotic editors in filling the papers with intelligent appeals. Even the idea of the proposed interference of Bishop McClosky was resented as follows:

"An appeal has been made to the 'Catholic clergy in this city to sedulously employ the opportunity afforded next Sunday of warning their congregations against interfering with the procession of the Orangemen, which is appointed to take place on the 12th of July.' As a New-Yorker, I sincerely hope our city will not be subjected to the humiliation of any such interference on the part of the Catholic clergy as here suggested. The Orangemen are a quiet and respectable portion of our adopted citizens, and have as good a right to celebrate the 12th of July in their own way, and without molestation, as the Catholic Irish have to celebrate the 17th of March. Neither are native citizens, and to transplant their national animosities to the land that tolerates them, solely as a matter of courtesy and not as a matter of right, is a very poor equivalent for the hospitality they enjoy. Pusillanimous, indeed, have we become if, for the preservation of peace and order in our midst, we are compelled, 'with bated breath and imposing humbleness,' to solicit the interference of the Catholic clergy, through whom the gracious permission of the Irish is sought to be obtained. Rather than be so disgraced, let the rabble unroof the city. I do not know how far our Mayor may be equal to an emergency of that kind, though I do remember his pandering to the disciples of St. Patrick, like 'Hector, Protector, dressed up in green,' and I therefore commend to his thoughtful consideration the noble words which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of Volusius:

'A people,
Who cannot find in their own proper force
Their own protection, are not worth the saving.'

—[Cor. *N. Y. Times*, July 8.

“There is no use (writes another) in arguing the question of the parade to its finer points. Let the bloody-minded interfere and we must scour them out. I stop here to invoke the blessing of God upon the Christ-like and beautiful spirit of the Catholic clergy; but the ignorant and bloody bigots of a turbulent class need now what they must get sooner or later. All eyes in America are turned toward New York. The 12th of July will prove whether or not Americans are emasculated. That Orange parade should be protected under forms of law if it takes the available Executive force of the State, or reaches out for the Federal force and deluges New York city with blood. This as a mere question of American honor. But here is my point: I am a young single man. I have no one to hold me back. I have fought in twelve battles, and have America on the brain. I deprecate any breach of the peace; but, if those disturbers of our seaboard cities, these persons who have perjured themselves when naturalized in swearing to ‘renounce all allegiance to any foreign prince, potentate or power,’ and now unconstitutionally hold American offices while acknowledging the ‘potentate’ and ‘power’ of the Vatican, these persons who head the lists of our police courts, houses of correction, jails, penitentiaries, gibbets and asylums, alms-houses and hospitals, causing fifty per cent. of our municipal taxes—if these persons strike the first blow, I shall go for—not one of them—but for the neck of the *nearest native American demagogue politician* who has had a hand in pampering and fostering those elements into political influence, and who, having the power to protect the peace, shall fail so to do.”—[Cor. N. Y. Times, July 11.

“The public mind (said another) is agitated over the expected procession of the Orange societies on the 12th. Why? One section of the public is moved according to its own degraded instincts—that is, the ignorant Irish Roman Catholic multitude, whose only conception of their relations to men of another faith is, that they should knock them on the head. Another section of the public is alarmed according to its selfish fears—that is, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, who, from the Pope down through all their obsequious ranks have taught, that Protestants have no rights of conscience whatever, and so are responsible for the disgraceful threats of their more ignorant disciples. As the aim of this hierarchy is to intrench their alien organization in American public opinion, they are naturally alarmed at seeing their principles in respect to religious liberty prematurely carried out on the 12th.

“But there is another section of the public watching this affair with an emotion that needs only an open display of this impudent intolerance to be kindled into flame—that is, the great, long-suffering body of American citizens, who, if we mistake not, have silently registered their oath in heaven that when the occasion comes they will maintain our religious liberties with their blood. This is plain and it is exactly what the case demands. We would insult no man for his religious faith: rather would we honor him for keeping to it. But let us now declare, in the face of all men, that the liberties and privileges of Protestants shall not be abridged because they are Protestants, whether organized as Orangemen or otherwise. And these liberties we will maintain, whenever it shall become necessary, with our right arms. Americans! when Protestant Irishmen are prohibited from marching in our streets by a Roman Catholic mob, then be sure you and I, and all of us will fall down and bloody treason flourish over us. If the city authorities take no adequate measures to prevent an attack upon Protestant Irish brothers, then let them call for 5,000 American Protestants to march with them at the tap of their drum.”

Late on Monday night, when the busy press was about closing up its multifarious labors, there was issued, from the police headquarters, an “order,” signed by Superintendent J. J. Kelso, and followed by a similarly worded document from Mayor Hall, addressed to the police, commanding that the proposed Orange procession be suppressed.

The rumor that this had been done, was circulated before midnight at the hotels and theatres, and caused feelings of indignation and alarm, even among those for whose benefit it had been promulgated. The astonishment among citizens, raised from childhood under our free institutions, was most profound, and they would not, at first, believe such political insanity was possible. The morning of the 11th of July came, and, with the exception of one daily paper, the publication of the order was accompanied by editorials expressing the most unqualified condemnation of the proceeding. No such uprising of patriotic sentiment in this country, had ever been developed before living men, except when the fearful announcement came that the rebels of Charleston had dared to fire on Fort Sumter.

“There was a time,” said the *Post*, “in this city, when the authorities ordered an anti-slavery meeting to be dispersed, on the same ground which Mayor Hall and his superintendent of police take now to justify

their prohibition of the Orange procession. It would irritate their opponents; these could not control their tempers, and—being lawless ruffians—would attack the anti-slavery men; therefore, the latter must not meet together. There was a time when Union men, peaceably meeting in some parts of our country, were dispersed on the same plea. And the men who now, ruling this city, or misruling it rather, forbid the Orange procession, in these days justified those other concessions to the demands of the mob. * * * * * It ought to be remembered, in justice to the Roman Catholic priests in this city, that they did not, on this occasion, fail in their duty to the cause of order. * * * The press, too, with one or two exceptions, did its duty. But the Tammany Ring, which has the city in its clutches, reckless, unscrupulous, shameless, without regard to the welfare of the city, and with a cynical contempt for law and order, have taken the part of the mob.”

“The people of New York,” said the *Commercial Advertiser*, “feel a sense of humiliation which they little thought those to whom authority and power are entrusted would have brought upon them. Once before the mob spirit, in one of its fiercest and most alarming demonstrations, has been vigorously repressed, and the authority and majesty of law have been vindicated. Now, in presence of a threatened disturbance, the Mayor and the police can reach no better conclusion than to offer a deliberate surrender, and to refuse to the Orangemen the privileges so freely accorded to all other organizations. They have quailed before the menaces of a secret force which it was their duty to drag to the light and to punish for any infraction of the law. If an order or a proclamation was issued, it should have been “packed” with vigor. It should have sounded forth the terrors of the law in terms not to be mistaken. It should have shown no timidity in the face of lawlessness, and no disposition to shrink from duty, no matter what sacrifices were involved in its full performance. * * * Now all is yielded, and a few hundred or a few thousand lawlessly-disposed men triumph in their mastery of the law. It is a sad scene for the great metropolis, and one that those concerned in arranging will be heartily ashamed of. Much future trouble will be traced directly to the truckling surrender now made to the fell spirit, which has heretofore been laid only by the severest application of force.”

“There will be but one opinion,” said the *Evening Mail*, “among the law-abiding citizens of New York as to the order of our Chief of Police

forbidding the Orange parade to-morrow. As to the propriety of the proposed parade itself there were different views, although we presume that a majority of our citizens regretted any such intrusion of Old World feuds upon our soil. But to forbid a parade under duress from the same elements that eight years ago filled our streets with gangs of cowardly and cruel rioters, is to make a surrender that will cause even strong men to weep tears of rage, and good men to use the language of our 'roughs.' * * * * *

It is terribly unfortunate that we are again brought face to face with some of the more dangerous elements of our city, and that too in an attitude encouraging to them and disheartening to good men. There is but one way in which these elements ought to be confronted. What that way is, ask any decent-looking man you may meet on the street and the answer will come out, hot and strong. The supremacy of the law may yet be vindicated in our streets at far greater risk than would have attended its assertion to-morrow. We warn those who have this time succeeded in adjourning that day of trial that the delay will be of no advantage to them."

"When Hibernian and other Irish Catholic Societies," said the *Rochester Express*, "threaten riot and bloodshed, all the power of the civil and military authorities should, if necessary, be employed to preserve the peace and protect peaceable citizens in the exercise of their rights. If the city police is not strong enough, the State militia must be called out, and if that fails, the military power of the General Government must be invoked. * * * Nothing should be done which would even look like a concession to the mob, howling at citizens, and threatening their molestation when engaged in a peaceful celebration. * * * No issue could be more plainly made. For once it has become the duty for the Orangemen's Societies to do the foolishness which they had contemplated, as the only vindication of law and order, and for the same reason it becomes the duty of all good citizens of every party and religious belief to sustain popular rights by sustaining the Orangemen's party."

The *Boston Journal*, with equal earnestness, in condemning Mayor Hall's conduct, adds:—"As a matter of fact, too, the Orangemen have the greatest claim upon our laws for protection, for they have always respected them the most fully. Take them all in all, they are peaceable, respectable and valuable citizens. They do not make a business of

drunkenness, rowdyism and crime. They have not kept the country in a turmoil for years past by Fenian demonstrations and Canadian farm-yard raids. They have not proved the willing tools of the political disorganizers of the nation, or exerted themselves to subvert the very Government that protected them. They did not burn and murder innocent colored people in 1863, nor have they ever been the chief candidates for matriculatory honors at our reformatories, jails and penitentiaries. If they desire to celebrate any little family affair, in a legitimate way of their own, they, the Orangemen, have a perfect right to do so, and must be protected in that right."

The New York *Tribune* expressed the general feeling, as follows:—
 "A struggle for civil rights has suddenly grown out of the attempt of our city authorities to repress the Orangemen. The excitement of war times is the only parallel to the storm of indignation aroused in the community, by the denial to a small band of Irish Protestants of the right to make a public demonstration, with such banners and music as may please them, in a time of profound peace. Every instinct of Americans, habituated to a freedom often approaching license, is aroused in protest against the proposed abridgment of the rights of a portion of our citizens, and the attitude of the civil authorities, is universally declared to be that of base surrender to the mob, which has for two weeks been in existence, holding secret meetings, equipping itself with arms, listening to inflammatory speeches, and defiantly threatening to carry out its murderous purposes. The priesthood has pleaded for peace, but confessed that the spirit of violence was breaking over the bounds of Church influence. Good citizens, taught by the exigencies of the war, expected to see ample preparations made for promptly crushing the mob element which has more than once disgraced this metropolis. To their amazement, however, they found, with the dawn of yesterday, that the chiefs of the City Government had hoisted the white flag. It seemed like the treacherous surrender of a powerful municipality into the hands of its enemies. The act could be interpreted in but one way—Tammany Hall, ruling the city by fraud, no longer dared to curb the rabble of its followers. The Orangemen, though otherwise debarring themselves from sympathy by needlessly perpetuating irritating traditions of feudal times, were immediately elevated to the dignity of victims of outrage upon civil rights, and an almost universal voice of condemnation spoke the sense of the community."

A volume of similar expressions of outraged public opinion might be collected, illustrating not only the patriotism, but the intelligence of the American Press. Of the cause of this shameful and everlastingly disgraceful conduct of the City authorities, the *New York Times* justly said,—“The City authorities find their masters too much for them. They dare not disobey the commands of the Irish Catholics. So it is now officially announced that the Orange procession is prohibited. In other words, it is settled as a rule that whenever Catholics object to a procession, that procession shall not be allowed to appear. * * *

The reason has always been plain, and it is now plainer than ever. The City authorities are afraid of their own supporters. They now officially proclaim that the City is absolutely in the hands of the Irish Catholics. They cannot even undertake to preserve the public peace when the Papists threaten to break it. It is for this that the city is taxed more heavily than at any period of our history—it is for this sort of Government that we are made to expend over \$50,000,000 a year. Two out of four of our City rulers are bigoted Roman Catholics, the men who prop up the City Government are Roman Catholics, and now it is decided that Protestants have only such rights as Catholics choose to accord to them. We suppose this will be submitted to, like every other abuse. We live in easy-going times. But the day will come when a great and free community will not always lie down meekly, to be ridden over by the men who burn down orphan asylums, and whose influence is fatal to every phase of civil or religious liberty. * * *

“The Orange procession would have excited comparatively little interest or attention if the Catholics had not taken up so outrageous an attitude in regard to it. That was the secret of all this excitement. What occasioned the disturbance was the fact that Catholics came out and said, ‘Protestants as a body shall not venture to show their heads in our streets. We cannot absolutely interdict the Protestant religion, but whenever a party of Protestants march in procession we will break their heads.’ This tone is all the more intolerable, considering the coolness with which the Catholics seize the City whenever they want it for their own purposes. Archbishop McCloskey spoke of the Orangemen ‘violating the law.’ But their procession would have been no more a violation of the law than the procession which takes place on St. Patrick’s Day, or on the numerous other days in the year when Catholics turn out with bands of music and flags. It is, however, all settled now. We are officially informed that we live under the rule of priests and rowdies. Protestants may be allowed to walk the streets in twos or

threes, but never let them dare to form in procession. If they do, the Catholics will either come down upon them and 'cut them to pieces,' or set the city authorities to disperse them."

The cowardly surrender of the City by the "Ring" authorities was the theme of universal execration. Everywhere it seemed the topic of absorbing interest. Men ordinarily indifferent to all agitation were overcome with indignation. There was no language sufficient to measure their profound disgust and horror at the amazing display of injustice contained in the Mayor's letter, and the general order of the Police Superintendent. The remarkable similarity of the two documents was a matter of simultaneous remark, and the opinion was generally expressed that even if Mr. Kelso did sign and issue the order upon his own responsibility, as he has alleged, the Mayor's hint and nod of command were not far in the background. The whirlwind of contempt and shame that swept the various thoroughfares and rendezvous of public opinion was not confined to anti-Tammany politicians alone. All the more decent and respectable classes were as a unit. The sturdiest of Democrats were fierce and bitter in their denunciations of those who had thus brought shame and ruin to the party. Strong men even shed tears and trembled with emotion, as they spoke of our humiliation. Many who had voted the straight Democratic ticket for scores of years solemnly declared that they would vote against the present dynasty until all its detestable rottenness shall be buried out of sight. Many of the police openly expressed their sorrow and shame for the disgraceful position in which the force was placed. Not a few of our most prominent and law-abiding citizens, in their flame of exasperation, were heard to declare excitedly in favor of lynching the vile creatures who had brought about this condition of affairs. Never was there such a violent spasm of public indignation felt in the Metropolis, and never will the scandalous event be forgotten, not even in the graves of its ill-famed originators. * * *

Superintendent Kelso was not only amazed, but crushed by the storm of public indignation which burst so suddenly and with such terrible force upon him. On the previous evening he had seemed to believe that he would be sustained by all those he called "law and order loving citizens," and that of all the journals, the *Times* alone would find fault with the surrender. When he found that every influential paper had joined with the *Times* in holding him up to public contempt and execration, he was amazed. That the newspapers but feebly portrayed the state of public feeling, he soon had overwhelming proofs. Early in the morning of the day these facts dawned upon him; a gentleman who was entirely

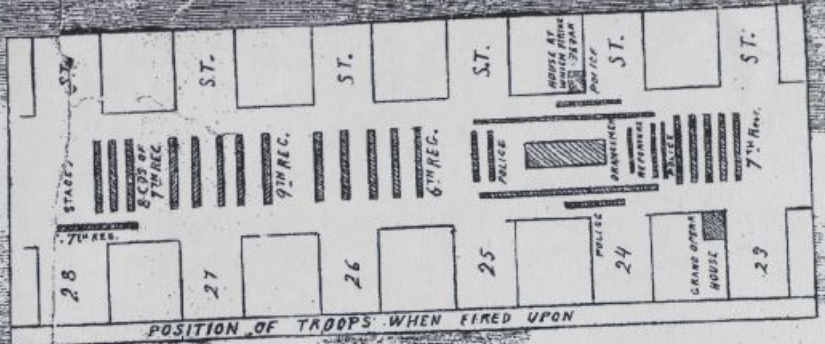
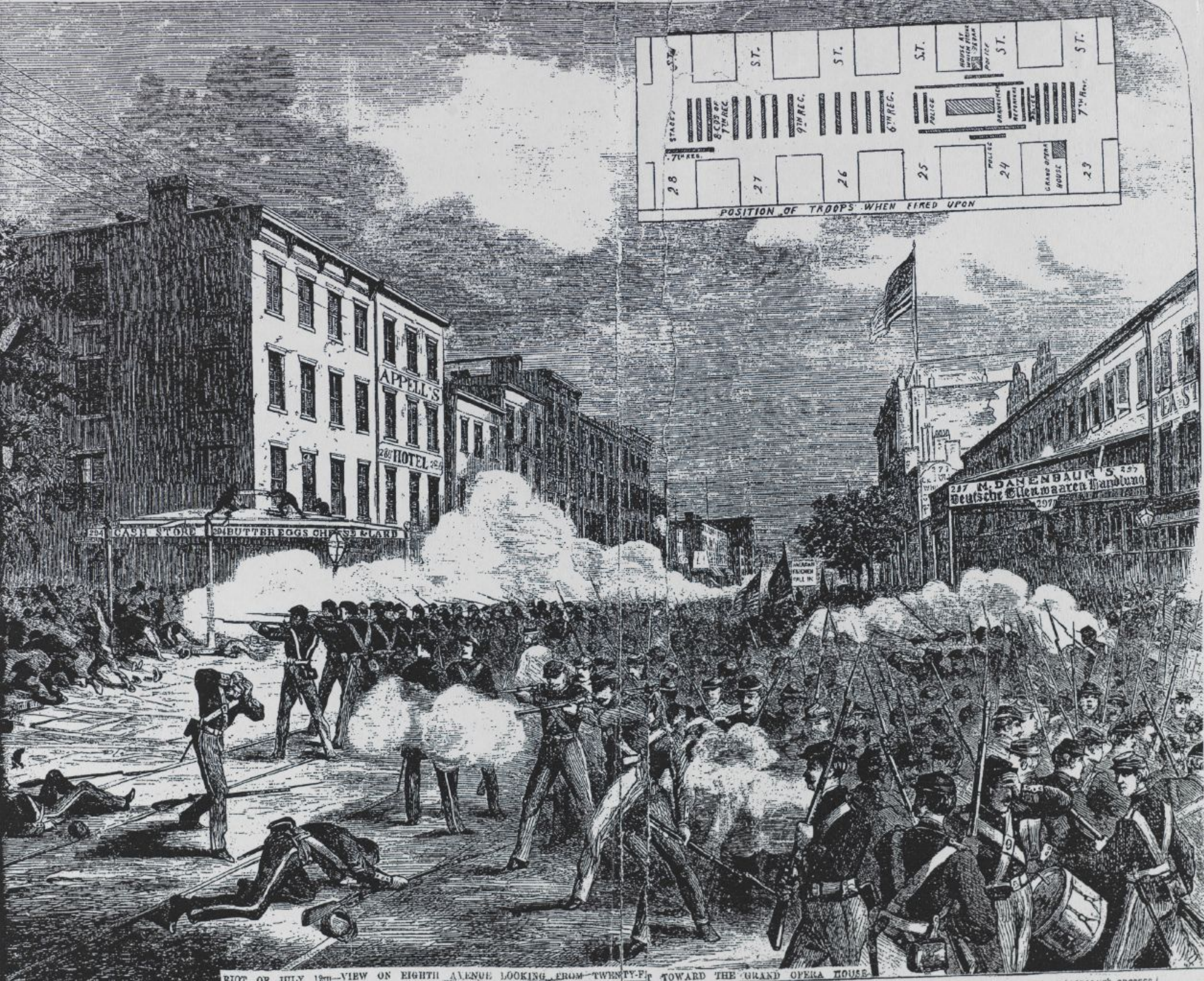
unknown to everybody in the Police Headquarters, and was therefore not a placeman, hurriedly entered the office of the Superintendent, and looking Mr. Kelso squarely in the eye, handed him a newspaper, and pointing to the odious order, asked, "Did you sign that, Sir?" Superintendent Kelso answered, "Yes, sir." "Then, sir," exclaimed the excited citizen, "you ought to be shot."

The Hibernians alone, of all the population of the city, were exultant; Mayor Hall and Chief Kelso were praised in every vile place and disgusting slum, from the Battery to "Mackerelville." The headquarters of the Irish rioters were at No. 42 Prince street. At 9 o'clock, the filthy room was crowded with human beings, many of the lowest type of physical degradation. "Thos. Kerrigan," who is said to be a \$5,000 per year Tammany Hall office-holder, called the mob to order. "Now, men," said he, "in consequence of the proclamation of Supt. Kelso, we have brought you together, in the hope of getting your sanction to the publication of a manifesto which shall set forth our thanks for, and the views expressed by, our city government." A scene of characteristic confusion, quarreling, and profanity followed, when "Edward L. Carey," Gov. Hoffman's Port-Warden, and by right, chief rioter of the Hibernians, made a characteristic speech, indorsing the peaceable, law-abiding character of the Irish! This man was followed by "Thos. Kerrigan," who assured his excitable hearers, that the action of Mayor Hall, through his superintendent, "*was the greatest concession ever given the Irish in any country.*" Go to your homes," he continued, "No Orangeman will dare to show his nose in the streets to-morrow."

While this deep pall of State and city disgrace was settling over the "Empire City," New Jersey, afflicted by the same disorganized elements of a discontented and turbulent Irish population, thanks to a democratic, but not a Tammany-Hall, Governor, did not succumb. Inspired by the recollections of the revolutionary struggles of his native State for liberty of thought and religious belief, he rose equal to the occasion, and gave to the world the following stirring Proclamation:

"The Constitution of the State of New Jersey enumerates, among other 'rights and privileges,' that 'the people have the right to freely assemble together.' It also proclaims that 'no person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.' It also makes the Governor of the State 'Commander-in-Chief of the military and naval forces of this State,' and under his oath of office makes it his duty 'to promote the peace and prosperity and main-

great anecdote!



RIOT OF JULY 18th—VIEW ON EIGHTH AVENUE LOOKING FROM TWENTY-FIFTH TOWARD THE GRAND OPERA HOUSE

tain the rights of the State.' Now, it having come to my knowledge that a body of inhabitants of this State, in conformity to a custom among them, and in consonance with the custom of other bodies or societies of inhabitants of this State, propose to celebrate what to them is deemed an anniversary day, and it having come to my knowledge that interference with this contemplated celebration may possibly take place, by reason of which serious disturbance of the peace of the Commonwealth would probably ensue; now, therefore, I, Theodore F. Randolph, Governor of the State of New Jersey, do hereby proclaim that both the letter and spirit of the Constitution of our State of New Jersey, as well as the long-established custom of our people to permit and protect all peaceful gatherings of the inhabitants of this State irrespective of religious or political creed, makes it the lawful right of any body of peaceful citizens to assemble together, and that right cannot be abridged or interfered with by any unauthorized body of men of any nationality, creed or religion, whatever the real or supposed provocation may seem to be; and I do, therefore, enjoin upon all good, law-abiding, and peaceful citizens of this our State of New Jersey, to assist in every way in preserving the peace, good order, and dignity of the same, not only by abstinence from provocation, but by acts of toleration, forbearance and true manliness; and I do hereby *warn all persons from other States*, who may seek by acts of provocation to interfere with the peaceable assembling of inhabitants of this State, that such offense against the peace and good order of this Commonwealth will be *promptly and rigorously punished by our authorities*. And I do further enjoin and command all legally constituted authorities of this State to fully protect all peaceful assemblages of our inhabitants, using every means at their command to enforce this proclamation, assuring all such properly constituted authorities that in the event of the *insufficiency of the ordinary local power, that the entire power of the State will, if necessary, be called into exercise* to compel, at any cost, respect for and obedience to our laws.

And I do further enjoin upon the members of the society especially proposing to assemble together to-morrow the exercise of the utmost patience, care, and discretion in the pursuance of their rights, bearing in mind that to a large portion of our fellow-citizens the peculiar occasion of their gathering is deemed an unnecessary revival of an ancient political and religious feud of no general interest to the great body of our American citizens, and that though they are sustained in their right to peacefully assemble together, they are by no means sustained, as I firmly

believe, by any large number of sincerely patriotic and Christian people in the expediency of the exercise of that right at this time.

Given at the Executive Chamber, in the city of Trenton, this 11th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1871, and of the independence of the United States of America the ninety-sixth.

THEO. F. RANDOLPH.

Attest : SAMUEL C. BROWN, Private Secretary.

It was this inspiring proclamation that broke the shameful silence of Gov. Hoffman. Standing upon a broader plane than the truckling Mayor, he felt that his aspiration and the hopes of his party for national recognition was gone, unless he came to the rescue. But his eleventh-hour proclamation, countermanding the order of Superintendent Kelso, and the Mayor's endorsement, was felt to be a political necessity, and not a prompt effort to secure equal rights. It seemed incredible that Gov. Hoffman could have been in New York on Monday, and with truthfulness commenced his proclamation on the next day, the 11th, with the assertion—

“*Having been only this day apprised, while at the Capitol, of the actual condition of things here (in New York) with reference to proposed processions to-morrow, and having, in the belief that my presence was needed, repaired hither immediately, I do make this proclamation, &c.*” The revocation, or death-bed repentance, was too late; it did not satisfy the people. At the same time, it occasioned the greatest confusion in the city. It found the military, and the police, with different ideas and different orders. It compromised his chief subordinates, and placed Mayor Hall and Superintendent Kelso in the most contemptible positions. The Orangemen who had yielded to the fiat of municipal orders were unprepared to make that display of strength which was consonant with their desires and ability.

The *Tribune* expressed the public sentiment under the head of *Change of Front*, saying: “The absence of principle and the open shamelessness which are the characteristics of our city government, for once serve a good purpose. If we could now be astonished at any act of the Directory which governs us, the news of this morning would fill the community with amazement. The Kelso Circular is withdrawn, and the Governor offers to use the entire power of the State to preserve the peace in case it is threatened by the riotous opponents of the Orangemen. This is a desperate though tardy effort on the part of Governor

Hoffman to save the Democratic party of the State, whose position has now assumed a national importance, from the consequences of the enormous blunder which sprang from the ignorance and recklessness of the City Hall Directory. As there is a positive comfort in a feeling of confidence toward the head of the State, we wish we could ascribe this action to the Governor's sense of right and of civic duty. But it is only too evident that it was forced upon him and the party he represents by the unexpected vehemence of the popular protest against the wretched truckling of the city authorities. Not only in the public press, which, with the sole exception of the hired tool of Tammany, denounced the surrender to the mob in dignified and fitting language, but also on the streets and in all places of public resort, there was but one voice of detestation of the craven betrayal of the very principle of government by the gang of unprincipled spoilsmen by whom we are misruled. It was rarely you could find any one so lost to all sense of manliness or national self-respect, as to speak in approval of the Kelso circular. By a singular freak of poetic justice, even the ruffians in whose behalf the order was issued expressed no gratitude for it. They growled at Mr. Hall for spoiling their day's fun. But all decent citizens felt that the fair name of the city had been stained by the bungling hands of that coarse cabal, which is so reckless toward the law, and so cowardly toward the mob. Later in the day, every cheek which had retained its capacity to blush was reddened with shame when the proclamation of the Democratic Governor of New Jersey appeared, in which he not only warns the evil doers of his own State of the sure punishment which will follow any attempt at the fulfillment of their riotous designs, but also takes occasion to inform our own rowdies of the reception which will await them, if the expected leisure of to-day should tempt them over the water. From the universal applause bestowed on that sensible and spirited paper, our own rulers may have gained some idea of the depth of public contempt into which they had fallen by their own subservience to the mob.

The proclamation of the Governor was the only way out of the untenable position the Democratic organization of the city had assumed. His action comes too late to save the party from that popular condemnation which always follows such criminal blunders. It is scarcely possible that the Orangemen, who had accepted the situation of force created by the Circular of Superintendent Kelso, can now so far modify their arrangements as to go on with their interrupted celebration. The very change of front, executed so suddenly in the face of critical circum-

stances, is a sufficiently clear evidence of a confusion of counsels, which is fatal to the discipline and success of a political party.

It is possible that an attempt may be made to load the whole fiasco upon Superintendent Kelso, and to send him out into the wilderness bending under the sins of the Ring. But no such paltry device can succeed with the people at large. Behind Kelso stands our Mayor, and no jugglery of signatures can prevent the recognition of that wonderful style where Donnybrook vies with the City Hall for adequate expression. Behind the Mayor is that trio of shifty adventurers who own and control him, and it is this final power which has inspired and guided His Honor's fatally facile pen. The city sufficiently understands this. In the honest and fresh indignation of yesterday, there were no words wasted on Kelso. Tammany was the source of all the shame and wrong. The country will readily learn this evident lesson. As long as we were only robbed of our money, and insulted by the open profligacy of our rulers, the interior seemed to care very little for it. But now that a grave offense has been committed against the very spirit of social order, a blow has been struck at the foundations of civil freedom, the whole country will recognize the peril we are in from this obligarchy of tricksters so weak as to quail before a handful of rowdies, and so ignorant and reckless as not to know or care when they are rudely touching a vital point of civil freedom."

The fatal morning of the 12th of July arrived. New York city in time of profound peace, wore the appearance of a place about to be stormed by a victorious enemy, when gathering his strength to make the final attack. And the cause of all this most disgraceful excitement, eventually to end in bloodshed and death, was a mob of brutalized foreigners who, transplanting their bigotry and their incapacity for self-government from the Old World, determined to renew their fight in the home of their adoption—proving for the thousandth time that they know nothing, and under their leaders learn nothing, and practice nothing, common to a liberty-loving citizen of the United States.

The cowardice of the leaders of Tammany, the hesitation and incompetency of its officials brought the terrible but natural fruits of sorrow and disgrace. The more than weak, the pusillanimous surrender of Mayor Hall to the mob, of course only encouraged it to more desperate resolution, for it was a thing to have been conquered by defiance; concession only flattered the hyra-headed monster and gave it strength. But after the fatal error of concession had been partially remedied, at the in-

dignant demand of an outraged public sentiment, mismanagement almost as stupid led to results as painful, though not so momentous as those threatened by the surrender.

Threatening demonstrations of the rioters early in the morning, revealed that the outraged cry of the people had not curbed them as completely as it frightened Tammany. Sullen groups gathered on the street corners in threatened districts or in the localities where the Irish reside in greatest numbers. Among these groups women were most conspicuous by the vehemence with which they denounced Orangemen, Police and Soldiers alike; and children of both sexes gathered about them, ignorant alike of their own danger and the desperate resolution of those about them. The men generally were gruff and silent, evidently angry that their opportunities for pillage had been wrested from them by the enforced action of the men whom they had made Mayor and Governor. Separate gangs of ruffians, six or eight in number, moved from street to street, eager alike for fight or pillage. At the several rendezvous of the Hibernians many bore rifles without being interfered with or even reproved by the police. In the upper part of the city the rioters began to move southward at an early hour, compelling all workmen on their route to desist and join with them. In one or two instances movements were made against the houses of men who had protected the Orangemen during the riots of last year, but as the rioters were without leadership they gradually dispersed before carrying their threats into execution. Attacks were made by the rioters on one or two armories where arms were known to be stored, but the resistance of a few determined policemen cowed the mob. The rioters were vicious and fierce enough for any purpose, but it was plain that they were without the organization they had boasted. Still their demonstrations were so threatening before 10 o'clock that the police were compelled to seize Hibernia Hall, and Gen. Shaler called for a regiment of troops from Brooklyn, where, as in Jersey City, all had been comparatively quiet.

While the mob was without direction at all, divided counsels almost wholly destroyed the effectiveness of the troops and police. There does not appear to have been perfect consonance of action between the Superintendent of Police and the Commander of the Militia, and to this fact will eventually be traced many of the blunders which have aided to make the riot most serious in its consequences. Both police and troops were eager to do their full duty.

About noon the fact became known that the Orangemen had resolved to parade, starting from their lodge in Eighth Avenue and Twenty-ninth

Street, and thither the rioters from all points of the city began to concentrate. Many marched in large bodies through the principal streets, undispersed. A large police force had previously been sent to protect the Orange Lodge, and these kept the rioters at a distance. Later in the day five regiments of troops marched to the same point, and by two o'clock the entire brigade and a large body of police had formed in Eighth Avenue, hemmed in at all the cross streets by an angry mob.

Shortly after 2 o'clock the Master of the Orange Lodge called it to order, preliminary to forming in procession in the street. A resolution was passed, that it was dangerous for the ladies present to take part in the public demonstration as originally intended, and they were requested to remove any lodge or other insignia calculated to provoke an assault, and proceed unostentatiously to their homes. An impressive appeal to the Supreme Being was then made by one of the members, asking aid and protection to those who were to risk martyrdom for the assertion of a principle.

Soon after the Orangemen made their appearance in the street, preparatory to taking their places in the line of march, the mob in Twenty-ninth street began hooting, and the police at once put them to flight. Subsequently Twenty-eighth street was cleared in the same way, the Police acting with great spirit. But the rioters soon returned to the places from which they had been driven, and prepared to renew their hooting, or to indulge in more violent demonstrations. A few shots were fired from houses in the avenue, before the procession moved, the Police in one instance returning the fire by a single shot, but nothing really serious occurred until the head of the line had reached Twenty-third street, and the Orangemen were opposite Twenty-fourth street. Here they were fired upon from a tenement house on the corner of Twenty-fourth street. But not more than half a dozen shots were discharged in all, and none of them apparently took effect on troops or policemen. The 84th Regiment, however, immediately discharged their weapons at the house and at the crowd in the avenue and along the street. The members had previously loaded with ball cartridge in the open street, as if to intimidate the rioters, and the effect of their fire was murderous. At the same time the 9th and 6th Regiments in the rear of the Orangemen also began firing indiscriminately, sweeping Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, and Twenty-eighth streets, the extreme rear of the 9th firing a few shots up Eighth avenue, at Twenty-ninth street. The troops of the 6th, 9th, and 84th Regiments, were for a moment thrown into confusion, as usual after firing, but at command of the

officers, instantly fell into line and marched on, leaving the dead and wounded behind where they fell. The side streets, as might be expected, from Twenty-fifth to Twenty-eighth streets had been instantly cleared by all who were able to fly, the rioters abandoning their friends without the slightest compunction.

This ended the conflict. The wretches who had defied the law and created all this ruin, discovered that the authorities were in earnest, and their cowardly spirit quailed within them, making the hesitation and subservency of the Mayor and Superintendent Kelso doubly odious, as illustrating how easily a little firmness at the proper time, on their part, would have relieved the city of any riot whatever.

Numerous minor incidents of the day illustrate the desperate character of the mob. Although without organization or leadership the rioters were evidently prepared for fight, most of those arrested having concealed weapons. Had the line of troops been broken, or the police been forced from their positions, the most frightful butchery and pillage must have inevitably ensued. Only the activity of the police early in the day, at Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets, prevented the concentration of the mob before the appearance of the troops. It is probable that the volley of the militia saved the city from greater bloodshed at a later hour, when night would have lent courage, and time would have swelled the ranks of the mob.

The *Tribune's* report said:—"A gentleman who saw the firing from a house on the west side of Eighth avenue, just north of the Opera House, represents the mob on the block between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth streets, as particularly ferocious in character. The sidewalk was densely packed with the rioters, who hissed, hooted, and shouted their threats of defiance. This gentleman says the first shot which led to the general firing was not discharged from the house on the north-east corner of Twenty-fourth street, but from the sidewalk in front of it. The police were assailed at the same time on the south-east corner. The demonstration here was of such magnitude and ferocity that, in the opinion of the gentleman (an old member of the 7th Regiment), the 84th was justified in firing a volley, as only that course could have prevented the breaking up of the line. While he believes that the provocation of the first volley was ample, this gentleman does not attempt to explain or justify the conduct of the rest of the regiments in firing without orders and indiscriminately. Sergeant James M. Miller of the Sixteenth Precinct resides in the house from in front of which the firing

began, and says that at the time it was occupied only by three ladies, his wife, daughter, and a Mrs. Goodrich. The excitement yesterday in front of this house was so great, and threats of destroying it so frequent, that Sergeant Miller was compelled to detail officers to protect his property and family. Violence of this kind is greatly to be deprecated. In the excitement of the moment of firing it was not possible to know positively whence shots proceeded. Besides, the ruffianly rioters occupied the awnings and roofs of buildings in which peaceful citizens resided, and by their demonstrations brought innocent persons into jeopardy of life. This was probably the case at No. 265 Twenty-fourth street. About the time the firing occurred in Eighth avenue, three ruffians in Sixth avenue, meeting in front of Fairchild's Bazaar, between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth streets, a lady who wore orange-colored ribbons in her bonnet, at once attacked her, and tore her head-dress to fragments. She was frightened by this unexpected assault, and fled into one of the neighboring stores where she was protected.

"Soon after the procession had started a ferocious-looking woman rushed out from the side-walk, seized the regalia of one of the Orangemen, and attempted to pull them from his shoulders. A soldier warned her back with the butt of his musket, but the infuriated Amazon spit in his face, and with imprecations and shrieks of rage, reproached her countrymen for their cowardice. When the firing began, a dense mass of people were struggling toward the centre of the street, apparently desirous of breaking up the line of march. Many of the rioters were armed with revolvers, and a still larger number with bricks, clubs and stones. Several young ruffians were seen to throw paving stones at the procession. The first victim of the rioters was struck by a piece of coping of a house.

"Many of the rioters were seen to take deliberate aim at the Marshal of the Orangemen, who, being on horseback, was a very conspicuous mark for pistol shots and brickbats.

"Private O'Byrne of the 9th Regiment, while guarding the body of a comrade in the ranks, was approached by a stealthy ruffian, who attempted to assassinate him with a sword-cane. The blade penetrated the breast of O'Byrne's coat and glanced from his body.

"Charles Drake was transferring the body of a dead soldier of the 9th Regiment from the sidewalk to a grocer's wagon, when he was brutally attacked by several rowdies. An Irishman knocked over a rioter, who was climbing into the cart, and shouted to Mr. Drake to drive on. This was instantly done, and several of the mob were knocked over.



SCENE ON EIGHTH AVENUE AT THE CORNER OF TWENTY-FOURTH STREET.

“The final attack of the rioters was made on the police composing the rear guard between Fifth and Sixth avenues, but was vigorously repelled by an effective use of clubs.

“While the 9th Regiment were on duty, a gang of rioters broke into their armory in West Twenty-sixth street, and stole the private books and papers of the officers.

“There were countless brawls and arrests in the evening, especially in the vicinity of the struggle of the afternoon. A large crowd collected at Eighth avenue and Sixteenth street, early in the evening, and an officer who attempted to disperse the rowdies, was stabbed with a pocket-knife. A scuffle ensued, during which his club was wrested from him, and his life threatened, when a second officer appeared, and the ringleader was taken into custody. As the officers were proceeding to the Station House with their prisoner, a mob gathered behind them, and assaulted them with showers of stones, but the prisoner was retained in spite of the efforts of his turbulent friends.

“A most brutal assault was made during the evening near the News-boy’s Lodging House, in Park Place, upon W. J. Thorn, formerly a resident of Westbrook, Maine, and now residing at No. 45 Robinson street. Three miscreants whose brogue as well as their stealthy mode of attack, betrayed their nationality, assailed him with clubs, and knocked him into the gutter. His outcries attracted the attention of friends, and his dastardly assailants retired hastily.”

Night came at last, and the city after its day of turmoil exultant in bloodshed was quiet. The wails of the wounded only, were heard—and lamentations over the slain.

The number of rioters and citizens killed outright, or who died soon after, was 37; wounded, 67. Two militiamen were killed, and 24 wounded. Of the rioters 63 were arrested, at various points, being found in the act of committing or attempting violence, and having in their possession deadly weapons of various kinds. After two or three days, they were *all* released on bail to keep the peace for one year—the lightest sentence ever imposed under similar circumstances!

The Brooklyn *Eagle*, a Democratic paper, even while the smoke of the contest still hung over the bloody field, said: “The dead are taken to the Morgue, and the wounded lie in the Hospital. Fifty lives have been lost, and more than an equal number have been impaired by wounds. For a whole day a great city has been in excitement and convulsion. What is the *quid pro quo* for all this trouble and sacrifice? It is a large

price—where is the equivalent? Not in the bare fact that a ridiculous and spiteful commemoration has been had by a hundred men of an obscure skirmish in a foreign land two centuries ago; but in the incidental vindication of the supremacy of law, of the fidelity of ministers of religion to their vocation of peacemakers, of the trustworthiness of the police and military to their duty of preserving order, of the faithfulness of the Governor to his responsibility as chief magistrate, and, above all, of the unconquerable determination of the whole people to protect the persons and rights of any minority, however contemptible in numbers and association, against mob violence. These are valuable contributions to our faith in each other as members of a common community. Before last Sunday, men might have questioned, and many did question, whether this cosmopolitan metropolitan community was a unit in support of law and order; whether there were not such class hatreds between us as would paralyze the hand of the government, from Mayor down to police patrolman; whether there was not so violent an antipathy between different nationalities and religions among us, that we could no longer organize our political parties, or conduct our public affairs, except by dividing into positively hostile camps."

The morning of the 13th dawned upon the city; there was evident regret among the law-abiding citizens that innocent parties had been stricken down with the guilty; but all felt relieved—there was some assurance, at least, that the mob was not master.

Commenting on the result, the *Herald* said: "The city of New York, in the maintenance of the Constitutional rights of the people, and of liberty and law, stands vindicated before the country and the world. The public indignation against the attempted surrender of the city to the mob was changed to public congratulations with the publication of the Governor's announcement that to the extent of the military forces and defensive resources at his command, the Orange societies, if necessary, would be protected in their parade. Best of all, when put to the test upon this proclamation, in behalf of the law and of the great principle of equal rights, the Governor and the city authorities, proved themselves at all points equal to the emergency and to all possible combinations of riotous men though ten times in numbers greater than the combinations routed and dispersed. The crowning result is the triumph of liberty and law; and, all things considered, so great a victory has seldom been so cheaply purchased. How remarkable have been the transitions of the public feeling from day to day since Monday last! * * *

But on Tuesday, with the promulgation of Order No. 57 from police

headquarters, and the indignant comments of the public press thereon, a cloud of disgrace cast its dark shadow over our fair metropolis, and made gloomy the countenance of every honest man. Wednesday came upon us—a beautiful summer day—yet morally lurid and threatening from the ominous gatherings and movements of reckless desperadoes bent upon mischief, while, at the same time, every honest face had brightened from the reading of the Governor's manly proclamation. On Thursday morning—the battle having been fought and won for equal rights, the Constitution, liberty, and law—the brightness of the unclouded firmament was fully reflected in the honest faces of our fellow-citizens of all nationalities and creeds, races and classes, Protestants and Catholics, natives and foreign born, whites, yellows, and blacks. The honor of our city had been vindicated, and the supremacy of law and order here had been maintained.”

In concluding its editorial comments on the result, the *Times* exultingly said: “In one aspect it was sublime. One hundred and sixty adopted citizens of New York were escorted in a brief parade by about 800 policemen and 2,200 soldiers of the State militia. It may be safely said that, even in the little band which formed the core of this imposing gathering, there was hardly one who thought much of the events, two centuries old, which they were met to celebrate. It is tolerably certain that of the compact phalanx which guarded them, there were not half a dozen who would have turned out to do public honor to the memory of King William of Orange. Amid the serried ranks of police and military, there was but one sentiment—the duty which they owed to the community of which they were members, and of the popular liberty of which they were representatives. American freedom had been defiantly challenged, and its enemies had enjoyed a brief triumph over its betrayal by the men who had sworn to protect it. The people had arisen, with a unanimity and a determination which they have not exhibited for years, to demand that the “equal rights for all,” which form our proudest boast, should not be made a sham and a laughing stock. Yesterday's procession, with all its abnormal features, was a noble vindication of the might of the popular will, and of the justice which lives in the unperverted instincts of a free people.”

The *Tribune*, extending its views by giving wider range to its comments, said:

TAMMANY RIOT!

“Again, as in 1863, the criminal weakness and vacillation of the authorities have caused the peace of the city to be broken and its streets

to be sprinkled with blood. The sense of humiliation and disgust which possessed the community on Tuesday, on account of the craven surrender to the mob which the Mayor and his satellites had made, yesterday changed to one of horror when the tardy action of the Governor had brought the aroused and savage rowdyism of the criminal factions into conflict with the representatives of the law. From the hour when Mr. Kelso pusillanimously consented to sign the capitulation which gave the city up to the gutter-snipes, it was evident that a spirit had been called into life that nothing but a bloody struggle could subdue. And, after midnight on Tuesday, the Executive, lashed by the expressions of public opinion from every quarter, goaded by telegrams from every section of the State, and stung by the manly act of Gov. Randolph, concluded to assert the dignity of the Commonwealth against disorder, the shedding of blood was inevitable. For three days the manifestations of the lawless intentions of the baser sort of Irish (enemies to Protestants, but repudiated with loathing by Catholics), had gone on unchecked and had been encouraged by the sympathy of the Democratic leaders and the devilish instigations of the corrupt Tammany press, and when on Tuesday the city, through its police authorities, drank that final cup of humiliation and performed an official act of homage to the mob, its insolent arrogance reached a point which admitted no other remedy but that of a stern and remorseless force. Successive surrender and defiance had bred by yesterday morning a full-blown spirit of riot.

“From a very early hour the rioters of the upper portion of the city, with that restless and imperious genius of all insurrections which insists upon forcing into its ranks all who object to it, went about compelling laborers to quit work under penalty of violence until a large movable column was gathered together, of which only a portion was riotously disposed. They had no especial organization, and acted with no concert, but broke into small gangs, and carried through the city the infection of lawlessness and excitement. Weak and ineffective demonstrations were made against several armories which were easily repulsed, and soon after noon, it seemed as if the danger of serious riot was to be localized at the corner of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-ninth street, the rendezvous of the Orangemen. A vast crowd gathered there awaiting the formation of the line of march. Part of them came for riot and its incidental chance of pillage and murder. The sidewalks suddenly swarmed with gallows-faces such as are never seen in ordinary times, but which always come to the surface in hours of great civil uproar. But the vast majority were drawn by idle curiosity to that fatal trysting-place. They were men

women, and children of the poorer class, unable to forego the excitement and distraction of the show and the turmoil. The crowd was permeated with the uneasy spirit of mutiny. The advent of the first Orangeman was greeted with a shower of curses and missiles. The police again and again charged upon the crowd, and drove them with merciful cruelty away from that dangerous proximity, but they surged back again the moment after, like refluxing waves. It was plain to be seen that those closely packed thousands were one mass of tinder waiting for a spark which was sure to come. It came, of course. A few shots were fired and the regiments in line, who had been marching and waiting under the blazing sun until their nerves had suffered somewhat, gave way for a few moments to that impulse of active defense which always attacks troops under these circumstances, and a hundred victims were left dying or dead on the sidewalk as the procession moved away. * * * * These frightful scenes will not cease until that corrupt party which depends for its existence upon the votes of the ignorant and vicious loses its tyrannical control of our public life. It is in itself organized lawlessness and pillage. It incited, through the infamous speech of the man it has made Governor, the three days revel of crime and treason, which almost neutralized by its shame the new glories of Vicksburg and Gettysburg. It provoked and palliated the riotous attacks of a year ago, and this year with the most cynical and vulgar insolence, it dared to give up to the mob the last pretense of respect for the laws of the land, where they conflicted with the caprices of its voting material. Our corrupt rulers raised on Tuesday a demon they could not lay on Wednesday. The stain of murder is on their hands, and they may settle and divide it as they best know how."

In the calmer view which resulted from a week's reflection, Mr. Beecher leaves the field of personal observation upon the immediate events and actors connected with the riot, and lays down in clear language the great principle of political and religious toleration as founded and fought for by our forefathers; and which will be persisted in by all true American citizens (native or naturalized) as long as we remain a free people. He says: "It is the undoubted right of bodies of men small or large, peaceably to assemble, and peaceably to march in procession, in furtherance of enterprises benevolent, religious or political. This is sound doctrine. It is the true American doctrine. We are an assorted people, gathered from almost every nation under the sun. The Teutonic and the Celtic races have contributed the largest share to our population. Speaking their own languages, holding their own religions, retaining their national customs, they come to a nation which demands of no man that

he shall change either his opinions, sentiments, or tastes, but only that he shall so exercise his rights as not to limit or violate the rights of others.

“The rights of all must be respected. This great liberty is not simply a privilege, it is an education. It requires every man to allow in others that liberty which he claims for himself. It thus imposes self-restraint. No man has a right to be provoked at any exercise of another’s rights which does not restrict his own. The Roman Catholic may preach, publish, make public exhibitions; may controvert every Protestant notion or sympathy, and it is the business of every Protestant to mind his own business, and if he does not relish Catholic exhibitions, to keep out of sight of them.

“This doctrine is vital. There cannot be peace in a heterogeneous community on any other basis. Other men’s liberty is not to be amenable to our dogmas, our tastes, or our susceptibilities. Each sect, race, or party is to determine its policy, religious belief, mode of worship, and method of exhibition, and no one, whether magistrate or private citizen, has any right to judge for them, or to make his own feelings the test of others’ rights. It is not possible that so large a liberty should be exercised without at times tending to stir up antagonistic feelings. At precisely such times is the principle of freedom brought to a test. The feeblest party in the city of New York, made up of the most unpopular men, and professing a cause abhorrent to every sentiment of the majority, ought to be protected even more sedulously than if they were a popular majority. Great principles are made for weak hours. It is in periods of temptation that laws vindicate their right to authority. The sacredness of rights is never evinced when the rich and strong are secure, but when the poor and weak are protected.

“But ought parties or societies to exercise their rights without regard to the known prejudices or partialities of their fellow-citizens? Is there no moral restriction for the free use of our liberties? Certainly. But no debate can be tolerated about the proper use of our liberties until they are ascertained, acknowledged, and protected. “In 1869, we should have dissuaded the Orangemen from any mode of celebration likely to stir up ill-feeling without any noble end in view. But in 1870, when the magistrates threatened to break up the procession, and still more emphatically, when, in 1871, the Superintendent of Police forbade the procession, it became the duty of Orange lodges to insist upon their rights. It was no longer a question of prudence, or of peace. The blundering of the magistrates had turned it into a question of liberty which concerned

every citizen in America, and the Orangemen were clothed with a great principle which hitherto their organization had lacked. Now, they are bound to try this question of the freedom of the streets to all processions to the bitter end.

“It is on this ground, and as essential to the education of the ignorant in the doctrine of civil liberty, with all its self-restraints, that we declare our hope that the Orange societies of New York will arrange for another procession, not for anger’s sake or spite, but to bring the public to a full understanding of the great principle of liberty, which must be learned thoroughly if this nation is to continue.

“The Orange societies should parade next year without a banner less or one inscription rubbed out. They should not do it on an implied promise that if protected for once they will then do it no more. They ought to move through the streets of New York until nobody thinks of molesting them. When that time arrives, it will be a matter of no public importance whether the annual procession is kept up or not. But so long as a dog wags his tongue against an Orangemen’s procession, or a bewildered magistrate forgets his duty toward them, the public good requires their continuance.

“If the Orangemen of New York fail next year to march through the streets of the city, they will betray a sacred duty. By accident they have become the representatives of a principle which lies at the foundation of modern civilization. They do not just now represent a spent fact in history, but a living principle. It is not the battle of the Boyne in Ireland, but the question of liberty in New York.”

THE FUNERAL SERMON.

THE Chaplain of the 9th Regiment, in his sermon over the two men of that command who fell on the day of the riot, said:

“The Lord’s voice crieth unto the city.”—Micah vi. 9. “Loudly does it speak in this instance. It is charged with the momentousness of a thousand thunderbolts. It has almost the supernal energy of the voice heard in Eden in the cool of the day, when the pair sought to hide themselves from its awful portents. How mysterious and monitory the death-story inscribed in these insignia of woe. Two citizen-soldiers enshrouded and confined. What volumes do they offer to our perusal? Ordinarily would such a sight seem fraught with solemnity and sadness—under existing circumstances the suggestiveness of the scene can hardly be estimated. You are all familiar with the events of the past few days,

in which these two persons so conspicuously figured. Description can lend but little interest to the intense vital earnestness of the facts themselves. They are a part of the stirring record of history. A band of foreigners are desirous of indulging in a parade. Distinctively Protestants in their tenets, they are opposed by their own countrymen on our shores, who are of an opposite religious belief. They would commemorate transactions which, for the most part, are a matter of annual revival only. These transactions, obnoxious historically and religiously to the other faction, they interpose a strong objection, and seek the proscriptions of the civil authority against the intentions of the Orangemen. Amid the collisions of officials, the parade is ultimately permitted, under a strong military and police escort. While the little band are on their march, they are subject to a ruffianly and cowardly assault, in which fell the two braves whose remains are shortly to be deposited in the cemetery. They perished in the cause of their country, and in the maintenance of a principle even more sacred than that of country. They fell martyrs to truth, to that which has given life and perpetuity to our free institutions. Worthy and excellent men in their vocations, their names are to be written besides the heroes of Lexington and Bunker Hill—of Sumter. Posterity will record the victory which their blood has achieved. * * * Friends of foreign birth, either Protestant or Roman Catholics, gladly do we welcome you, infused with the spirit of your adopted country. You will be protected in every personal right, civil or religious. Everything we claim of you will we concede to you, but no more. We are most tenacious of our dear-bought liberties, and shall defend them to the last drop of our blood."

APPENDIX.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

From THE TRIBUNE, July 11, 1871.

SURRENDER TO THE MOB.

THE ORANGEMEN'S PARADE FORBIDDEN.

GREAT excitement prevailed in this city yesterday in view of the danger of a riot during the proposed Orange parade to-morrow. The movements of the Roman Catholic Societies, the intentions of the Orange men, and the preparations of the police and military, were subjects of the intensest interest, and tens of thousands went to bed last night to dream of an impending reign of terror in New York. The Mayor, Superintendent Kelso, Major-Gen. Shaler, and others in authority, were in consultation during the day, and the final result of their deliberations was embodied in an order issued by Superintendent Kelso late last evening, requiring the police to allow no parades or processions on Wednesday, whether of Orangemen, "target excursions," or others. The Mayor's disposition to prevent trouble by simply forbidding the Orange parade, is clearly seen in the following letter addressed by him, last week, to John J. Bond, Grand Master of the Orange Order :

“EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, CITY HALL,

“NEW YORK, July 6, 1871.

“JOHN J. BOND, Esq., G. M. L. O. Y.

“DEAR SIR: From your letter to the Superintendent of Police, from your explanations to me, and from a letter which you addressed to *The Times*, I learn that an order or association of individuals, over which you are the chief, propose to celebrate, by a street procession and public picnic,

the victory achieved in 1690, by William III, one King of England, over James II, another King. Public celebrations in the country wherein the events happened have always been attended by public disorders. Breaches of the peace have several times occurred in Canada and in the United States during celebrations of a like import. Last summer serious affrays in this city grew out of the public procession and picnic when participated in by your order. You seem to apprehend new disturbances this year on account of the proposed celebration, and I think I am justified by your written and published statements in inferring your own opinion to be that public disorder must necessarily result from your intended action because of the religious as well as anciently political opposition to the event celebrated.

“Assemblages of any kind in places of public access, and public street processions of every character, have never become matters of popular right. In accordance, however, with the operations of free institutions, they are generally permitted, and usually enjoy, by popular assent, much freedom of action, although often submitted to at considerable sacrifice of public comfort. They therefore become subjects for police regulation and supervision. If not an impossible, it is nevertheless a delicate task for the authorities to decide when this regulation and supervision shall begin, or how far it shall extend. The approximate rule seems to be that the greatest good and security of the greatest number should be consulted in the decision.

“Your proposed celebration appears to be unnecessary. And it certainly seems at first glance to be singular that a foreign event occurring nearly 200 years ago, and with which American citizens cannot actively sympathize, should become on our soil the subject for extensive commemoration. Moreover, ought not the feuds and animosities of old countries from whence our adopted citizens come, be entirely merged in our citizenship? There is another danger, is there not, that collisions induced by their maintenance here would be taken advantage of by the dangerous classes which always grow formidable by such opportunities? It has been said from the bench that no individuals ought ever to be permitted to publicly assemble with banners whose inscriptions would be calculated to inflame the passions of other men; and in view of what took place last year may it not be thought by even your well-wishers that a repeated participation by your organization would seem like a concerted effort to irritate the public peace? I could suggest many occasions for celebrating even American events which would result inevitably in producing public ill-feeling and inviting public disorder. Suppose, for

instance, that a considerable number of New York residents of Southern birth should propose to celebrate the battle of Bull Run that occurred in this month, and should by means of banners and music succeed in arousing the bad temper of the hundreds of thousands who not only could never sympathize with the event, but under much personal, sectional, or national feeling, deplore it; or suppose that, in view of recent events that have occurred in Europe, a body of French adopted citizens, furnished with banners and music distasteful in sight and sound to citizens of German birth, should march through sections of our city that are inhabited by the latter?

"I content myself at present with simply submitting to you these very general considerations, and with asking you whether it would not be more politic for you and your friends to forego any popular or public demonstration of the event to which you and they attach so much importance?"

"Very truly yours,

"A. OAKEY HALL,

"Mayor of the City of New York."

As no reply was received to this letter, and the indications of a riot in case of an Orange demonstration grew more and more threatening, the Mayor finally determined to prohibit the parade by the roundabout method of the following general order:

"OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE OF THE
"CITY OF NEW YORK, 300 MULBERRY ST.,

"NEW YORK, July 10, 1871.

"GENERAL ORDER No. 57.—Captain ———, ——— Precinct. The Superintendent has been applied to by the Grand Master of the Orange Lodges in the United States, to give police support to a celebration by a procession (through principal streets and avenues in the city of New York, on the 12th instant) in honor of the Battle of the Boyne, and the surrender which was its consequence. These several commemorative victories on the soil of Ireland by one English King over another one, nearly two centuries ago, engendered national differences which have descended from generation to generation with increasing acrimony; and large bodies of citizens participating in these feelings form parts of our community.

"The Superintendent has been legally advised he should not aid any

street celebrations that involve feuds and animosities belonging solely to the history of other countries than our own, and which experience has proved to endanger the public peace abroad and at home. The proposed celebration, as is obvious to every one, belongs to the last-named class. Last year, upon the same calendar day, an unexpected public celebration of the foreign event just named was accompanied in the streets with inexcusable and deplorable affrays, by which four citizens lost their lives, despite the interference of the police. This violence was apparently unpremeditated, and resulted from what may be termed spontaneous excitement. This year, however, the procession has been announced much in advance, and unusual arrangements have been made to swell the numbers of participants by accessions from other parts of this State and from other States.

“It is given out that armed preparations for defense have been made by the members of the parading lodges. Indeed the announced procession appears to have been especially organized beyond the magnitude of any previous one, and is emphasized with announcements that apparently evince a determination to resent, if not to avenge, the events which attended last year’s celebration; and some of its leaders have stated to the Superintendent that they considered a collision inevitable. If this needless celebration should provoke a general disturbance it would furnish the opportunity always sought for by the lawless and dangerous classes of the community to participate in it, and to carry consequences so far as to endanger the safety of persons and property.

“Recent disturbances have been announced from Great Britain by cable dispatches as incident to similar public demonstrations by the Orange institutions. And upon a closest survey the Superintendent is convinced that if the proposed procession forms or moves with its banners and traditional music amid many unthinking, rash, and hot-headed spectators, who are not in sympathy with the foreign feuds which the procession is intended to glorify, then the whole police (and perhaps much of the military) force of the city might be required to protect the procession, and large sections of the city most needing watching would be left unguarded.

If any procession (or occupation by marching order of the streets) were a matter of right, or could legally demand protection, then it should, at all hazards, receive escort and guard; because the authorities never should allow that which is matter of right to the populace to be ever lawlessly overawed. But legal decisions have settled that occupation of streets by processions is a mere matter of usage or toleration,

and is always subject to police regulation and supervision. The surrender of thoroughfares to large organized bodies of men necessarily interferes with the individual rights of other citizens, and those thus engaged are, in the language of the law, permissible trespassers. The toleration of processions by citizens and authorities is perhaps due to the fact that street meetings and parades always represent some sentiment or occasion not at all calculated to provoke hot blood. In every subject-matter for police discretionary permission, the inconvenience of the few ought to be surrendered to the widest security for the property and person of the greatest number of citizens. At all times the police should prevent occasions for disorder rather than wait to regulate or suppress it. It is very clear, that if any one individual should undertake by himself to produce an occasion of irritation and excitement to others in the community, he would not be, in such an act, entitled to police protection. And surely, what may not be done by one individual ought not to be attempted by the organized many, when the aggravation would be so much the greater.

Therefore you are ordered (in conformity to the private directions herewith promulgated, and which relate merely to details of discipline and arrangements for police action not expedient to be publicly announced) to prevent the formation or progression of the public street procession for the 12th inst. alluded to, and of all processions under pretence of target purposes. You will also, on that day, impartially keep all streets cleared from groups and assemblages of every class of citizens, whether sympathizing with or against the proposed procession, or whether they are lawlessly disposed or otherwise. You will also promptly arrest all persons of any description who, in the thoroughfares, use threatening or disorderly language, inciting to breach of the peace, in contempt of the State statutes upon that subject.

JAMES J. KELSO, Superintendent.

The few, outside of the police force, to whom this order and the policy it embodies became known, last night, were almost unanimous in denouncing it as a "cowardly surrender," and it was confidently anticipated that public opinion would strongly disapprove this concession to the lawless threats of men who are condemned alike by their religious teachers and their intelligent political leaders.

[From the *Tribune*, July 12.]

THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION.

The following proclamation was received at the *Tribune* office at 1:45 this morning :

By John T. Hoffman, Governor.

A PROCLAMATION.

Having been only this day apprised, while at the Capitol, of the actual condition of things here with reference to proposed processions to-morrow, and having, in the belief that my presence was needed, repaired hither immediately, I do make this proclamation.

The order heretofore issued by the Police authorities in reference to said processions having been duly revoked, I hereby give notice that any and all bodies of men desiring to assemble and march in peaceable procession in this city to-morrow, the 12th inst., will be permitted to do so. They will be protected to the fullest extent possible by the military and police authorities. A military and police escort will be furnished to any body of men desiring it, on application to me at my headquarters (which will be at Police Headquarters in this city) at any time during the day. I warn all persons to abstain from interference with any such assemblage or procession except by authority from me; and I give notice that all the powers at my command, civil and military, will be used to preserve the public peace, and to put down, at all hazards, every attempt at disturbance; and I call upon all citizens, of every race and religion, to unite with me and the local authorities in this determination to preserve the peace and honor of the city and State.

Dated at New York, this eleventh day of July, A. D., 1871.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

By the Governor : John D. Van Buren, Private Secretary.

THE RIOTERS' PLEA.

To the People of the United States, and to the City of New York in particular :

The attitude assumed toward the societies represented in this body by a portion of the press of New York, and the misrepresentations of our motives and actions which have obtained circulation, oblige us to come before the public in vindication of our character as law-abiding citizens. A steady effort has been made to induce the belief in the

minds of the American people that the societies represented in the body are composed of intolerant, bigoted Irishmen, arrayed on religious grounds against certain of their fellow-countrymen, and always ready to annoy and persecute them for differences of belief, which should be left entirely between the conscience of each individual and his Creator. Nothing could be further from the truth than this assertion. The Convention of the Irish Societies of New York and vicinity was originally organized for the purpose of suppressing sectional differences among Irishmen in this city, and the promoting of harmony and tolerance of opinion and the union in good brotherhood of all who claim descent from our common country. How that mission has been fulfilled the history of our body for over 20 years can testify. Before the advent of our organization, our people here, artfully divided by designing men, were embroiled in continual faction feuds by the machinations of those who practiced on their weaknesses to rob them of the hard earned wages of their toil. Through the exertions of this Convention an end was put to these senseless contentions, and our people were taught to see the folly of the divisions that had distracted and degraded them, and a union of kindly feeling, based on our mutual interests and common nationality, was established which has never since been broken, and has contributed to elevate our people in the eyes of our American fellow-citizens. In token of that fraternal union, it has been our custom to parade together on the 17th of March in each year—a day honored everywhere by all Irishmen, without distinction of creed or class. But the record of those parades, as well as the continued approval they have met from the authorities of the State and city, bears witness that our public displays have been always free from offence to the religious or political feelings of our fellow-citizens, and have never, in a single instance, endangered the peace of the community. The charge that we are hostile to our Protestant fellow-countrymen would be too absurd to call for refutation, were it not that it is so persistently reiterated, that some may be deceived by it. It is easily disposed of. In a large proportion of what are called the Irish Societies no inquiry is ever made as to what are the religious or political opinions of those who are presented for membership in good faith. In most of them, men even of other nationalities are eligible for membership, and in all there are many members of American birth. Even on the banners under which we march probably the majority of the portraits which give them significance are portraits of Irish Protestant nationalists, and the names of Robert Emmet, Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the Shears brothers are as warmly cheered as those of O'Connell, Sarsfield, or O'Neil.

In the hour of peril to their adopted country the Irish Societies were faithful to every obligation of their citizenship, and showed that, without forgetting the land of their birth, they could be true as steel to the Republic which gave their members friendly shelter and the benefits of its free institutions. From the record we have thus made we shall never depart. Obedient to the laws of the community of which we are a part, we have no desire to curtail the legitimate rights of our fellow-citizens when properly exercised under the sanction of the authorities, and as peaceable and unoffending citizens we have a right to expect that our rights shall also be held inviolate, and that our feelings shall not be outraged wantonly and with impunity under any pretence, however specious.

Thomas Darcey, Patrick Campbell, Hugh McCord, Wm. McCarroll, Lawrence Clinton, Thomas Kerrigan, Edward L. Carey, Hugh Murray, and Lawrence Langan, Committee.

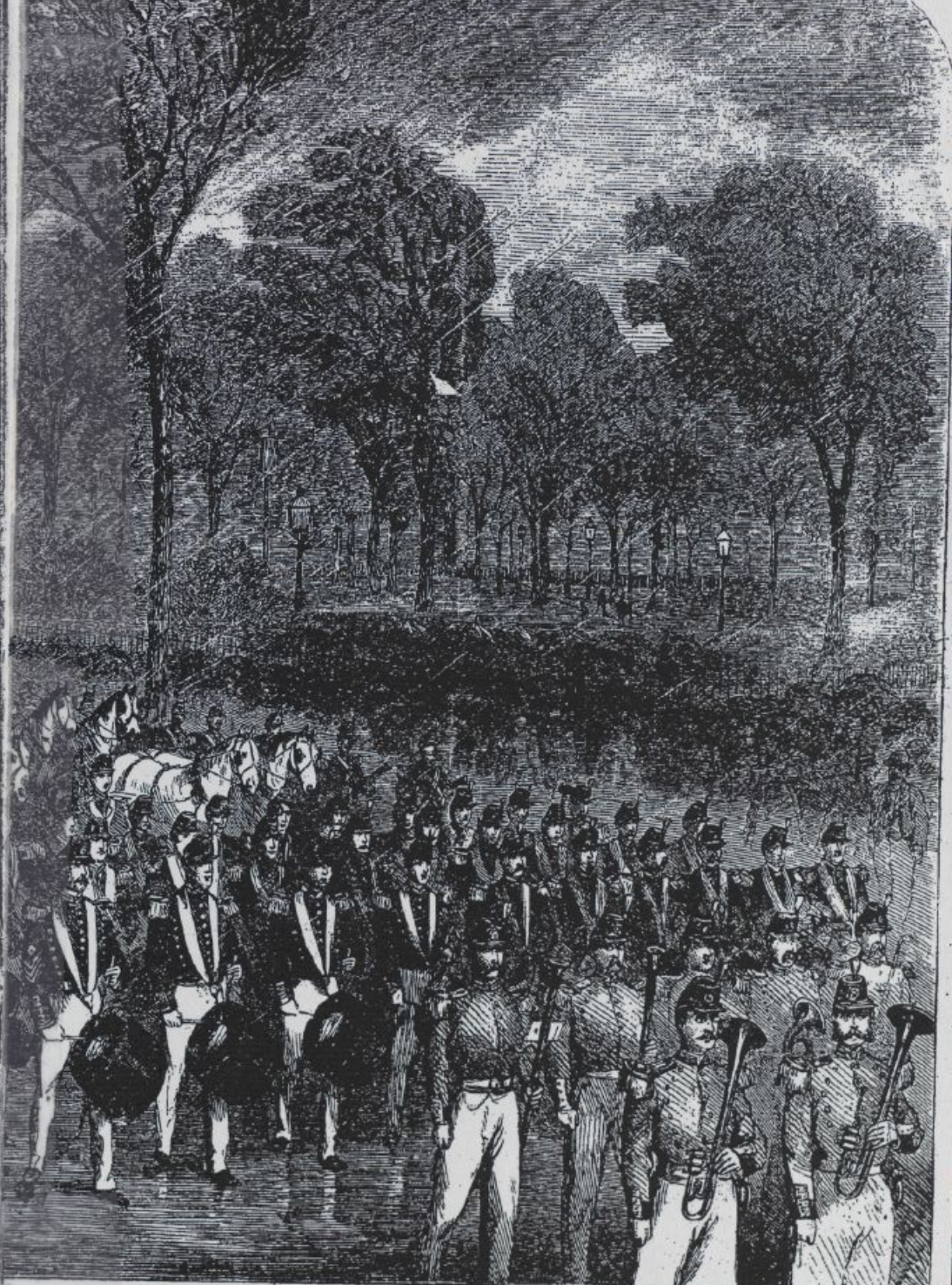
HORACE GREELEY ON THE RIOT.

[Mr. Greeley's opinions in regard to the riot possess an importance, in the estimation of the people at large, beyond those of any citizen of New York. The following articles, among many others which appeared in THE TRIBUNE, were from his own hand:]

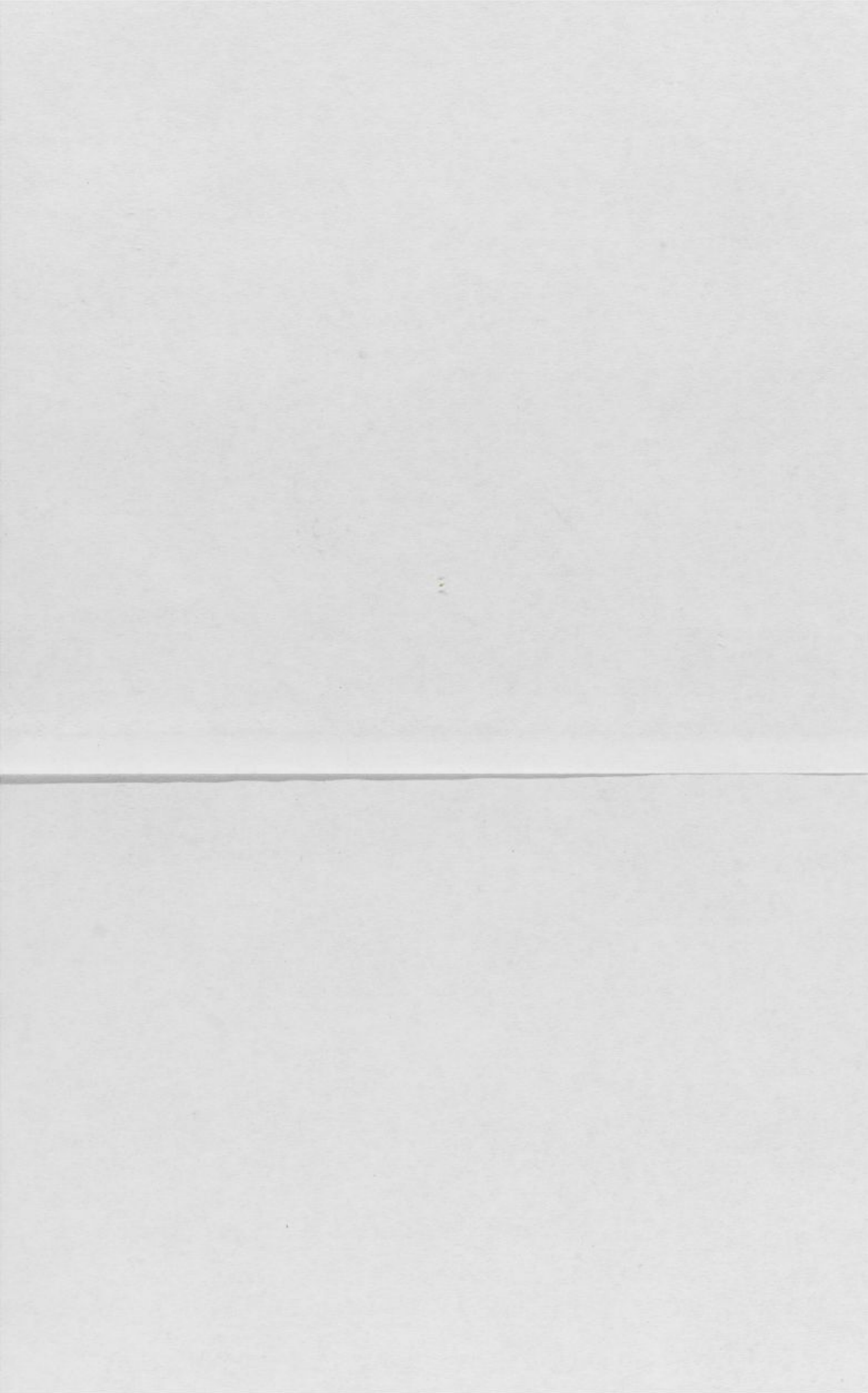
From THE TRIBUNE, of July 15th.

WHAT WEDNESDAY PROVED.

The telegraph has borne over land and sea the tidings of last Wednesday's riot and its bloody results. The thoughtless will infer that New York is subject to the sway of its worse elements, when in truth the very contrary was demonstrated. That we *have* such elements in unusual abundance and proportion—the drainage of European jails, fugitives from the quest of European sheriffs and Police—is undoubted. There are not less than Fifty Thousand denizens of our City who live by crime only—who have no idea of living otherwise. Probably twice that number live by pandering to lewdness, intoxication, and other forms of degrading sensuality; and from this to outright felony the transition is easy and frequent. Together with their habitual dupes and victims through the slavery of perverted appetite, these classes are very strong in this community; and they furnish material for a riot as naturally as boys run to a fire. But, numerous as they are, the dangerous classes form but a small fraction of our City's vast population, of whom at least three-



THE VICTIMS OF THE RIOT.—FUNERAL OF PAIGE AND WYATT, OF THE NINTH REGIMENT, 16TH—VIEW FROM THE UNION LEAGUE, AT TWENTY-SIXTH STREET AND MADISON AVENUE, DURING THE PASSAGE OF THE *REAR*.



fourths, including nearly all who live by useful industry, are instinctively on the side of Law and Order, and ready to prove it by their acts. The bloody riot of Wednesday showed this, and demonstrated in addition these cheering truths :

I. There is no need that a riot should ever be endured or permitted. To prevent it, it is only requisite that the official guardians of the public peace shall never pander or truckle to the mob spirit, but make it always and everywhere clear that they will in no case fail to regard and treat a rioter as their deadly foe, whom they have no wish to conciliate, but stand ready to extinguish if they must. Palavering a mob, whether before or during a riot, is cowardice in the face of the enemy and treason to a high trust. The only language in which men in authority should address rioters runs thus : " You scoundrels ! drop your missiles and weapons this instant, and disperse, or you shall be peppered with volleys of musketry forthwith, and plowed by grape and canister so soon as we can hurry up the big guns !" Tenderness to such villains is cruelty to law-abiding people.

II. Authority will always be respected so long as it is respectable. Governor Randolph had just such elements of disorder to deal with as our rulers ; yet the Orangemen paraded wherever they chose in New Jersey, and no one was hurt or frightened. Irish Catholics are a mighty host in Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, New Brunswick, &c. : yet the Orangemen were not molested wherever and however they saw fit to honor the triumph of William over James. It would have been just the same here had our rulers been Randolphs.

III. Of all the calamities that enfeeble and destroy a State, divided, vacillating counsels are the most swiftly ruinous. The Hall-Kelso veto of the Orangemen's parade was atrocious ; but that alone would not have bred a riot, because the Orangemen would have bowed to it, protesting against the outrage, and given up their parade. We should have had the triumph of usurpation to deplore, but no butchery. But when the Mayor proclaimed one day that the Orangemen should not parade, and the Governor on the next proclaimed that they *should* if they chose, and he would see that they were protected in so doing—this later manifesto appearing on the very morning of the Orange anniversary—a riot was inevitable. Either the Mayor or the Governor, had he alone spoken would have been obeyed ; since they both demonstrated, and in exactly opposite directions, they could not be.

IV. Given a nucleus, a rallying-point, the forces of Law and Order must always immensely preponderate over those of their natural antag-

onists. Here was a riot instigated and impelled by traditional devotion to Roman Catholicism; yet the Roman Catholic Archbishop and clergy promptly and vigorously denounced and reprobated it. We are confident that a large majority of the Catholics of our City heeded the counsels and obeyed the injunctions of their chief pastor, deeming them sound and wise. The police and military of our City are largely composed of Roman Catholics, who obeyed the call of duty as cheerfully and thoroughly as any Protestant. There was no finching anywhere at any point below the Mayor's office. And, whenever it was understood by the rioters that the Militia would fire, and that each cartridge included a ball, the riot was over.

V. Politics will not mislead our people very far. So far as we could see or learn, Oakey Hall's surrender in advance to the rioters was as promptly and vehemently denounced by American Democrats as by Republicans.

VI. Men called out to face an angry mob as Militia must not be expected nor asked to illustrate the principle of non-resistance; for they will not. It is possible that veteran regulars, led by officers they both loved and feared, might for a time be subjected to a shower of brick-bats, paving-stones, pistol-shots, &c., from a riotous mob immensely outnumbering them; but Militia will do nothing of the sort. When dangerous missiles are rained upon their heads from crowded streets and house-tops, they will shoot, orders or no orders; and if you object to this, you must manage to get on without them. If called out to preserve the public peace at the peril of their lives, they will stand nothing stronger than a shower of dead cats. Whenever the heads of a dozen of them have been laid open, they will object to the performance going on without their being allowed to participate: if permission for this is not accorded, they will take it.

VII. Finally, there must *be* no more riots. Let it be understood that the first shot fired at Police or Militia, acting in the line of their duty, will be answered by bullets, the next by grape, and riots will henceforth be as rare here as at St. Petersburg.

From THE TRIBUNE, of July 24th.

GEN. McQUADE COMES FORWARD.

Gen. James McQuade, of Gov. Hoffman's staff, takes the stand at our request, and testifies that

1. Gov. Hoffman *was* in this city on the Monday morning before the riot;

2. That he was then anxious and apprehensive with regard to the prospect for the 12th, as he should have been ;

3. That he took the train for Albany at 10 A. M., leaving Gen. McQuade behind him ;

4. That he left McQuade here expressly to inquire into this Orange business, and telegraph him (Hoffman) on the subject ;

5. That McQuade found Superintendent Kelso about noon, and learned of him that " a serious riot was threatened, from the collision of the Orange procession and the so-called target companies of the other side, who were drilling to parade on the same day with the Orangemen ; "

6. That Kelso did not feel at liberty to tell him (McQuade) what preparations were made to preserve the peace, but advised him to see Mayor Hall ;

7. That the Mayor could not be found at his office, but he (McQuade) was so fortunate as to stumble upon an acquaintance by whose aid he " found the Mayor and conversed with him for a short time about the procession ; "

8. That at this interview the Mayor " substantiated what had been said by Superintendent Kelso and Gen. Shaler, that proper precautions had been taken to preserve the peace, although he said *the affair threatened to be very serious*. I left the Mayor about 3½ or 4 o'clock, and telegraphed to the Governor that *I thought everything was right*, but would write. I wrote him, giving in detail everything that I had learned from the Mayor, Superintendent of Policy, and Gen. Shaler."

Such is Gen. McQuade's testimony, which is very full on every unimportant point, and unintelligible to us on that which is vital—to wit :

Did Mayor Hall advise Gov. Hoffman through Gen. McQuade that he (Hall) had taken the grave responsibility of forbidding the proposed and advertised parade of the Orangemen?

If he did not—and this we understand Gen. McQuade to hint, but not assert—then Mayor Hall was guilty of misleading the Governor in a very critical emergency. If he did, then Gen. McQuade, in withholding the fact, and telegraphing merely that he " thought everything was right," took a responsibility which we should hate to shoulder. The Governor should have known the essential fact at the earliest practicable moment. Gen. McQuade's *opinion* that " everything was right " was no sufficient substitute for that fact.

As the case now stands, it looks as though Gov. Hoffman was hoodwinked by those who should have posted him fully and promptly. He seems to have taken due care to be properly informed in good season,

but to no purpose, because others either chose to deceive him or saw fit to substitute their own judgment for his.

There was no surprise in the case. Mayor Hall, we now know, fully apprehended the gravity of the situation, and had resolved on his line of conduct. The Police were ready to do their duty, and they did it nobly. And yet, our city has been shocked and shamed by a wholesale massacre, which might have been averted. Our rulers played at cross-purposes, when they should have promptly communicated and heartily co-operated. Their discord has cost many lives and a fearful aggravation of race-hatred and theological rancor.

We respectfully ask Mayor Hall to say that he did or did not, at the interview of Monday afternoon, inform Gov. Hoffman through Gen. McQuade of his resolve to forbid the Orange procession. If not, why not?

From THE TRIBUNE, of Aug. 4th.

Are we ever to have a frank and straight forward explanation of the conduct of the Mayor and the Governor in relation to the Orange riots? Gen. McQuade still withholds an answer to the plain question we asked him about the understanding between Mr. Hall and Mr. Hoffman, and now we learn that Mr. Hall has been guilty of a stupid little trick towards the Grand Master of the Orangemen, Mr. John J. Bond. The Mayor attempted to show that his action was influenced by a letter which Mr. Bond, in a great state of fright, wrote from Fort Hamilton to Superintendent Kelso. Now Mr. Bond writes to *The Christian Union*:

“Mr. Hall, or some of his friends on his account, is saddling me with the burden of his proclamation, whereas it was issued and published hours before he could have received that letter from me. My letter to Mr. Kelso was mailed on the evening of the 10th, and could not be delivered in New York until 8 or 9 o'clock next morning, the 11th; whereas the proclamation was printed and circulated by *six o'clock* that same morning.”

That seems to be the point, and Mr. Bond might have clinched it by adding that the proclamation, according to the Mayor's own statement, was printed as early as the 5th.

THE SECRET ACCOUNTS.

A Few Leaves from the Financial Records of a Mis-Governed City.

THE "INSURRECTION OF THE CAPITALISTS."

SKETCHES OF PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE TAMMANY RING.

THE great Riot of 1871, with its various incidents illustrating the subserviency of the Tammany leaders to the Hibernian mob, served to awaken and to enlighten the tax-payers of the city of New York to the nature of the means by which a few corrupt men had grasped and retained political power. There had been, from time to time, feeble and irresolute efforts to compel the Tammany officials to make a full statement of the condition of the city's finances—an exhibit which every tax-payer had a right to demand.

For three years the debt had been increased at an unprecedented rate, until it now exceeded \$100,000,000. Few men dared to take the lead in demanding a showing of the books; for those who did so were certain to be visited with punishment in the shape of heavy assessments inflicted by the subordinates of the Ring.

The surrender of the Tammany Mayor to the mob, was simply a desperate bid for the votes of repeaters, thieves, and roughs, which were relied upon to defeat the will of good citizens. The uprising of the latter against that surrender became so unanimous and overwhelming that, while it cowed the corrupt officials, it taught the tax-payers their real strength and the advantage of united action in further efforts to break the strength of the Ring—the nest of vampyres sucking the life-blood of the city.

The Times obtained possession of a copy of a few pages from the Controller's books, having received them from a clerk who had been employed in the office where accounts are audited.

The deplorable state of corruption and mystery in which the city's finances were fallen was illustrated by the avidity with which the property-holders seized upon this fragmentary information. Who could have dreamed that the time would ever come when the only way in which the tax-payers of the city of New York could obtain any account of the disposition of the vast sums paid into the Treasury by them, would be by surreptitious publication?

So much, however, as was, thus dragged to the light created univer-

sal astonishment and indignation at the evidence of the misappropriation of millions of money for the benefit of a few men known to be in the Ring. The result was thus described by *The Tribune*, in its issue of July 29th :

“The ‘insurrection of capitalists,’ as the movements to resist further payments to Tammany has been called, is rapidly assuming large proportions. Two movements are in progress. One consists of a combination of property-owners resident in New York city, about 1,000 of whom, it is stated, have signed an agreement to resist the collection of taxes by the city and county officials, until a showing of the books has been compelled. The paper was actively circulated in Wall street yesterday. Even the more conservative capitalists indicate their determination to support the movement, provided that it be made general, as it now appears likely to become. Meanwhile, those doing business in New York but residing in New Jersey, are stirring, and contemplate a flank movement in the United States court.

“The Broadway Widening frauds are already the subject of a legal contest, begun by the New Jersey residents. As their organization is extended and perfected, it is understood that the attack upon Tammany will become more vigorous, and its strength be tested at every point. The uprising of the capitalists appears to lack no element of strength that earnestness and unity of action may give.

“A well-known banker of Wall street, in discussing the subject, yesterday, said : ‘The time appears to have come for the citizens who pay taxes to make a peremptory demand for an exhibition of the city’s accounts. The city is paying seven per cent. interest on its bonds when when it ought to be paying but five. The debt has been rapidly increased, within a short period, from \$19,500,000 to \$105,000,000. The increase has been at the rate of eight per cent. a year upon the entire taxable property of the city. At this rate, the whole property of the city would be completely absorbed in only 40 years. Even \$105,000,000 is not a heavy debt for New York, the great metropolis of the whole country. But we want to know where the money goes. All that we can see is that a few men have grown prodigiously rich, while there has been no such improvement of parks, thoroughfares, docks and piers, and public buildings as would account for the vast debt which we have incurred. They distrust our securities in London. They have seen the apparent apathy and indifference, if not cowardice, of our citizens while the ‘Ring’ is carrying out their high-handed schemes. Railroads are stolen, and retained, in spite of all efforts to recover them—even the

courts being apparently in league with the robbers. But, after all, courage is an American characteristic. Men of large property are reluctant to take the lead in opposition to a power which retaliates by singling them out as subjects of outrageous assessments. While, however, they are unwilling to be made martyrs of, they are proving to-day how fearless they are in any movement in which they have a prospect of support and coöperation."

Later, a call for a public meeting, in furtherance of this movement, was published, with the signatures of over 1,000 leading capitalists. Meanwhile, the Ring did not even pretend to impeach the accuracy of the figures published as taken from the Controller's books. It maneuvered to gain time, evidently hoping to find some means of diverting public attention from the subject. The *Tribune*, of August 5th, thus stated the position of the Ring:

"CATCHING AT STRAWS."

"We publish this morning an extraordinary communication from Mayor Hall and Controller Connolly to the Hon. William E. Dodge, President of the Chamber of Commerce, inviting that honorable body of merchants to appoint a committee to come and examine their accounts. We print this letter as we would print the appeal of any accused or convicted person, as a matter of justice, and a matter of news.

"We regard this communication and the article in yesterday's *World* as most significant symptoms of the concern inspired at the City Hall by the recent manifestations of popular indignation in the city and State. For the first time in many years, there seems to be a genuine prospect of bringing this obligarchy to an account of its stewardship. Instead of accepting the issue and meeting it in the only proper and legal way, the Mayor and Controller seek desperately to avoid it by having recourse to an irregular tribunal of their own choice. The success with which the certificate of a similar committee was used to allay apprehensions last Autumn, has doubtless encouraged Mr. Hall to resort to the same expedient to-day. We can assure the Mayor and the Controller that their chronology is at fault.

"We are not now in the condition in which we were last year. At that time, the hasty word of a few prominent citizens was allowed great weight in the judgment then pronounced upon the financial management of our municipal affairs. But to-day, after another year of audacious disregard of the law requiring stated publication of the accounts, after fuller discussion and disclosure of what palpably appear as enormous

frauds, the public mind would not be disposed to accept any decision from any committee, however eminent, appointed at the suggestion of the accused.

“There is only one jury to whom this case can now be submitted, and that is the whole body of the legal voters of the city and the State. The Mayor and the Controller have but one thing to do to show their submission to the just authority of their constituents, and that is to cease defying the laws, and to publish at once the accounts which the public demand and have a right to see. When that is done, they will be heard in their own defence. Until then, every temporizing suggestion from them is an insult to their long-suffering fellow-citizens; every expedient for delay is a tacit confession of guilt. For weeks they have been promising the full statement of the accounts. They give no good reason for breaking these daily promises. Either they know that the publication will destroy them, or they are trifling with their own salvation in neglecting the only thing which can save them.”

TWEED AND “CO.”

THEIR PERSONAL HISTORIES.

[From THE TRIBUNE, July 29, 1871.]

WILLIAM M. TWEED.

As an Alderman, School Commissioner, member of the Board of Supervisors, Deputy Street Commissioner, State Senator, Congressman, and Grand Sachem of Tammany, William M. Tweed has been prominently before the public for twenty years. He was born in a two-story brick house that stood at No. 24 Cherry street, which has been recently supplanted by a large tenement house. The date of his birth was April 3, 1823. His great-grandfather came from Scotland, and his father and grandfather lived within the limits of the Fourth Ward all through their lives. His father was engaged in chair-making at no 5 Cherry street, but without making more than a bare living for his family. Wm. M. Tweed was the youngest of three children; besides the two boys, Richard and himself, there was a daughter.

The father kept young William hard at work from a tender age, so that he had scarcely any opportunity for schooling. As apprentices in those

CIVIL (?) RIGHTS

THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS



THE BOSS. — "CHEER UP BOYS, THERE'S NO USE CRYING OVER SPILT MILK, AND THEN YOU KNOW AS LONG AS WE COUNT THE VOTES WE'RE SAFE."

days were not tied down to one item of labor, the lad had abundant opportunity for varying his labors and for out-door exercise. It appears that he had not much mechanical skill, and could not handle tools deftly, and was continually marring his work and his fingers. He must have exhibited some superior mental traits, however, as he attracted the notice of Isaac Fryer, dealer in saddlery goods and hardware, at No. 277 Pearl street, who sought and obtained his release from the chair-shop and made him a clerk in his store. Before the year spent in this business was ended he began to be ambitious to rise in the world, and, having found that he could do well as a salesman, wished to make himself a competent book-keeper. As his father was now prospering in business, the embryo sachem was sent to school for a year, to the Rev. John T. Halsey, of Elizabethtown, N. J. He is credited with having studied hard during this student period. He became at last a fair penman and ready cipherer.

On his return from school he became clerk to J. & G. C. Alexander, tobacco-dealers at No. 107 Front street. His salary during the two years he remained with them was \$50 per annum. But his father had become meanwhile a partner of D. Berrien & Co., brushmakers at No. 357 Pearl street, so he became a clerk with that firm, and after two years, junior partner. Prospering here, for several years, he accumulated some capital, and then at the age of 28, desiring to try his old trade, he went into the chair business with his brother, Richard Tweed, Jr., at their father's old stand, No. 5 Cherry street. After three years successful business, Richard withdrew from the firm, and William carried on the concern alone. But becoming eager for great wealth, and finding many old acquaintances making fortunes in stocks, he began to operate in Wall street, and, being especially attracted by Erie stock, soon managed to lose all he possessed.

Baffled in the direction of mercantile life, he now entered fully upon politics, having long dabbled considerably in that "field of usefulness." Since that time he has become daily more and more the secret spring of Democratic movements in this State, and a chief wire-puller in caucuses, nominations and elections. In fact he was a politician before he was able to vote. His friends in the Fourth Ward having a prophetic insight into his successful career—wanted him to run for Alderman before he was of age. Soon after going into business, he took up his residence in the Seventh Ward, as being the one that promised to afford him the speediest preferment.

The turning point of young Tweed's career, and the one fact that has made him the millionaire Tammany leader, was his joining the Americus

Engine Company No. 6, or "Big Six," as it was called, and which was composed of 75 first-class dashing "Bowery boys." The story is told of our hero, that about this time he said to his brother Richard, "Dick, do you see them Big Six Boys? Well, I'm bound to be their foreman before long." To which answered the enthusiastic Richard, "Ah, Bill, you always were a loafer and you always will be." In April 1851, after Tweed had indeed reached the coveted position of foreman of the *Americus*, they visited Baltimore and Washington. William M. introduced them to President Fillmore with this neat little speech, "These are 'Bix Six' boys, Mr. President." He said afterwards that he made such a short speech because their looks could speak for them, as they were as much grander looking than any other fire company in the world, as was Niagara Falls than Croton Dam.

In 1851 the Seventh Ward elected him Alderman, and he remained two years in the Board, Big Six already standing like one man behind him. He now made rapid strides. His popularity warranting his being run, he was nominated and elected to the XXXIII^d Congress, beating Joe Hoxie completely. It was the Vth Congress District which elected him; it then embraced the Seventh and Thirteenth Wards and Williamsburgh. He made only two short speeches while in Congress. He was then noted only as a strict party man.

After his Congress term had expired he was put up for Alderman again in the Seventh Ward; but the Know-Nothing excitement raging just then, he was beaten by Charles Fox, the Native American. It was just here that he failed in business, and his prospects were dark. But he determined to plunge boldly into politics, in defiance of the passing cloud of Know-Nothingism. In 1856 he was chosen School Commissioner of the Seventh Ward, and held the office two years, leaving it to enter the Board of Supervisors in 1858, in which he has since been the ruling spirit.

In 1861 he ran for Sheriff, and was defeated by James Lynch, the war candidate. When C. G. Cornell became Street Commissioner in 1863, he appointed Mr. Tweed as his deputy. When Mr. McLean came into office he retained the deputy. He was elected State Senator in 1867, a majority of 10,000 being claimed for him. He was never a speech-maker, but worked behind the scenes in committees, being soon granted the position of party organizer. Early in his career he had joined the Tammany Society; and as is universally known, his great strength in after years, has been derived from his leadership in that organization, especially since he became Grand Sachem—having succeeded to the office

when John T. Hoffman left it to go to Albany as Governor. As Chairman of the Democratic General Committee, "Boss Tweed" has been "monarch of all he surveyed." The following incidents illustrate the wanton manner in which he used his power at Albany, and strange as they may read, come from authentic sources. A friend approaching the great man while he was seated in the lobby, said: "You seem to have a great power here," mentioning some evidence that he had noticed. "Oh, yes," said Tweed, "But that is nothing. I will give you better proof. Here boy, call Senator ——." The Senator came, just as an important vote was being put. Said Mr. Tweed: "Senator ——, I desire you to vote in the negative on that question." "Certainly, Sir," said the legislator, "I will do so, if you wish it," and at once faithfully performed the behests of his superior. Another specimen of tactics is seen in the following: Just as a prominent Republican was about to cast a damaging vote against Tammany, Tweed cried out, "\$250 to any one who will bring Senator —— into the cloak-room!" Some one sprang forward, and told the Senator that he was "wanted in the cloak-room," and made out such an urgent necessity that he hurried out, and lost his vote.

The following communication received at this office, relates to the delinquencies of Tweed & Co., and is affixed here as a fit addendum to the biography of the Ringleader:

After Tweed was elected Supervisor, one of his first efforts was to get a bill through the Legislature by which he was to enrich himself by a speculation involving the sale of lots under water around Ward's Island and elsewhere. About this time, one E. G. Woodward was employed by J. B. Young, clerk to the Board of Supervisors as an assistant. Woodward at the time did not receive any salary, but made himself so generally useful, in furnishing matches to light the members' cigars, that through the efforts of Isaac Bell and others, a small sum, say \$1,500, was (on motion, I think, of W. C. Conner) voted as a salary for his services. Tweed, who is a judge of human nature, saw that Woodward could be made useful in any scheme for plunder; and Woodward soon had charge of nearly all the bills to be reported on prior to payment. Riot claims, and in fact, all other claims, were soon placed in his hands, and E. G. Woodward, J. B. Young, and the Auditor, James Watson, had to be "seen" before any report could be signed by the Committee to whom such bills and claims had been referred. The large fortune amassed by Watson, and the amount of real estate and claims relating to the Broadway widening swindle, are matters of public notoriety. Young lives in style at Fort Washington, and Woodward is reported to be

worth \$500,000, all made by a salary of \$1,500 per year. He ran for State Senator in Connecticut, on the Republican ticket, but, of course, in the interest of Tammany, and was elected. Now, if these clerks have made such colossal fortunes, what must their master and tutor, Tweed, have made? When Tweed caused the old Board of Supervisors to be legislated out of existence, he was very careful to have these clerks fastened upon the new Board, as they knew too much. The Supervisors wanted to get rid of them, particularly Woodward, but Tweed was afraid to consent. A law was passed, substituting the President of the Board, the Controller, and I think, the Mayor, as a Committee before whom all bills, &c., should be audited, and empowering them to pass them for payment. It was under Tweed's management that the abuse grew up of furnishing houses, bachelors' apartments, &c., with the most extravagant and costly furniture, and having the same charged to the County. (Would it not be well to ask Mr. Kaiser how much work he has done for private individuals that has been charged in his bills to the City and County?) Costly Russia leather valises for ladies and gentlemen, writing-desks, jewelry, &c., have been supplied without stint to the favored ones, and charged as stationery. Among those favored ones, Judges of our Courts may have been here selecting their presents." * * *

CONTROLLER CONNOLLY.

Mr. Richard B. Connolly, the Controller of New York, was born in Cork, Ireland, but came to this country at an early age. His parents were highly respectable people, and were in what might be called comfortable circumstances. One of his brothers is now one of the wealthiest citizens of his native place. Mr. Connolly set to work in this country as a clerk in the firm of Haggerty & Co., the well-known dry goods auctioneers. He left them to take a position in the North River Bank, in Greenwich street, and at the same time became a hanger-on of Tammany Hall, in his spare hours he was wont to loaf about the City Hall, and soon acquired the name of "Slippery Dick,"—a sobriquet which still clings to him in certain circles. He was a regular attendant at every Tammany meeting, and was so demonstrative in his attachment to the party that he was classed among the "Hooray Boys." His faithfulness met with no outward appreciation, and when the Bank of North America was established, in 1859, on the corner of William and Wall streets, he was very glad to accept the situation of discount clerk, with the salary of \$1,000 per annum. William F. Havemeyer, ex-Mayor of New York, was then President of the bank; and, although he affirms

that Mr. Connolly performed all his duties faithfully, in spite of his City Hall tendencies, he says that the discount clerk did not evince any great financial abilities. Mr. Havemeyer retired from the Presidency of the Bank in 1861, two years after Mr. Connolly had resigned his clerkship in order to take the position of County Clerk, to which he had been elected.

Meeting Mr. Connolly immediately after his election, Mr. Havemeyer, having congratulated him on the event, offered him a little plain advice. He strongly recommended him on no account to let his wife have any idea as to the men he was likely to appoint as his subordinates, and begged him to give one stereotyped answer to all applicants—"I will give your application my respectful attention." This advice Mr. Connolly readily accepted and eventually followed. But Mr. Havemeyer went further. He said: "Now, Dick Connolly, as long as you remain in office, remain a poor man; it will save you endless worry and trouble. If you save \$500 or \$1,000, buy a house and say nothing about it. When you retire from office you will have one or two houses half paid for, you will not have been bothered by importunate borrowers of money, and you will have saved your reputation as an honest man." Mr. Connolly seems to have also accepted this second piece of advice—for when he ceased to be County Clerk, after serving two terms, he was willing again to take the situation of a discount clerk; this time in the Central National Bank, and on a salary of \$1,500. He retained this position until he was elected Controller of the City of New York in the Fall of 1868. Since that time the course of his career is well known to his fellow citizens. He is now a director of the 10th National Bank and of the Viaduct Railroad. Mr. Connolly, though a Catholic, some years ago married a Protestant American lady.

JAMES H. INGERSOLL.

A few days ago when Mr. James H. Ingersoll was mentioned in connection with the frauds of the Ring, few knew who he was. Twenty years ago Mr. Ingersoll was a chairmaker at No. 71 Bowery, and the principal member of the firm of Ingersoll & Fairchild. Then Richard Tweed, a brother of William M. Tweed, was a chairmaker also, and had a store at the corner of Dover and Pearl streets. The fathers of both families were intimate, and the friendship which began with the old folks was inherited by the younger members of the two houses. At this time William M. Tweed's connection with Engine Company, No. 6, did much to alienate him from his family. Mr. Ingersoll, however, took rather

kindly to him, and the intimacy became so strong that at the commencement of the war, Mr. Tweed, who had meanwhile become a prominent and influential Ward politician, procured for him little contracts and jobs for the petty political rings. Six years ago, Mr. Tweed recognizing in Ingersoll more acuteness and boldness than falls to the lot of ordinary men, sent him on a trial "job" to Harlem Hall, which was then about being fitted up as a church. Mr. Ingersoll's business was to buy the benches in the hall at as low a figure as possible and hold them subject to Tweed's order. The cashier of the Home Insurance Company was a member of the congregation then making preparations to worship in Harlem Hall, and attended the sale intending to bid for the benches for the use of the worshippers. Seeing Mr. Ingersoll, and mistrusting his mission, he approached him, and asked if he intended to purchase the benches. "Well, yes," said Ingersoll, "do you want to buy any of 'em?" The cashier said that he should like to have 17 of them, and would bid \$5 each for that lot. "Look here," said Ingersoll, "if you won't bid against me, I'll let you have 17 at \$5 each." The promise was given. The offer of five dollars each for the whole 300 from Ingersoll was accepted. The next week the same benches, less the 17 given to the insurance agent, were sold to the city for \$600 each and distributed among the armories, yielding the shrewd trader a handsome profit of \$108,300 on the lot of second-hand furniture. At the time referred to Mr. Ingersoll was not a wealthy man, but since then he has been very industrious and active, and has placed three-quarters of a million to his credit, and has built a pretty villa at South Norwalk, Long Island. He is President of the Heath and Smith Manufacturing Company, No. 44 Murray street, and is there considered a very prominent man. The following is a clerk's epitome of Mr. Ingersoll, given in reply to a reporter's query as to where the President could be seen:

"Mr. Ingersoll," said the clerk, "never comes down here, and if he did, *you* couldn't see him. He's a very busy man, and don't see people on business that isn't important. If you got business of importance, he might give you two minutes up at the chair factory."

THE TIMES' STATEMENT.

[*July 20, 1871.*]

WHAT WE HAVE PROVED.

WE published on the 8th inst. a list of lofts that had been rented by the city authorities as armories for the National Guard. We showed that \$36,000 per year was being paid for the top floor of Tammany Hall, which could not be let for \$3,000 for any legitimate business. We showed that Peter B. Sweeny is receiving \$30,000 a year for rooms on Broadway and Thirty-third street, which could not be let for \$3,000 for any legitimate business; and that F. A. Palmer, President of the Broadway Bank, receives a sop of \$18,000 a year for an empty stable loft corner of Ninth avenue and Twenty-seventh street, which could not be let for \$1,000 for any business purpose. We described the different premises where these armories are situated, and showed that the public have to pay \$85,500 a year for empty rooms that are not required for nor used as armories. We entered on this branch of the subject first, because every citizen could satisfy himself as to the correctness of our statements, without calling on Hall and Connolly for the proofs.

On the 20th, we followed up the same branch of the subject by giving a list of the checks that had been signed by Hall and Connolly, and paid to four men for repairing and fitting up these armories. We accounted for \$941,064.31 that had been charged to the account of "Armories and Drill-rooms" in less than five months—from March 12, 1870, to August 9, 1870—and for \$2,804,207.05 that had been drawn on "Special accounts," and divided in the same manner during the first three months of the present year.

On the 22d we published a list of checks, amounting in the aggregate to

\$5,663,646.83

that had been paid for carpenter work in county offices and armories, and for furniture, carpets, and shades for the same. All these checks were paid directly, or indorsed over by an imaginary claimant, to James H. Ingersoll, the notorious agent of the Ring.

On the 24th, we published another list of checks, amounting in the aggregate to

\$2,870,464.06

which had been paid to or indorsed by Andrew J. Garvey, for plastering in county offices and armories. The first of these checks was paid January 10, 1869, for "repairs on armories to January 6, 1869," and the last on August 12, 1870, "for repairs in county buildings to December 21, 1869," thus drawing more than two and three-quarter millions of dollars for work done between January 6, and December 21—lacking fifteen days of one year.

On the 26th, we published another list of checks paid to John H. Keyser for plumbing and gas-fitting in county offices and armories, and amounting in the aggregate to

\$1,231,817.76.

In the several articles that we have published since the 8th inst. we have accounted for

\$12,874,789.21

that has been paid out to Ingersoll, Garvey, Keyser, and Miller between January 11, 1869, and March 31, 1871. Of this sum no less than

\$8,321,955.36

has been paid during and since the month of May, 1870, *and after the new city government was inaugurated.* Mayor Hall had absolute power over the claims representing this enormous amount in the Board of Supervisors—his single vote being sufficient to defeat the unanimous vote of all the other members of the Board—and yet he approved of these claims, and signed checks for their payment.

The Mayor says that "many of the claims were for work and materials in 1868." This is as untrue as his statement that the Board of Supervisors audit bills, and that signing the checks for their payment is "simply ministerial acts." Out of nearly thirteen millions which is mentioned above, only \$2,216,623.50 was paid for work and materials in 1868, and \$10,740.45 on claims of a previous date. But even these claims had to come before Hall, in his ministerial capacity, before Connolly could pay them, so that the old Board of Supervisors, however infamous it may have been, was in no way responsible for their payment.



OUR WHITE ELEPHANT.

"Walk up, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Animal is now Feeding."

To prove that the Supervisors have control of the auditing of bills, and that the Controller has no alternative but to pay all bills that are passed by that Board, Mayor Hall quotes the opinion of Richard O’Gorman, Counsel to the Corporation, and endeavors to convey the impression that the course pursued by himself and the Controller, in paying fraudulent claims, had the legal sanction of O’Gorman. *He did not state, however, that that opinion only applies to a particular class of cases, when special provision is made by the Legislature for the payment of certain claims that are named in the Tax-Levy. Nor does he say that it was called forth by the attempt of Controller Connolly to interpose unreasonable and captious objections to the payment of claims that he knew to be just.* And he might have added with truth, that the opinion of O’Gorman was deliberately sought by Connolly, so that the latter might have a pretext for paying all sorts of fraudulent claims. The closest scrutiny of that opinion, however, will fail to detect a single sentence, line, or word, which can be distorted into an admission that the Controller is legally bound to pay claims that are so palpably fraudulent as those that we have been exposing. The Mayor, after admitting that the claims were large, “and may have been exorbitant,” says, very complacently, “but no responsibility for them really rests with either the Controller or myself.” To prove that this is a misstatement, it is only necessary to produce the vouchers that are in use in the Controller’s Department, and upon which are printed extracts from the laws that are made expressly for the government of Boards of Supervisors, Controllers and other municipal officers charged with the disbursement of public moneys. That our readers may judge for themselves, we print herewith a verbatim copy of one of these vouchers :

<i>County Audit</i> } No..... }	(C.) COUNTY EXPENDITURES.	
THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK, To..... } Residence..... }	Dr.	18.. For Dollars. Cts

City and County of New York, ss:
, being duly sworn, deposes and says, that the items charged in the above account are correct; that the services specified and articles enumerated therein have in fact been performed and furnished, and by due authority; also that the prices charged are reasonable and just, and that said account has not been, either in whole

or in part, paid, satisfied, or assigned, and that the same is now justly due to him.

Sworn to, before me, }
187.. } Com. of Deeds.

I certify that the articles above enumerated have been received, and the services performed; that they were necessary for, and have been or will be applied to the use of....., and that the prices specified are just and reasonable.

NEW YORK, 187.. Received from R. R. CONNOLLY, Controller, a warrant on the County Treasurer for the sum of Dollars, in full payment of the above account.
 \$.....

LAWS AND ORDINANCES RELATING TO THE PAYMENT OF MONEY FOR COUNTY PURPOSES.

Acts of Legislature of the State of New York.

LAWS 1847, CHAPTER 420.

SECTION 2. No account shall be audited by any Board of Town Auditors or Supervisors, or Superintendents of the Poor, for any services or disbursements, unless such account shall be made out in items, and accompanied with an affidavit attached to, and to be filed with such account, made by the person presenting or claiming the same, that the items of such account are correct, and that the disbursements and services charged therein have been in fact made or rendered, or necessary to be made or rendered at that session of the Board, and stating that no part thereof has been paid or satisfied. And the chairman of such Board, or either of said Superintendents, is hereby authorized to administer any oath required under this section.

LAWS 1857, CHAPTER 590.

SEC. 5. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, except the same shall have been previously appropriated to the purpose for which it is drawn, and no expense shall be incurred, whether it shall have been ordered by the Board [of Supervisors] or not, unless an appropriation of money, then in the Treasury, sufficient to cover such expense, shall have been previously made.

SEC. 6. The Finance Department of the Mayor, Alderman and Commonalty of the City of New York, and its officers shall have the like powers and perform the like duties in regard to the fiscal concerns of

said Board as they possess in regard to the local concerns of the said Mayor, Alderman and Commonalty. All moneys drawn from the Treasury by authority of the Board of Supervisors shall be upon vouchers for the expenditure thereof, examined and allowed by the Auditor, and approved by the Controller; and no such moneys shall be drawn therefrom, except on the warrant drawn by the Controller and countersigned by the Mayor and Clerk of the Board, and no other warrant shall be necessary for such purpose.

*Ordinance of the Board of Supervisors of the County of New York,
Passed Dec. 31, 1858.*

SEC. 6. All bills or claims on the County of New York shall be submitted to the Board of Supervisors, in order that the same may be examined and acted upon before being audited by the Controller, or paid by the Treasurer, except where otherwise required by law or ordinance.

SEC. 7. No moneys shall be paid out of the County Treasury unless the same shall have been previously appropriated. Separate accounts shall be opened with each appropriation, and each payment authorized by the Board of Supervisors shall be a charge only to the proper appropriation.

SEC. 8. No payment shall be made for bills incurred by any Court or County officer in the purchase of supplies, unless requisition, duly specifying the several items, shall have been made to the Board of Supervisors previous to the purchase.

It will be perceived that section 6, of the Laws of 1857, expressly provides that "all moneys drawn from the Treasury by authority of the Board of Supervisors shall be upon vouchers for the expenditure thereof, *examined and allowed by the Auditor and approved by the Comptroller.*" **And here**, let it be remarked, that there is such an official as County Auditor, and that that functionary receives \$7,500 per annum salary, and that every voucher that passes through the County Bureau must bear the official seal of the Department and the signature of the County Auditor, *certifying that he has examined the account and found it correct.* But if further proof of the utter falsity of Hall's statement were needed, we have it in the fact that there are claims against the city and County amounting to millions of dollars which the Controller has refused to pay. We will mention one case which will serve as an illustration.

The upper floors over Essex Market were formerly occupied as a police station and an armory for the Sixty-ninth Regiment, N. G.

About three years ago the police moved into another building, and subsequently Col. James Cavanagh (who is a carpenter and builder) was authorized by the Board of Supervisors to pull down the partition walls and to construct more commodious quarters for his officers and men. He performed his part of the contract promptly and in good faith, and when the work had been completed he put in a bill for \$6,700, (Ingersoll, Miller and Garvey would have added a cipher and made it 67,000), but for two years no notice was taken of it. Finally, in December last, the bill was taken up and passed by the Supervisors, and Cavanagh thought he would have no delay in getting his money. Connolly, however, had willed it otherwise. Cavanagh is an honest man and had only put in his bill for amount that he was actually entitled to, hence he could not afford to divide, and on the 1st of June last, when more than \$500,000 was paid out for repairs on armories, Cavanagh did not receive a dollar.

Having fixed the responsibility where it belongs, we will now look at the items in detail. In the *Times* of the 20th inst. we explained the mode of manipulating accounts, and showed that there are five different heads under which checks paid out for repairs, &c., on armories could be entered. The titles of these accounts read as follows: "Armories and Drill-rooms," "County Liabilities," "Adjusted Claims," "County Contingencies," and "Repairs to County Buildings and Offices." The same rule applies to the new Court-house and the county offices. By substituting the word "New Court-honse," or "County Offices," for "Armories and Drill-rooms," there are five different accounts out of which Ingersoll, Keyser, Garvey and Miller can be paid for any real or imaginary service,

During the year 1869, Ingersoll, Garvey, Miller and Keyser received ONE MILLION ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN DOLLARS AND SIXTY CENTS FOR REPAIRS AND FURNITURE IN NINE OR TEN ARMORIES. The work for which this amount was paid extended over a period of seven months and twenty days, viz.: From November 12th 1868, to July 1st, 1869, and the entire amount was divided as follows:

To Ingersoll, for chairs, &c.,	\$417,970	59
To Garvey for plastering,	302,079	78
To Keyser, for plumbing,	190,456	97
To Miller, for carpenter work,	202,130	56

Total for work, &c., on armories, up to July 1st,
1869,\$1,112,637 90

Having spent upward of eleven hundred thousand dollars on nine or ten armories in seven months and twenty days, it would be reasonable to suppose that these places would be in a thorough state of repair. Not so, however. On the 14th of March, 1870, these four men commenced to draw money from the Treasury again, and received in that one day no less than \$163,992 66, for repairs, &c., on armories from November 3d to December 1st, 1869. Nor was this all. Fourteen days later (March 28th), they drew out \$69,177 27. Three days later they drew out \$120,044 75, and two days later (April 2d), they drew \$68,730 30. April 9th they drew \$39,436 12, and seven days later they drew \$128,687 84, and so on till the 9th of August, when they drew out \$77,949 58; making a total drawn, during five months, for keeping the armories in order,

\$1,636,676 44

and making a total of

\$2,749,294 34

for keeping the armories repaired and furnished from November 23d, 1868, to April 16th, 1870 (the period for which the bills have been rendered and paid), being an average of \$171,830 89 per month for repairing and furnishing nine or ten armories.

Let us see how this is done: On September 20th, 1869, Garvey received a check for \$15,810, for work alleged to have been done up to June 16, 1869. On March 14th, 1870, he received two checks amounting to \$39,835, for work said to be done to November 23d, 1869. Ten days later he received a check for \$19,343 82, for work supposed to have been done up to October 24th, 1869. On April 2d, 1870, he received two checks—one to December 1st for \$33,250, and one to December 23d (two days), for \$35,490 30. On April 9th (seven days after the date of the last two), he received another check for work said to have been done up to November 27th (passing over the same ground again), for \$39,436 12. A week later he received a check for work said to have been done up to November 22d, for \$30,975. On June 20th he received two checks amounting to \$87,901 51, for work from June 26th to October 29th. Four days later he received two other checks amounting to \$89,140 13, for work supposed to have been done up to December 23d. Six days later he received two other checks amounting to \$89,008 37, and on August 5th he received another check for \$72,075 08, for work

supposed to have been done up to December 21st—thus receiving thirteen checks, amounting in the aggregate to

\$536,445 33 ;

for plastering and kalsomining nine or ten armories from June 16th to December 23d (six months and seven days), *a period that was fully covered by his first check of April 2d.*

The same curious operations are manifest in every claim presented by Keyser for plumbing and gas-fitting, in armories and drill-rooms. During the year 1869 he received ten checks, amounting in the aggregate to \$190,456 97, and during the year 1870 he received six checks, amounting to \$240,672 23. We explained in a former article that there has been no repairs made on several of the armories for a considerable time, and in some instances for many years. And yet, for keeping a few gas pendants and water-closets in order, in those that have been repaired, John H. Keyser has been paid

\$431,129 20

during 1869-70, and a proportionately large amount during the present year. The three last checks that he received in 1869 cover the same ground, within a few days, for which he had been paid previously. On September 20th, 1869, he received a check for \$22,531 94, for work said to have been done between May 7th and June 29th, 1869. October 11th he received a check for \$14,070 68, for work said to have been done between June 15th and July 5th, (twenty days). Nineteen days later, (October 30th), he received a check for \$15,697 38, for work alleged to have been done from March 16th to June 20th. On March 14th, 1870, he received a check for \$27,742 45, for work done from September 4th to Decembsr 1st, 1869, but on the 30th of March he took a check for work which he claimed to have done between January 4th, 1869, and November 29th, 1869. On June 20th he received a check for \$50,953 85 for work said to have been done between September 20th, 1869, and November 5th, 1869—a period of forty-five days. Some days later he had forgotten this, and received another check for \$44,388 67, for work said to have been done between May 19th and July 17th, 1869. July 8th he received another check for \$69,239 59 for work said to have been done between April 3d and June 10th, 1869, thus apparently going over the same ground seven or eight different times, and receiving in five months \$240,672 23 for work that was alleged to have been done between the dates covered by his check of March 31st, for \$35,959 87.

The same rule applies to George S. Miller, who is merely the tool of Ingersoll. He makes out bills without any regard to dates and charges seven or eight times over for what was only an imaginary service in the first place. Thus, during the nine months ending October 11, 1869, he had received eight checks, amounting in the aggregate to \$202,130.56, and during the five months ending August 9, 1870, he received thirteen checks amounting to \$508,383.30, making a total of

\$710,513.86

that he received within fourteen months for work supposed to have extended over a period of seventeen months, but for which there is absolutely nothing to show. Those who are most familiar with the armories of the National Guard will readily admit that the odd five hundred and thirteen dollars would pay most liberally for all the carpenter work that has been done in the armories during the period named, leaving a balance of \$710,000, on this one transaction, unaccounted for.

And Ingersoll, who is the head and front of every scheme that is concocted in connection with armories and county offices, does not even stop when he has charged ten times over for the same service, but he employs dummies to aid him. The name of C. D. Bollar & Co. is down for furniture and cabinet-work in the armories and county offices. This firm is supposed to have received seven checks, amounting to \$332,705.46, between May 12, 1869, and November 24, 1869, and to have received ten other checks, amounting to \$583,419.52, between May 7, 1870, and August 1, 1870, making a total of

\$916,124.98

drawn by this imaginary firm in less than fifteen months. We say "imaginary firm" for the reason that there is no such firm as C. D. Bollar & Co. in existence. There is a Conrad Boller (not Bollar) in the furniture business at No. 116 Wooster street, and at the corner of University place and Fourteenth street. This man helped Ingersoll to "convey" the furniture out of the armory recently occupied by the First Regiment Infantry, as soon as that regiment vacated the rooms. He has done some jobbing for Ingersoll in other armories, but he has admitted that he *had been paid by Ingersoll*, and had never received any money from the city authorities. Not content with the money received by proxy, Ingersoll has put in bills, during the nineteen months commencing November 12, 1868, and ending April 2, 1870, for chairs, &c.,

furnished to armories, and has received checks during the same period, amounting to

\$769,126.17

under this pretext alone, thus swelling the aggregate for keeping nine or ten armories in repair, and replacing broken furniture, for nineteen months, to the enormous sum of

\$2,749,294.34.

All this, however, sinks into insignificance when compared with the operations under the pretext of repairing and furnishing the county buildings and offices. The county buildings consist of new Court-house, the brown-stone building on Chambers street, and the County Jail in Ludlow street. In these are located all the county offices, with the exception of the Coroner's Office, which is in the old City Hall, and the Bureau of Elections, which is over a paid fire-engine house, corner of Chambers and Centre streets. The Department of Finance (except the Tax Commissioner's Office), the Surrogate's Office, the Sheriff's Office, the County Clerk's Office, the Supervisor's Office, and the Supreme, Superior, Common Pleas, Marine and Oyer and Terminer Courts, are in the new Court-house; and the Tax Commissioner's Office, Court of General Sessions and District-Attorney's Office are in the brown-stone building—making eighteen different offices, exclusive of the County Jail. There is a permanent wash-basin and a water-closet for each office, thus making eighteen wash basins and eighteen water-closets, and for keeping these in repair the public have to pay

\$400,344.28

per year. If our readers are still in doubt as to the real nature of these transactions, we would direct their attention to the following figures: On May 23, 1870, Keyser received a check for plumbing in county offices, from May 22, 1869, to March 16, 1870, for \$31,067.79. This should have paid most liberally for all the work done, but on the same day he received a second check for \$28,093.70 for work on the same office from February 28, 1869, to April 23, 1870. It will be perceived that the second check is made to cover nearly the entire period for which the first check was paid; but, notwithstanding this, a third check is paid to the same man, on the same day, for work in the same offices, from

June 20, 1869, to August 6, 1869, for \$16,924.62—thus triplicating the claim for the months of June, July, and August. On June 6, 1870, Keyser received a check for \$11,300.31 for work in the same offices from June 5, 1869, to February 15, 1870. On the same day he received a second check for \$11,794.16, for work in the same offices from May 28, 1869, to March 19, 1870. On the same day he received a third check for \$13,326.21, for work in the same offices from June 10, 1869, to March 29, 1870.

When these men make a combined raid on the treasury, their operations become really startling. Take the 8th of April, 1870, for instance. On that day there were nine checks paid to these worthies, amounting in the aggregate to

\$226,153.44.

On May 14, three checks were paid to the same parties, amounting to \$117,499.15. Seven days later (May 21), nine more checks were issued to the same parties, amounting to

\$417,994.10.

On May 27, two checks were paid to the same parties, amounting to \$165,701.01, and on the following day (May 28), five more checks were paid to the same parties amounting to

\$236,431.76.

June 3, seven checks were paid to the same parties, amounting, in the aggregate, to

\$300,924.15.

The new city government was inaugurated on the first Monday in June (June 4), 1870, and as Mayor Hall, in his card to the public, has expressed his readiness to take his "full share of responsibility" for passing fraudulent claims after that date, we invite the attention of the public to the following figures:

On June 6, eleven checks were paid to the agents of the Ring, for repairs and furniture for county offices and armories, and amounting, in the aggregate, to \$337,648.72.

June 10, seven checks were paid to the	same parties, amounting to	\$326,590	56
June 13, three	“ “ “	191,086	45
June 17, “	“ “ “	176,811	92
June 20, five	“ “ “	246,103	20
June 24, “	“ “ “	220,052	52
June 27, three	“ “ “	188,368	74
June 30, ten	“ “ “	432,118	40
July 8, three	“ “ “	145,499	50
July 26, four	“ “ “	220,432	40
August 1, four	“ “ “	263,591	54
August 9, three	“ “ “	184,675	38
August 12, four	“ “ “	215,672	29
August 30, two	“ “ “	50,000	00
August 31, one	“ “ “	30,000	00
September 7, six	“ “ “	192,659	96
October 26, one	“ “ “	12,000	00

Making a total paid by the new city government, for repairs and furniture on armories and county offices, between June 6, 1870, and October 26, 1870—four months and twenty days, of—

\$3,433,311.58.

Add to this the \$2,804,207.05, drawn on special account, during the three months ending March 31, 1871, and divided among the same parties, and we have an aggregate of

\$6,237,518.63

paid by Hall and Connolly to their accomplices during the first nine months that the new charter has been in operation.

RECAPITULATION.

INGERSOLL & CO.—

For Furniture to County Courts.....	\$1,479,363	11	
For Carpenter and Cabinet Work to County Courts.	1,250,460	65	
For Carpets, Shades, and Curtains to County courts.....	673,752	49	
For Iron Railing, Cases, Stairs, &c., to County Courts.....	63,201	16	
For Repairs and Alterations to County Courts..	747,965	49	—\$4,214,742 90
For Repairs on Armories and Drill-rooms.....	1,447,998	42	1,447,998 42
For Repairs on Court of Common Pleas.....	905, 51		905 51—\$5,663,646 83

ANDREW J. GARVEY—

For Plastering Work on County Buildings.....	\$531,594	22	
For Painting and Decorating on County Buildings	132,631	92	
For Repairing Plaster-work on County Buildings....	1,294,684	13	—\$1,958,910 27
For Repairing Plaster-work on County Jail.....	41,752	94	41,752 94
For Repairing Plaster-work on Brown-stone Building	31,275	70	31,275 70
For Repairing Plaster-work on Armories and Drill-rooms.....	838,525	15	838,525 15—\$2,870,464 06

KEYSER & CO.—

For Plumbing and Gas-works in County Court-rooms and Offices.....	\$749,224	81	
For Repairs on Plumbing-work in County Court-rooms and Offices.....	51,461	75	— \$800,686 56
For Plumbing-work and Repairs in Armories and Drill-rooms.....	431,131	20	431,131 20—\$1,231,817 76

J. W. Smith—

For Awnings to County Courts and Offices.....	\$23,553	51	— \$23,553 51	— \$23,553 51
Grand Total.....				\$9,789,482 16

COURT-HOUSE—

Carpenter Work and Furniture.....	\$2,793,024	92		
Carpets, Shades, and Curtains	673,752	49		
Plastering Work	531,594	22		
Painting and Decorating..	132,631	92		
Plumbing and Gas Work..	749,224	81		
Awnings.....	23,553	51	—\$4,903,781	87
Repairing and Altering Wood-work.....	747,965	49		
Repairing and Altering Plaster-work.....	1,294,684	13		
Repairing and Altering Plumbing-work	51,461	75	—\$2,094,111	37—\$6,997,893
				24

ARMORIES AND DRILL-ROOMS—

Furniture and Repairing				
Carpenter-work.....	1,447,998	42		
Repairing Plaster-work...	838,525	15		
Repairing Plumber-work..	431,131	20	—\$2,717,654	77—\$2,717,654
				77

MISCELLANEOUS—

Repairs on other County Buildings.....	73,934	15—	73,934	15—	73,934	15
Grand Total.....						\$9,789,482
						16

THE MORAL OF THE FIGURES.

[From *The Times*, of July 20th.]

THE accounts which we publish in a complete form to-day are sufficiently explained in other columns. They reveal a part only of the frauds which are daily carried on at the cost of the tax-payers—if, for instance, Ingersoll's account to date were published, it would be found that his earnings have been in the same proportion since 1869 and '70 as during those years. The attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the public about the "new board" and the "old board," the "new system" and the "old system," will fail—because everybody knows that the new and old systems were substantially alike, in having Tweed, Sweeny, Connolly and Hall, as their leading spirits. No wiredrawn technicalities about "Boards" can cover up the great fact that Tweed, Sweeny, Connolly and Hall, are responsible for the frauds disclosed in the warrants we have published. These are the men who ought to be held to account. They have had many dupes and confederates—but they are the chief culprits, and it is they who ought to be brought to justice. No successful attempt can be made to disprove the accuracy of our quotations from the Controller's books, but the City authorities hope to divert attention from the issue really at stake to all sorts of irrelevant topics. Among the most unworthy of all the pleas put forward, are these: (1.) All men would have stolen had they been in Sweeny, Connolly and Hall's places. (2.) The Radicals are just as corrupt as the Democrats. The first of these arguments we have already dismissed as that of a scoundrel. The second it is entirely unsupported by truth, and if any one will send us proofs of corruption in any quarter, as clear, as undeniable, and as inexcusable as those we now publish, we will print them as prominently as we have printed Connolly's accounts, no matter against whom they tell. But general accusations, without a particle of proof, only convict the man who makes them. We are against corruption wherever it exists, and now the Democrats who prate about "Radical stealings," and try to change the questions and persons under trial, are invited to come forward with their proofs.

The people will judge for themselves whether the Democratic party can survive with the Tammany mill-stone round its neck; and whether it is desirable to place men like Sweeny, Oakey Hall and Connolly in pos-

session of the national Government—an event, which to all appearance, would certainly happen if the Democrats succeeded at the next Presidential election.

A WORD TO GERMANS.

German-American citizens may be assisted in realizing the true significance of the figures given above, by the following series of comparisons between them and the items of National expenditure of the North German Confederation :

I. It has been established beyond a doubt that during the years 1869 and 1870 our City Government spent at least \$51,000,000 of the people's money.

In the Federal Budget of the North German Confederation for 1871, the total estimated revenue is a little over \$51,000,000.

Does any German believe that the City of New York can afford to spend every year as much money as is derived from the Federal income of States containing 38,000,000 of people ?

II. In Germany every man knows that a strict account will be rendered by every department of the Administration of every dollar expended on behalf of the peoples, and that the discovery of peculation, however slight, is at once followed by disgrace.

In New York, no full statement of the public expenditures has been given during the period of the ascendancy of our present rulers, and, far from stealing out of a public purse being considered a crime, those who have swindled must be placed highest in office.

III. The sum appropriated in 1871 for the maintenance of the German Federal Navy, was three and a half millions of dollars.

The sum paid in two years as *part payment* of wood-work and furnishings for the new Court House reached almost exactly the same sum.

IV. The Department of Foreign Affairs of the North German Confederation was supported during one year for the sum expended in 1870 in supplying ten New York armories with chairs and tables.

V. The entire Consular system of the Confederation required only, half the sum paid in two years for keeping the plaster-work of our new Court-House in repair.

VI. The entire Federal Revenue, exclusive of Custom duties of the North German Confederation would have taken one million short of paying Ingersoll & Co.'s account against the new Court-house for two years.

VII. The entire yield of the Income-tax of the Kingdom of Prussia, for the year 1870, was \$5,180,000.

The payments made in 1869-70 for work said to have been done by Ingersoll & Co., on the County buildings and City armories of New York, was \$5,663,646.

VIII. The yield of the Prussian House Tax for 1870, would have been too little by a million to pay Ingersoll's bill.

The revenue from the Meal Tax would not have paid for the chairs and tables furnished to our armories.

IX. The sum shown by our statement to have been drawn from the pockets of the tax-payers to be divided between the members of our City Ring and their tools, would have paid more than half the annual interest on the public debt of Prussia during 1870.

X. The annual charge made on the nation for each Prussian soldier is \$225. The sum of the fraudulent accounts above given would have maintained for one year 43,500 Prussian soldiers, or nearly one-eighth of the entire military establishment in time of peace. We do not profess to have exposed one-eighth of the fraudulent expenditure of the City of New York for 1869-70.

Such illustrations could be indefinitely multiplied, but enough has been said to convey a good idea of how enormous are the frauds.

TAMMANY BAFFLED.

(From the Tribune, August 9th.)

NOBODY will be surprised to learn that the Hon. George Opdyke, Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, has declined to call a meeting of that body for the purpose of selecting a committee to examine Controller Connolly's accounts. It would have been very surprising if he had done otherwise, or if any considerable number of members of the Chamber should have been desirous of such action. Grave and specific charges have been made against those in control of the city finances; everybody knows that these charges, if false, could be instantly disproved by publishing a full, clear, and accurate statement of the receipts and disbursements of the city and county since January, 1869, in simple obedience to a law hitherto audaciously defied. But, instead of doing this, the Mayor and Controller withhold that statement, and ask for a committee of experts! Vice-President Opdyke, in behalf of the Cham-

ber of Commerce, could do nothing less than recall to the mind of the two functionaries who address him, the fact that nothing but this exhibit can save them. All contrivances to evade that issue and gain time are regarded as confessions of guilt.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK, August 8, 1871.

To the Hon. A. Oakey Hall, Mayor, and the Hon. Richard B. Connolly, Controller.

Gentlemen: On my return to the city, yesterday, the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce handed to me, in the absence of Mr. Dodge, your letter of the 4th inst., addressed to the presiding officer of that body, requesting him to convene a special meeting of the Chamber for the purpose of appointing a large and influential committee of its members to make a thorough examination of the financial accounts of the city and county of New York, and to report the result to the people. Under the by-laws of the Chamber, the President has no power to call special meetings, except upon the written application of at least ten of the members.

So far as I have been able to ascertain the views of members, they do not deem it expedient, at the present time, to convene a meeting of the Chamber, for the purpose indicated in your letter. So many of the members are absent from the city that the action of the proposed meeting would afford no trustworthy indication of the views of the Chamber; and it is believed that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find, during this season of relaxation from business, a sufficient number of properly qualified members willing to assume the arduous duties that must devolve upon the large committee of investigation you propose. It is also believed that there are other and stronger reasons for a postponement, for the present, of the proposed meeting of the Chamber.

The records of the Controller's office, so far as they have been officially submitted to the public, show an alarming increase in the public debt—an increase in the funded debt alone since January 1, 1869, of at least \$30,000,000, or upward of 100 per centum, notwithstanding the annual receipt of about \$24,000,000 from taxes, exclusive of the revenue from the city property. Other alleged records of that office which have appeared in *The New York Times*, and the accuracy of which have stood unchallenged for weeks, prove the extraordinary character of some of the charges for repairs and supplies that have been audited and paid.

The Albany Argus, in noticing these transactions, while admitting their improper character, authoritatively declares that a part of the funds thus taken from the city treasury was used in corrupting the Legislature of the State.

In view of these astounding facts, it is thought to be due alike to the city authorities and to the citizens that a full, clear, and accurate statement of the receipts and disbursements of the city and county since January, 1869, including detailed vouchers and specifications for all payments that seem to be exorbitant, should be promptly submitted to the public.

I am persuaded that nothing short of this will meet the just expectations of the people. Such a statement can be prepared more accurately and more promptly by the employés in the Finance Department, who are familiar with its books and accounts, than by any outside committee, however intelligent. When such statement shall have been published, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce might, perhaps, be usefully appointed to examine the books, and determine as to its accuracy. Entertaining these views, I have not felt it to be my duty to attempt to secure a special meeting of the Chamber at this time.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE OPDYKE,

First Vice-President Chamber of Commerce.

WHAT HAS BEEN PROVED.

From The Tribune Aug. 9th.

WE have no detailed account of the disbursements from our city's treasury for the period of thirty months, which ended with last June. We are not likely to have any that lets in any light upon the subject. But certain facts have leaked out, in spite of persistent efforts to conceal them, which establish these propositions:

I. That the funded debt of our city and county, which was reported at less than thirty millions of dollars on the 1st of January, 1869, has certainly been more than doubled since then. If it had only been doubled, the increase would have been \$1,000,000 per month.

II. That the total expenditures on our New Court-house, including its furniture, which no competent builder will certify to be worth (excluding

the ground, which has always belonged to the city) over two millions, have been not less than seven millions of dollars; yet the "aching void" still yearns for more.

III. That the Mayor can only excuse the enormous bills paid by the Controller by saying they were examined and passed by "the old Board of Supervisors," whereof William M. Tweed is known to have been the ruler and lord paramount. Translated into plain English, Hall's plea is, "True, the money is gone; but Connolly and I didn't steal it; it was Tweed: look to him!"

IV. The Albany *Argus*, extenuating the monstrous overcharges for carpentering, plastering, plumbing, &c., on the New Court-house and armories, asserts that as much as \$60,000 each had to be paid for the (happily few) Republican votes required to pass the abominable tax levies of recent years, and points to St. Lawrence, Madison, Herkimer, Cayuga, and Chautauqua as counties whence came the Republicans thus bribed to betray their trust. This again points directly to Tweed as the man who (at once Senator and Supervisor) purchased these Republican legislators.

The above are not all the facts developed by the testimony of our city's rulers and their apologists; but let them suffice for the present. We only add to them the undenied and undeniable fact that our Democratic masters who had access to the city's strong box have been living and spending as though each had Aladdin's lamp for his private possession—that they have built palaces, and laid out grounds, and bought fast horses, and flung money right and left, as though it cost nothing to obtain it. Some of them have stables whereof each would buy a Fifth Avenue mansion, and furnish it sumptuously. A controller's clerk, on a small salary, contested the nearest Senate district in Connecticut, in 1870, and overcame its usual Republican majority of 300 to 400 by a lavish disbursement of money. It didn't cost less than \$1,000,000 to suborn the repeaters and false counters who stole the vote of this State from Grant and Colfax in 1868; and at least as much was expended last year to choose a Democratic legislature, and give Hoffman his 33,000 majority. The Republican vote was, in the aggregate, reasonably full; it was overborne by sluicing the State with money. And our tax-payers have been robbed to carry other States likewise.

Democrats who are not in the Ring! what think ye of these things? Would you like to see the Union ruled and run by those who now run the city and State?

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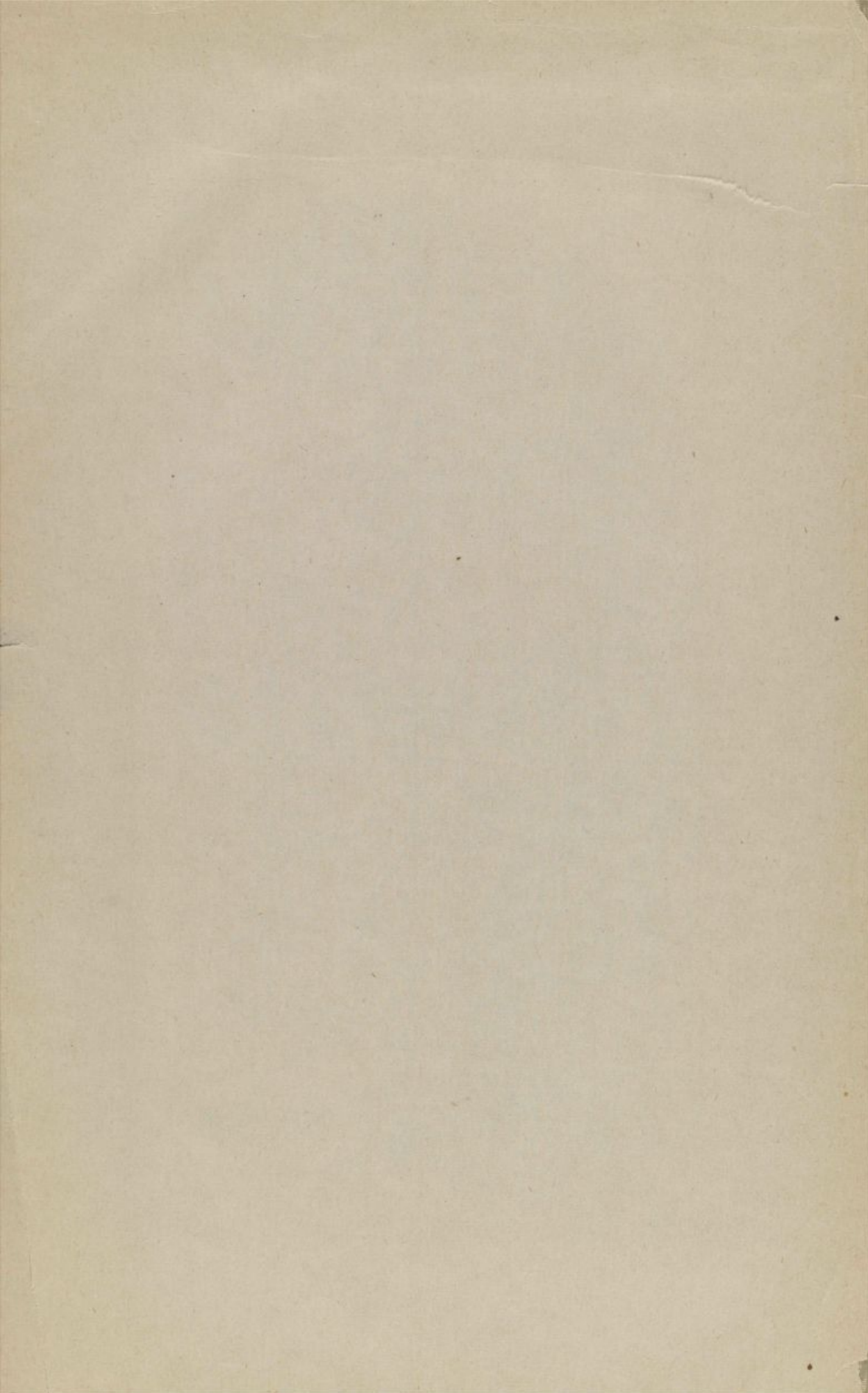
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