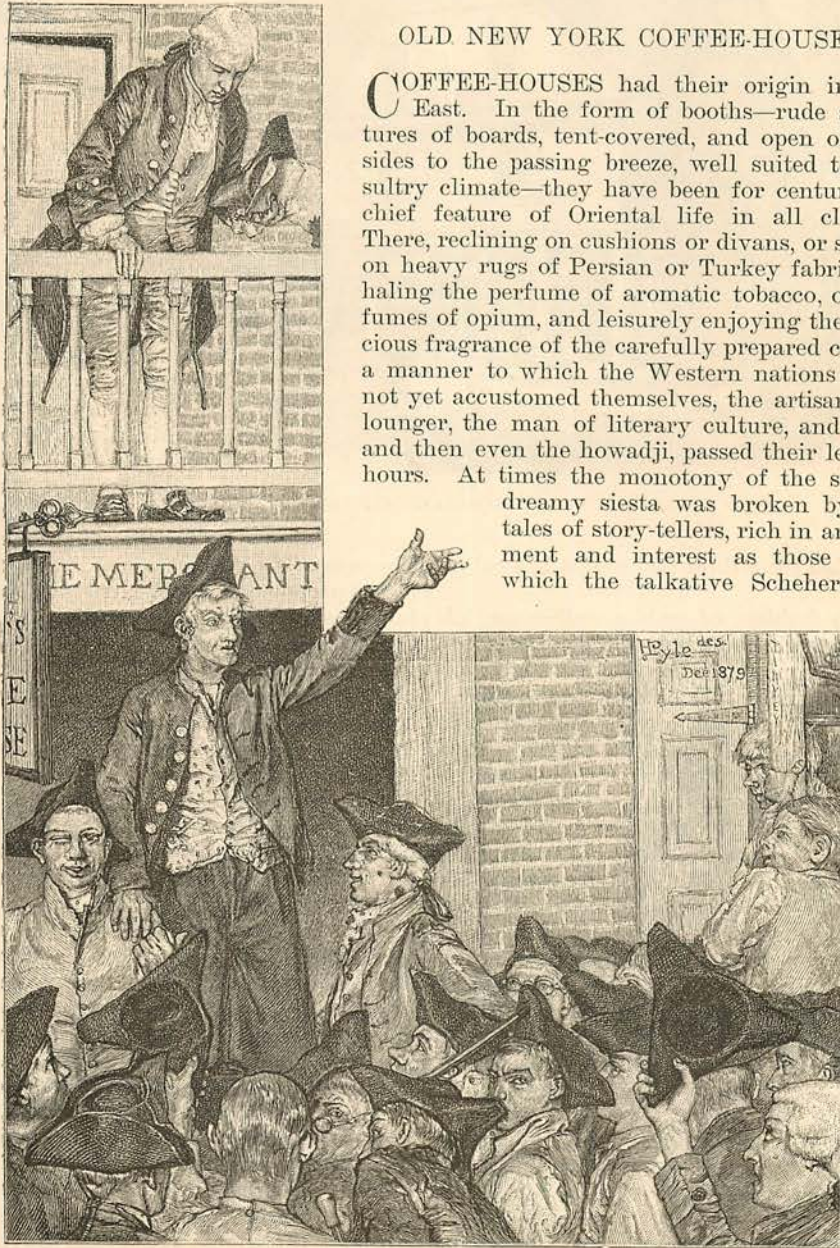


# HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

No. CCCLXXXII.—MARCH, 1882.—VOL. LXIV.

## OLD NEW YORK COFFEE-HOUSES.

COFFEE-HOUSES had their origin in the East. In the form of booths—rude structures of boards, tent-covered, and open on the sides to the passing breeze, well suited to the sultry climate—they have been for centuries a chief feature of Oriental life in all classes. There, reclining on cushions or divans, or seated on heavy rugs of Persian or Turkey fabric, inhaling the perfume of aromatic tobacco, or the fumes of opium, and leisurely enjoying the delicious fragrance of the carefully prepared cup in a manner to which the Western nations have not yet accustomed themselves, the artisan, the loungeur, the man of literary culture, and now and then even the howadji, passed their leisure hours. At times the monotony of the silent, dreamy siesta was broken by the tales of story-tellers, rich in amusement and interest as those with which the talkative Scheherezade



ISAAC SEARS ADDRESSING THE MOB.—[SEE PAGE 492.]

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VOL. LXIV.—No. 382.—31



A LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

beguiled for a thousand nights her caliph lord.

The fashion of public gathering followed the introduction of the coffee-house into Europe, with the change which climate and national characteristics required.

In 1650, as Anthony Wood relates in his *Diary*, "coffee was publicly sold at or near the Angel" (a tavern sign), at Oxford. The keeper was an "Outlander, or Jew," Jacob by name. The Angel Tavern was in the parish of St. Peter, near the east gate of the old university town. He also sold "chocolate and thee"; both these new beverages, as is quaintly remarked, "were by some who delighted in novelties drunk." Accepted at Oxford, coffee soon found its way to London, and in 1652 one Bowman, coachman to Mr. Hodges, a Turkey merchant, was set up by his master in what Aubrey calls "the first coffee-house in London."

In 1663 coffee-houses were placed on the footing of taverns, and a statute of Charles II. of that year required that they should be licensed. Strangely enough, the old Eastern controversy was revived in London, with the difference that the coffee-houses became the resort of the sober, religious Puritan, while the tavern, with its

"jolly good ale and old," was the favorite place of carousal of the Wildrakes of the day. The *Harleian Miscellany* contains two extremely curious tracts on this subject. One published in 1673, called "The Character of a Coffee-House, with the Symptoms of a Town Wit," charges that "the coffee-house is a lay conventicle, good-fellowship turned Puritan, ill husbandry in masquerade, whither people come after toping all day to purchase at the expense of their last penny the repute of sober companions; he that comes often saves twopence a week in *Gazettes*, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge."

The year of the publication of this diatribe it was proposed in Parliament that coffee-houses should be suppressed, and in 1675 a proclamation of the King ordered that they should all be closed, as "seminaries of sedition"; but reflection brought wiser counsel, and the order was rescinded a few days later. Popular habits are not safely interfered with.

The second of the tracts in the *Harleian Miscellany* alluded to, printed in 1675, under the title, "The Coffee-Houses Vindicated," bears witness to the rapid increase of these establishments. "The dull planet Saturn has not finished one revolution through his orb since coffee-houses were first known among us, yet it is worth our wonder to observe how numerous they are already grown. Nor indeed have we any places of entertainment of more use or general conveniency in several respects."

At the period when Hatton wrote (1708) the "nuisances" complained of in 1652 had reached the number of 3000. In 1768, when the signs of London were taken down to allow of free circulation of air through the dingy, murky city, and the old-fashioned taverns decreased, coffee-houses multiplied in number, "the College of Physicians recommending coffee

as a wholesome beverage," until in the beginning of the present century they exceeded 9000 in the city of London and its suburbs.

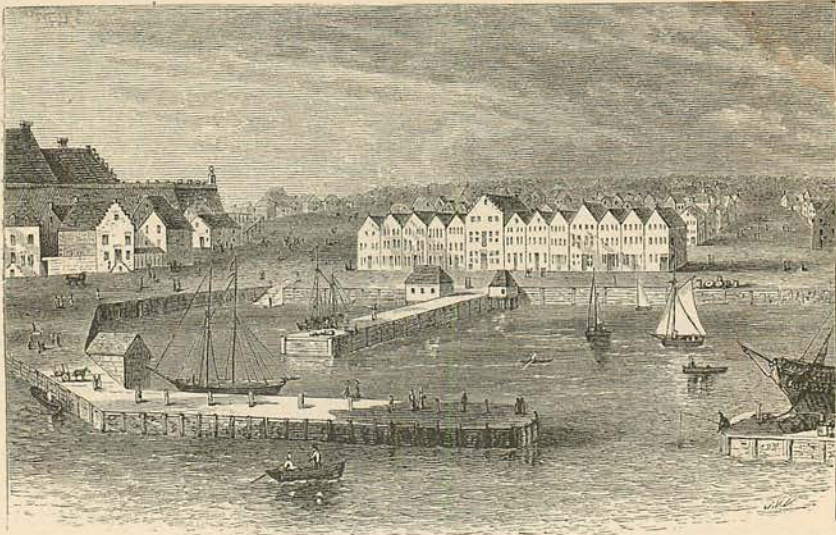
The customs of the English coffee-house were simple. The guest paid a penny on entering, for which he was entitled to a cup of coffee and a comfortable nap over the dull journals of the day. Sometimes there were open tables, as nowadays in France, but the exclusive Englishman generally preferred a box of his own, and the coffee-rooms were partitioned after the fashion of the old oyster boxes with which the passing generation was once familiar.

The English coffee-house was at its zenith in the beginning of this century; since then it has gradually declined; but in all of the sea-board and many of the inland towns a coffee-room is to be found in all the hostelries. The gentry occasionally frequented them even in this century; but the commercial class who drove their own traps had, with their continued custom and more liberal pay, usurped all the best places, the warmest nooks, the choicest waiters, the most careful hostlers, and even the prettiest chamber-maids. This led to a division of these accommodations into coffee-rooms and commercial rooms. There is a sad complaint on this subject by a contributor to *Notes and Queries*, none the less amusing for the vanity the writer betrays in the contentment he expresses that, though he wore a "tourist suit," he was still taken for something better than a commercial traveller, and was shown into the coffee-room. He preferred the second-class fare in this aristocratic quarter to all the luxuries with which the "commercial gents" were favored.

From England the use of coffee-houses soon passed to her American colonies. Drake, in his *History of Boston*, makes mention of the "London Coffee-House," at which books were sold in 1689. Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, locates a coffee-house in the neighborhood of Front and Walnut streets, at which a Common Council of the city was held in 1704. The first coffee-house in New York was probably established as early as either of these, as there is mention made in the report of the trial of Colonel Bayard—charged with high treason, for his participation in the Leister troubles—of a meeting of a number of citizens at the Coffee-

House. This was in 1701. It appears by the evidence that a petition was signed in "the upper room," and that Colonel Bayard was present, "smoking a Pipe of Tobacco." The Journal of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York for the following year contains a notice that the conference committee of the Council and Assembly will meet at the Coffee-House October 4, 1705; and it appears from an examination of this document that all such committees were there held until June, 1709, after which they are recorded at different taverns until 1732, when the Coffee-House again appears on the minutes as their place of meeting.

From the journals of the Council and Assembly until the printing of the newspapers, the first of which, *The New-York Gazette*, was begun in 1725, there is no intermediate field for research. Unfortunately there were but few advertisements in the earlier years. The world had not yet learned the lesson which newspapers have since taught us to consider a cardinal faith, that the only road to success (their own included) is through advertising. This as it may be. The earliest notice of a coffee-house in the newspapers appears in *The New-York Gazette* of July 28 to August 11, 1729, as the spot "where a competent book-keeper may be heard of." The first which by its context offers a clew to the location of the building is an advertisement in this same journal, March 1, 1730, of a sale of land by public vendue at the Exchange Coffee-House. Lyne's map of the city in 1728 shows that the Exchange was then at the foot of Broad Street. The increase of the city, and the natural attractions of the river-side for a population who were with few exceptions engaged in trade, had caused a gradual movement in an easterly direction, and the centre of business had passed from the Whitehall slip to the Great Dock and the market-house near by. This building, constructed in 1690-1, and for many years used as a shambles, had been repaired, and becoming the resort of traders in commodities as well as sellers of food, gradually acquired the name of the Exchange. This was the first, or Old Exchange. The building stood in the middle of the street, as was the custom of the period. It would be difficult to find an example of any public building otherwise located. The few views of the city which remain agree in exhibiting it as an



OLD BRIDGE AND DOCK AT THE WHITEHALL SLIP.

open structure, probably only a roof erected upon pillars as a shelter from the elements. Its front foundation rested on the sea-wall. Before it was a wooden projection extending over the water in a straight line, which took the name of the Long Bridge, and divided the Great Dock into two sections, which were known as the East and West docks. The Great Dock was a wharf front extending from the Whitehall to Countess Slip (Coenties Slip), and facing a large basin, which was protected from the sea by a semicircular exterior breakwater. This great basin was the favorite anchorage for vessels, which were less exposed here than at the older wharf by the Whitehall. The buildings on the water-front rapidly grew in favor with the maritime portion of the community, and petty taverns for the accommodation of captains and sailors sprung up along the wharf—a delightful spot, with its southern exposure overlooking the beautiful surface of the bay, spotted with the islands of green, and fanned by the soft breezes which drew in from the sea. The Exchange Coffee-House was no doubt in this neighborhood, but the habits of New York innkeepers were too migratory to warrant an assumption that it was in the precise spot where it will be found a few years later. In 1732 the call for the meeting of the conference committee of the Council and Assembly at “the Coffee-House” seems to imply that there was but

one establishment of the kind in the city. In 1733 an advertisement in *The New-York Gazette* requests the return of “lost sleeve buttons to Mr. Todd, next door to the Coffee-House.” Robert Todd was a vintner and popular tavern-keeper of the day. He kept the famous Black Horse Tavern, where the great ball in honor of the birthday of Frederick, Prince of Wales, was given in January, 1736. This tavern was that year in Smith (now William) Street, near the Old Dutch Church, but it seems more probable that he had removed his sign from next door to the Coffee-House to this then remote quarter of the city, than that the Coffee-House should have been so far distant from the business centre. In the early part of the last century all the principal inhabitants, with the exception of the Governor of the Province, his suite, and the officers of the navy and army, were in some manner connected with trade, and many of these were glad to find brides and fortunes in the ranks of the solid merchant families of Dutch or English stock. The professions afforded a narrow field of employment, and their members could hardly have maintained a home of their own. With these suggestions the balance of probabilities must now be left.

Wherever located, the Coffee-House was the favorite resort of the magnates of the time; not, as in England a few years previously, “a lay conventicle,” or hot-bed

of sedition, but the gathering-place of the friends of church and state, and of the ruling administration of the colony—the “courtiers,” as they were termed by their

dispute, I really was not only surprised but shocked to hear men of good sense talk after the manner they did; and one of their great men expressed himself in

Numb. 425



THE  
New-York Gazette,



From December 10, to Monday December 17, 1733.



Copenhagen, October 30.  
COURIER, arrived this Morning from Paris with Dispatches from the Ambassadors of France, and for the Marquis de ...

if there be Wind enough to blow out a double Watch Candle it will raise 40, 50 or 60 Hogheads of Water in an Hour, and continues thus incessantly in all by Day ...

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF “THE NEW-YORK GAZETTE” FOR DECEMBER 17, 1733.

adversaries, the Dissenters and republicans. The journals of 1734, Bradford's *New-York Gazette*, the government organ, and Zenger's *New-York Weekly Journal*, the mouth-piece of the opposition, are full of this strife. A correspondent of Zenger, one Andrew Merrill, reciting his experience in public places, writes on the 15th of March of this year that the “next company he got into were all courtiers; the first evening or two passed agreeably enough, but when they entered into party

the following manner: ‘What! shall a parcel of mob and canaille, and especially a Dutch mob, pretend to censure the actions of those his Excellency has intrusted with power?’ To this, a few days later, a correspondent replies through *The New-York Gazette*, under the *nom de plume* of Peter Scheme: “If you please, Mr. Bradford, and you may publish it to the world, and then Mr. Zenger will know, that I also frequent the Coffee-House, to take a hitt at Back-Gammon, when I have

Numb. VII.

THE  
New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY December 17, 1733.

Mr. Zenger;



AM told your Envoys ...  
... for exceeded your ...

WILLIAM LIGGETT late of Boston, Marin-  
ner, aged about 22 Years ...  
on ...  
at ...

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF “THE NEW-YORK WEEKLY JOURNAL” FOR DECEMBER 17, 1733.

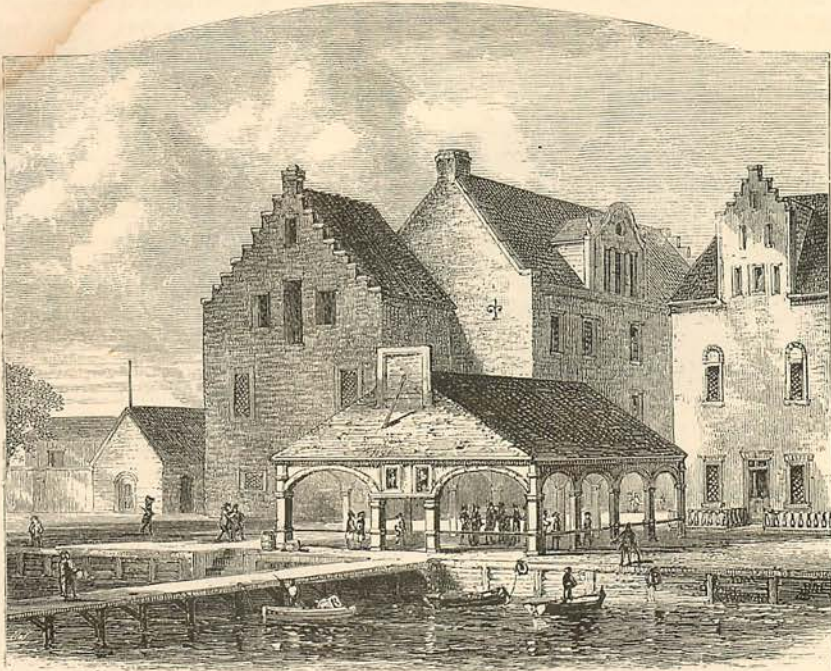
the opportunity of hearing the curious sentiments of the Courtiers (since he is pleased to call the gentlemen who frequent that place so) concerning his journal," and continues in defense of his friends and heavy satire of the opposition. Party spirit ran high, and the court party was driven to madness by the squibs, ballads, and serious charges of the democratic journal, which by no means confined itself within the bounds of polite polemics. Colonel Harrison, the Recorder, who had felt the lash of the independent journal, threatened to "lay his cane over the back" of Mr. Zenger, who replied, with that courage for which New York editors have always been celebrated, "that he wore his sword at his side." Intimidation failing, an Order of Council commanded that certain numbers of the obnoxious journal, which included the scurrilous articles, should "be burned by the hands of the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory," as seditious and libellous. But the court refused to grant the order to the sheriff (an officer under their control) to carry out this command, and even forbade his underling, the whipper, to obey it, and his place was supplied by a negro slave of the sheriff. A few days later, Zenger, the obnoxious printer, was thrown into jail.

In the spring of 1735, Zenger was tried, when Mr. Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, a lawyer of repute and of great eloquence, surprised the court and the city by appearing in his defense. The case was carried on with brilliancy and vigor, and the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty, which was greeted with a storm of applause. The judge from the bench threatened the leader of the tumult with imprisonment, when Captain Norris, of the Royal Navy, declared himself the leader, and invited a new round of approbation. Captain Norris was a son-in-law of Colonel Lewis Morris, then in England. Mr. Hamilton was entertained in great state at dinner after the trial, and followed the next morning, on his departure for Philadelphia, by the whole population of the city. A short time later he was presented with the freedom of the city, by the corporation, in a gold box. The old race struggle between the descendants of the old Dutch families and those of the English usurpers, allayed by the accession of William of Orange and the establishment of the Protestant succession, had been re-

vived by the insolent arrogance of the English Governor, and popular sympathy was all with Van Dam in his struggle with Cosby. Van Dam, as senior Councillor of the Province, had become the President of the Council and acting Governor of the Province on the death of Governor Montgomerie in 1731, and had been recently displaced by the appointment, in 1732, of Governor Cosby, whom historians of all parties agree in considering an indiscreet and unsafe magistrate. Religious antipathies slumbered in embers, ready to break into blaze at the slightest breeze, and continued a perpetual element in party divisions, although the Church of England had remained quiet since the accession of George II., and the government, under Walpole's wise administration, had held both Jacobites and Dissenters in check with temperate balance.

To these causes of discord was added the struggle for power between rival families, which for a century contended for the control of the colony and the patronage of its administration. On the one hand, the thoroughly English High-Church party, led by the young, accomplished, and versatile James De Lancey, whose sympathies, notwithstanding his half-French, half-Dutch parentage (his father was a Huguenot emigrant, and his mother a Van Cortlandt), were wholly with the crown, and under his leadership the families of Walton, Cruger, Watts, Phillipse, Barclay, with their intermarriages and English alliances. On the other, the Presbyterians and dissenting element were marshalled under the veteran Colonel Lewis Morris, a man of uncommon vigor of mind and tenacity of purpose, skilled in the art of government and the management of mankind. In his support were William Livingston and James Alexander, both, like himself, large landed proprietors, representing the "country party," and William Smith, an active and adroit politician, and behind them the great republican element.

At this period the Church party and the De Lanceys had the upper hand. Morris, who had been made Chief Justice of the Province in 1702, had been displaced to make room for De Lancey. His own personal grievances he redressed by a visit to England, where, through his own personal abilities, and the influence of his family connections, his wife being a Graham, nearly allied with the Earl of Montrose,

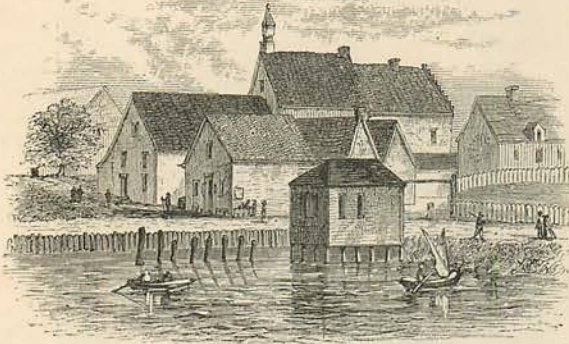


THE EXCHANGE, FOOT OF BROAD STREET, 1752.

and his daughter married to a son of Admiral Sir John Norris, he obtained the separation of the government of New Jersey from New York, and secured for himself the appointment of Governor of the former colony, in which he was largely interested. He had inherited a large landed estate, covering the county of Monmouth, and was at this time the president of the Council of Proprietors. The republicans did not fare as well. Alexander and Smith were driven from their seats as judges, and the liberal party lost all power. From this time until the separation from the mother country the Church party ruled the city, and divided all the patronage of the government—of little advantage to them in the end, as gratitude for these benefits naturally attached them to the crown, and secured their loyalty or neutrality during the Revolutionary struggle. At the close, loyalty brought confiscation of their estates, and neutrality involved distrust and a long deprivation of political influence and honors, while the Livingstons and the Morrisses enjoyed the highest positions of trust and power.

In 1737 the Exchange Coffee-House was

next door to the Fighting Cocks—a tavern which appears, from the evidence in the trial at the time of that popular delusion and frenzy known as the Negro Plot, to have been kept by John Croker in 1740, by the Long Bridge. The advertisement in 1737 of Broadway lands for sale at public vendue or outcry shows that the Coffee-House was the public place of congregation. Till the close of the last, and indeed during the first quarter of the present, century, nearly all the auctions were held at the Coffee-House; the finer fabrics and articles of delicate texture were sold within, heavier merchandise from the adjoining pavement. The Coffee-House now disappears from the newspapers for several years, coming to view again in 1748, in a notice of Cheshire cheese to be sold at the Great Dock, next door to the Exchange Coffee-House. This is the first distinct location. In 1749 Andrew Ramsay opened it next door to where Mr. Cox lately kept it, and promises the old patrons of the house the best entertainment. In 1750 it was known as the Gentlemen's and Exchange Coffee-House and Tavern, "continued to be kept at the sign of the King's Arms, in the same house



FOOT OF WALL STREET AND FERRY-HOUSE, 1679.

which was kept by Andrew Ramsay, near the Long Bridge." The next year the sign was altered, and removed to Broadway, where Benjamin Pain, an old tavern-keeper from "Cruger's Wharf," at the Old Slip, announced it as the Gentlemen's Coffee-House and Tavern. In 1753 the Gentlemen's Coffee-House had migrated to Hunter's Quay, the water-line, now Front Street, between the Old Slip and Wall Street, and Mr. Payne, as he then styled himself, was selling choice Madeira, Geneva, arrack, tea, and sugars from his house opposite the Old Slip Market, at the sign of Admiral Warren.

In those primitive days, before cities were as plenty as taverns in this young country, the highest compliment that could be paid to a hero was to put his head on a tavern sign. An intermediate step, perhaps, was the naming of streets in honor of the favorite. Sir Peter Warren, whose famous exploit in the capture of Louisburg was still fresh in the memory of New-Yorkers who took part in the action, was twice favored—his head hung on a tavern sign, and his name is perpetuated in a well-known street of the city. After this period we hear no more of the Gentlemen's Coffee-House.

The Old Exchange has been described as thoroughly as the brief casual notices which the newspapers supply admitted. Fortunately there is more abundant material for an account of the building which was erected on its site in 1752. This edifice, known as the New Exchange, or Royal Exchange, was raised upon arches, above which was a large hall sixty feet by thirty, with walls fourteen feet high,

which arched to an elevation of twenty feet. The building was surmounted by a cupola. The room above was at first used as a store by Oliver De Lancey, a merchant of the city, who hired it on its completion in 1753, but in 1754 it passed into the hands of Keen and Lightfoot, who opened it on the 4th of February as a coffee-room, with a ball-room annexed. It is not certain, but probable, that a part of the open space below, which served as an exchange and thoroughfare, was at this time inclosed. In 1756 the partnership of William Keen and Alexander Light-

foot was broken up, and Lightfoot continued the coffee-room in his own name. Upon his death in 1757, his widow, Sarah, obtained a renewal of the lease of the building from the corporation of the city upon the old terms—£40 per annum—but the next year the rent was raised to £54, and it passed to the hands of Mr. Roper Dawson for a term of three years, and was restored by him to its original use—a mercantile house.

Meanwhile a rival had risen in the Merchants' Coffee-House, the history of which covers a long period full of incident and interest. Before passing to it, mention may be made of the Whitehall Coffee-House, opened by Rogers and Humphreys in 1762, whose first advertisement is of value as showing the true purposes of public-houses of this kind. They announce that "a correspondence is settled in London and Bristol to remit by every opportunity all the public prints and pamphlets as soon as published; and there will be a weekly supply of New York, Boston, and other American papers."

The Merchants' Coffee-House is first named in a notice of the 7th of November, 1743, of a house for sale, which appears (the preceding numbers of the journal being missing), in Parker's *Weekly Post Boy* of the 16th of January, 1744. The files of newspapers before this period are so incomplete that no mention remains of the opening of this house in the scattered numbers to be found in our public libraries. Its location, however, is beyond question. It stood on the southeast corner of Wall and Queen (now Water) streets, on a site familiar to New-Yorkers as that for



many years occupied by the *Journal of Commerce*. The original site, with additional land on Water and Wall streets, is now covered by a five-story building of brick with granite facings, known as Nos. 91 and 93 Wall Street.

An interesting description of the style of building at this period remains in the sketch of New York by Professor Peter Kalm, a Swede, who travelled through the colonies in 1748. "Most of the houses," he says, "are of brick, and several stories high. Some had, according to old architecture, the gable end toward the street, but the new were altered in this respect. Many of the houses had a balcony on the roof, in which the people used to sit in the evenings in the summer season; these

cordance with the few remains of old architecture now existing, and no doubt accurately describes the Merchants' Coffee-House. In an advertisement of lease in 1775 it appears as a building three stories in height, and of depth enough to allow of a large store on the lower story, as well as a long-room—an indispensable part of a great public-house—on the second floor. Adjoining it was a small tenement, the lower part of which was probably used as a kitchen, and the upper as one of the noted insurance offices of the city. On the front of the house was a piazza, and on the side a platform, which served as a stand for the auctioneers, who held their sales on the bridge close by. Over the piazza a balcony.



THE PRESS-GANG IN NEW YORK.

roofs were covered with tiles or shingles of wood of the white-fir tree. The walls were covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames. On each side of the chimney they had usually an alcove, and the wall under the windows wainscoted, and had benches placed under it. The alcoves and all wood-work painted a bluish-gray." Such luxuries as hangings were unknown. This is in ac-

At the time when the coffee-house first appears, New York was in a thriving condition. Party rage, which had distracted the province to such an extent that Governor Clarke wrote to the Board of Trade of "an almost total suspension of ship-building, of houses empty for want of tenants," and of an exodus of the inhabitants, was now assuaged, and the war with France gave new life to the city.

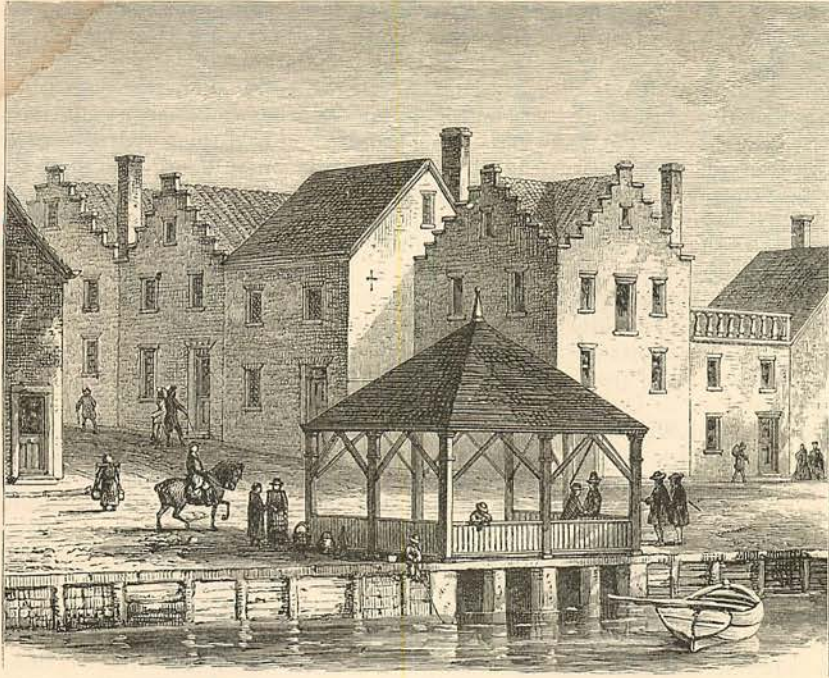
The trade of New York in 1747 was chiefly with England and the West India Islands. England supplied the colonies with European and India goods and silk manufactures, receiving in return provisions, hides, snuff; Ireland sent over linens and canvas, and carried back flax and staves; the West Indies took flour and staves, for which they returned rum, sugar, and molasses. And there was a brisk trade with Madeira and the Canary Islands in wines and grain, while an occasional venture to the African coast brought in a cargo of negroes. These various branches of commerce employed in 1746 ninety-nine vessels of 4513 tons, and were manned by 755 seamen. The population at the same date was 9253, of which 2464 were negroes.

It is pleasant to record that even at this early day New York displayed the large and liberal spirit which has since distinguished her history. The Jews, maltreated in all parts of Europe, here enjoyed all the privileges common to other inhabitants. In 1748 Kalm reports that they had "houses and great country-seats of their own, and owned ships, in which they freighted and sent out their own goods." And he adds the more curious statement, that both the men and women dressed after the English fashion. The bonnets and long fur-trimmed cloaks which may still be seen on the streets of Frankfort and other German cities had given way to cocked hats, long waistcoats, and gartered hose, and in outward garb at least the Jews were no longer a "peculiar people." Many of them had been identified from an early period with the history of the colony. Some had emigrated from Holland, others from the Mediterranean. The names of Seixas, Hendricks, Judah, Gomez—all honored then as now—are evidence of their varied origin. They seem to have been among the larger merchants of the day.

But war, not commerce, was the business of the last century, and it must be admitted that a declaration of hostilities against France and Spain, and the royal command "to harass and annoy his Majesty's enemies," were always welcome to New York ears.

Then the coffee-houses were busy places, and the taverns on the docks did a thriving business. The adventurous merchants fitted out numbers of privateers on these occasions. Between 1743 and 1748 the

names of no less than thirty-one vessels, ranging from ten to twenty-four guns, appear in the newspapers, which make record also of the numerous prizes brought in—cargoes of sugar from the Spanish islands, wines and brandies taken on the way from Bordeaux and Rochelle to the French colonies. These vessels were commanded and manned by the bloods of the city, who left off cock-fighting and horse-racing for the new and venturesome career. Captain John Jauncey opens the articles of the ship *Lincoln*, fourteen guns, at the Jamaica Arms. Jacobus Kierstede, who has just brought in a prize, calls on the young gentlemen to man the *Prince Charles*, which carries twenty-four guns. Samuel Bayard in the *Polly*, Abraham Kip in the *Don Carlos*, Peter Keteltas in the *Bachelors* (no doubt he had the cream of the fashion), John Lawrence in the *Rainbow*, and Thomas Seymour, of Hartford, in the *Clinton* and *Dragon* by turns, vie with one another in their inducements. Their profitable career, broken up by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, was resumed with fresh vigor on the renewal of hostilities by France in 1755. During the seven years' war which ensued, and is known in the history of the colonies as "the French war," which began with the disastrous defeat of Braddock, and closed with the surrender of the Canadas in 1763, the privateers were even more active than before. In 1757 there were already thirty-nine ships, carrying 128 guns, and manned by 1050 men, scouring the seas, and before January, 1758, they had brought into New York fifty-nine prizes, besides sending twenty into other ports for adjudication. So popular was this employment that Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey wrote to the London Board of Trade, in 1758, "that men would no longer enlist in the army," and "that the country was drained of many able-bodied men by almost a kind of madness to go a-privateering." In addition to the old captains, who again hoisted their favorite flags, the names of Winthrop, Phoenix and Amory appear as commanders of vessels. Alexander McDougall and Isaac Sears, whose names are famous in the later history of the city, commanded the *Tyger* and *Decoy*; and Thomas Doran, who kept a tavern at the Fly Market, made rapid and successful ventures on the famous Sandy Hook pilot-boat the *Flying Harlequin*, which was armed to the teeth with fourteen guns, and won a fame for



FOOT OF WALL STREET AND FERRY-HOUSE, 1746.

speed as great as that of the *Wanderer* of our own day. There were other risks in privateering than those of death and capture by the enemy. Much more dreaded was the grip of the men-of-war, which spared neither friend nor foe when they wanted sailors, and pressed the privateersmen with peculiar satisfaction.

The merchants were not free from anxiety at home, and it appears that it was a matter of serious discussion at the Coffee-House in 1755 as to "whether the channel should not be made shallower for defense of the city against large ships." With the close of the war, commerce returned to its normal channels, and a period of remarkable activity began.

Now we find constant mention of men whose fame has come down to us not only as merchant princes, but as the leading spirits of this exciting period. John Alsop, Philip Livingston, and Isaac Low, all delegates to the First Continental Congress, were in the general importing business. Alsop had his store on Hanover Square, Livingston on Burnet's Quay, near the ferry stairs, Low near the Exchange. The brothers Cruger, Henry and John, were in the Bristol trade, and lived on the new wharf by the Old Slip, which bore

their name. Henry was later member of Parliament for Bristol, colleague and "Ditto" to Mr. Burke. John was the manly patriotic mayor who took the obnoxious stamps—symbols of exaction—from Lieutenant-Governor Colden; while a third brother, Nicholas, was settled at the little island of Nevis, in the West Indies. The three brothers bore the sobriquets of the Old Nick, the Old Harry, and the Old Boy. John, the Old Boy, was a bachelor. Gerard William Beekman confined himself to dry-goods in Dock Street, while James imported European and India goods, and sold them at his store in Queen Street. Walter and Thomas Buchanan, also a great importing house, were in Queen Street, near the Fly Market. Elias Desbrosses, of Huguenot descent, whose father was a famous confectioner, lived near the Merchants' Coffee-House, toward the Fly Market, and was also in general trade. Henry Remsen, Jun., later the patriotic chairman of the Committee of Safety, carried on the dry-goods trade in Hanover Square, and near him were the brothers McEvers, in the same line of business. Sampson and Solomon Simson, the leading Jewish merchants of the city, were in the general shipping and grocery trade in

Stone Street. The vendue masters clustered about the Coffee-House. Moore and Lynsen, Patrick McDavitt, and Daniel McCormick were in Wall Street. Hoffman and Ludlow in Dock Street (Pearl Street). Insurances were made in a primitive way at the Coffee-House at fixed hours, or at the new office established next door in 1759. The Waltons had their extensive ship-yards on the East River, and their residence in the well-known house on St. George's Square (now Franklin Square). Gerardus Duyckinck introduced displayed advertisements of "the universal store" at the sign of the Looking-Glass and Druggist Pot, in Dock Street, at the corner of the Old Slip Market, where he sold drugs, medicines, and stationery; and William Brownejohn, from London, who later purchased the Merchants' Coffee-House, was selling medicines next door, and by careful investment accumulating a large landed estate. The Bayards, who had introduced the "mystery of sugar refining," as they termed it, in 1730, had their refinery in Wall Street; Isaac Roosevelt, another, in Skinners Street, near Franklin Square, and his sale office in Wall Street. The Lisenards had a large brewery on the North River, and the Rutgers a similar establishment on the East River.

The year 1765 was a memorable one in the history of the city. In spite of the earnest remonstrances of the colonies, Parliament passed the Stamp Act. At the call of New York a Congress met in the city, and the colonies united in a resolve to resist its execution; and adding action to resolve, the merchants solemnly entered into an agreement on the 31st of October not to make any importations from Great Britain until the act should be repealed. This agreement was signed at the house kept by George Burns—the Province, or New York, Arms. The De Lancy House, converted into a tavern by Edward Willet in 1754, was taken by George Burns in 1763, and at this time occupied by him. The house stood on the site later known as that of the City Hotel. The next day was one of great popular excitement. The citizens gathered in mass, paraded through the streets, and burned the effigy of Governor Colden under the guns of the fort, then turning, marched to the Vauxhall, the residence of Major James, of the Royal Army, and sacked it of its furniture, which they destroyed. "The

next day a paper was read from the balcony of the Coffee-House, calling upon the inhabitants to suppress riots; but Isaac Sears, the old privateersman—a popular favorite and leader—addressed the people, and told them that this call upon them was only to prevent their gaining possession of the stamps." A few days later the stamps were surrendered to the mayor, and quiet was restored. By whom the Merchants' Coffee-House was kept during the twenty-five years that have come under notice it has not been possible to ascertain. Incidentally the name of Alexander Smith appears "in from the Coffee-House." He opened a tavern in the Fields (near the Park) in 1766. A widow Smith lived in the small building in the rear of the Coffee-House in 1759, and Anthony Van Dam had his insurance office there, but there is no connecting link between herself and the Alexander mentioned. One Richard Smith bought the Coffee-House of John Theobalds, the son of the old captain, on April 2, 1761; but as he sold it on the 8th of this same month to Samuel Stillwell, there seems no probability that it was more than a speculative purchase. He appears, moreover, as a merchant, which innkeepers were never called.

In January, 1770, the great subject of public interest was whether the ballot should be open or secret, a matter discussed by the independent freeholders and freemen of the city at a mid-day meeting at the Coffee-House on the 5th. The opponents of the secret ballot adroitly put their opinions in their call. They propose to "convince their Representatives in the Assembly, when the subject was under debate, that they are not to be diverted by any motives whatever from daring and choosing to speak their minds freely and openly, to do which at all times is their birthright as Englishmen and their glory as freemen." Macchiavelli himself could not have stated the case more cleverly.

This year, again, is noted for the excitement in the colonies with regard to the non-importation agreement. Ever since 1768 there had been an effort by the colonies to retaliate upon Great Britain by a refusal to receive any of the goods upon which the bill introduced by Townshend in 1766 had imposed duties, chief among which was tea. New York was warm in adhesion to the scheme, but it appearing

in 1770 that the agreement had only been observed partially in the other colonies, her merchants became restive, and refused any longer to be bound by it, and called upon the colonies to send delegates to meet her own in general Congress.

These debates were generally held in the Coffee-House, and the newspapers are full of calls for committees and minutes of their sessions.

In 1771, Dr. William Brownejohn, who was then the owner of the building, which he had purchased from Samuel Stillwell in 1762, offered it for sale, with the "small adjoining tenement" which has been alluded to. It is described as occupied by Mrs. Mary Ferrara, widow. Mary Ferrara, or Ferrari, was the widow of Francis Ferrari, merchant and ship-owner, who died at St. Eustatia in 1753. From his will there is a reasonable presumption that he was from Geneva, though the name is Italian. In 1776 she was living in Maiden Lane, so that her stay in the Merchants' Coffee-House had not been of very long duration. The proposal to sell the Coffee-House did not meet with success. The next year (1772) Mrs. Ferrari leaves the old house, and opens a new coffee-house on the opposite cross corner, where a new building had been erected on the site now occupied by the Tontine Building. As she announces that the gentlemen of the two insurance offices are likewise removed from the old to the new Coffee House, it is probable the attraction of the old hostess and the new house were too strong for the mercurial New-Yorkers, always ready for novelties of every kind. Tavern-keeping was too favored a profession for a house to be long without a tenant, and Mr. Brownejohn was not a man to let his house lie unoccupied. When Madame Ferrari went out, Elizabeth Wragg came in. The house is said to be "now fitted up in the most neat and commodious manner." Breakfast was promised, and relishes at all hours, and coffee as usual. In 1773, Nesbitt Deane, a hatter from Dublin, was in possession of the house, and advertises lodgings suitable for gentlemen either of divinity, law, or physic, and fit for a notary public or insurance office, as well as a part of the lower part of the house for a large store. Deane was an eccentric creature, if any judgment can be formed of him from his puffs. "His hats," he says, "are manufactured to exceed in fineness, cut, color, and cock, and

by a method peculiar to himself to turn rain, and prevent the sweat of the head damaging the crown." If Mrs. Wragg remained in the house, as is somewhat uncertain, the coffee-room was evidently restricted in proportions. This year the noted Major James, of Stamp Act memory, sold out his house in Wall Street by public vendue at the Merchants' Coffee-House, and his stylish black coach-horses changed hands at the same place. This is mentioned to show that this remained the preferred locality for auctions, even when the Coffee-House had lost its prestige. Yet the old house was still the daily resort, and now became the scene of grave and important events.

The political crisis averted in 1766 by the influence of Pitt and the yielding of the Ministry was again, through the dogged obstinacy of the King and the weak subserviency of Lord North, rapidly drawing to a head. The East India Company's ships, with their cargoes of tea, were announced as on the way, and there were rumors that merchants would be found ready to accept the shipments. This was contrary to the agreement of non-importation, which, relaxed in other respects, was continued as to tea. The 11th November, 1773, written notices were posted at the Coffee-House, menacing destruction to any one who should "accept of the commission, or be in any way accessory thereto." On the 16th December, at a great meeting called at the City Hall, resolutions were passed not to permit the landing of the tea. A few days later, news came from Boston that the tea vessels arrived there had been boarded, and their contents thrown into the sea. Throughout the winter the citizens of New York were anxiously awaiting the arrival of the *Nancy*, Captain Lockyer, with the cargo destined to try their constancy. This vessel, which sailed in company with those for Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, had met with adverse winds, and been driven off the coast as far south as Antigua. She reached the Hook on the 18th of April, 1774, but was not permitted to come up to the city, the pilots being instructed not to take her in hand. The Sons of Liberty, who had organized in November, 1773, to meet every Thursday evening at the house of Mr. Jasper Drake, now kept a watch on the vessel, but permitted Captain Lockyer to come up to the city to obtain supplies.

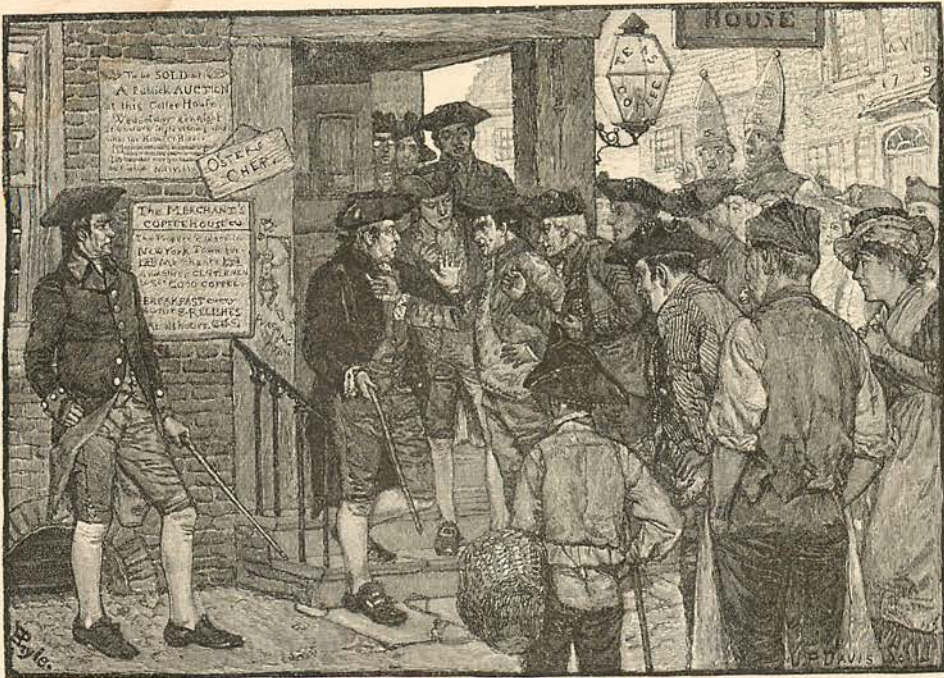
Although Captain Lockyer was treated with entire courtesy, it was determined that he should witness the feeling which existed in the city, and public notice was given that the people would meet in convention to witness his departure. Accordingly, on Saturday, the 30th April, at eight o'clock, all the bells in the city were rung. "About nine the greatest number of people were collected at or near the Coffee-House that was ever known in this city. At a quarter past nine the committee of the Sons of Liberty who had Captain Lockyer in charge came out of the Coffee-House. He was taken to the end of Murray's Wharf, at the foot of Wall Street, near by, and put on board the pilot-boat, amid the music of bands, the huzzas of the people, and the firing of guns. He joined his ship at the Hook, and put to sea next morning, carrying with him Captain Chambers, of the *London*, who had attempted to smuggle eighteen chests of the forbidden article. His ship had been boarded the evening previous and the tea destroyed. Fortunately Captain Chambers, whose conduct seems to have been marked by great duplicity, prudently concealed himself. Had he been found, in the excited state of public feeling, his life would have been in danger.

On the 12th of June the packet-ship *Samson* brought out copies of the bill closing the port of Boston, and a few days later the resolutions of the Bostonians urging the colonies to renew their old non-importation agreement. A public meeting was called at Francis' Tavern on the evening of the 16th. The attendance being too large for the rooms of Mr. Francis, the meeting adjourned to the Exchange. There was a sharp struggle for leadership between the mechanics and radicals, led by Isaac Sears, and the more staid and orderly merchants. The merchants prevailed, and their influence predominated in the Committee of Correspondence which was then appointed. That there might be no doubt of the distinct settlement of this disputed point of control, a subsequent meeting was called at the Coffee-House the 19th instant, at which the choice of the 16th was confirmed by a large majority. Gouverneur Morris describes this meeting as a "grand division of the city." He writes to his friend Penn: "I stood in the balcony, and on my right hand were ranged all the people of property, with some few very

poor dependents, and on the other all the tradesmen, etc., who thought it worth their while to leave daily labor for the good of the country." Fortunately for the colonies, the committee was composed of men of sense, decision, and courage. Reviewing the history of the non-importation agreements, which, except in the beginning, had failed, because unequally observed, they insisted upon a Congress which should have power not only to recommend measures, but to enforce compliance. Boston resisted until necessity compelled her to accept the plan of a Congress, and New York is justly entitled to the credit of having laid the corner-stone of the American Union.

Events now hurried on in quick succession. Wednesday, the 15th June, being the day on which the port of Boston was closed and the harbor shut, a "very great number of the friends of American liberty in the city procured the effigies" of Hutchinson, Lord North, and Wedderburn, whom they considered "most unfriendly to the rights of America in general," and raising them upon a gallows, with an effigy of the devil on their right hand, carried them through the principal streets of the city (from the Fields through Broadway, Queen, and Wall streets), and thence to the Coffee-House, where they were attended in the evening of that day, "it is thought, by the greatest concourse of spectators ever seen on a similar occasion, and there destroyed by sulphureous flames," after which the multitude dispersed in the most orderly manner. In this the citizens showed their sympathy for Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Hutchinson had been the unpopular Governor of the one colony, and Pennsylvania had been insulted by the insolent Solicitor Wedderburn in the person of the venerable Franklin, who had sought to expostulate with the Ministry and avert the calamity of war.

The Committee of Correspondence held its sessions at the Coffee-House during the summer, and nominated the delegates to the proposed Congress. The delegates hesitated to accept the trust until the sentiments of the city were definitely ascertained. The New England party, who were set upon non-importation (at this time Massachusetts did not dream of a political union), required a pledge from the candidates that they would support such an agreement in the Congress. To



THEOPHYLACT BACHE SAVING GRAYDON FROM THE MOB IN 1776.

this, Livingston, Alsop, Low, and Jay replied "that they favored a general non-importation agreement *faithfully observed*," and carefully avoided pledging themselves further than "to support every measure in the proposed Congress that may then be thought conducive to the general interest of the colonies." This seems to have satisfied the radicals, and the delegates received the unanimous vote of the city, taken by poll lists in each ward. So New York entered with one accord into the preliminary struggle.

In 1775 Mr. Nesbitt Deane again advertises the two upper stories of the old Coffee-House as to let. He describes the premises "as being so pleasantly situated that a person can see at once the river, shipping, Long Island, and all the gentlemen resorting to the Coffee-House on business from the most distant climes." But so far as the latter part of the puff is concerned, there was more fancy than fact. The non-importation agreement or association recommended by Congress had been carefully enforced by the Committee of Inspection, and the commerce of the city was wholly suspended. The Coffee-House seems to have been almost deserted. "A Friend to the City" publishes an ad-

dress to the inhabitants of New York on the 19th October, urging them to support at least one coffee-house. He says that he is concerned, "in this time of difficulty and danger, to find that there is no place of daily general meeting." He observes with surprise that so good and comfortable a house, extremely well tended and accommodated, should be frequented but by an inconsiderable number of people, and, what was more to the purpose, that but a small part of those who do frequent it contribute anything at all to the expense of it, but come in and go out without calling for or paying anything to the house. He adds that in all the coffee-houses in London it is customary for every one that comes in to call for at least a dish of coffee, or leave the price of one. He then pleads the cause of the worthy woman who keeps the house, and after saying that the fires and candles are not lighted as usual, predicts that unless some change take place, the house must be shut. No better evidence could be given of the distress brought upon the city by the entire suspension of trade, which was its sole life and occupation.

In the winter and spring of 1776 the American army occupied the city, and

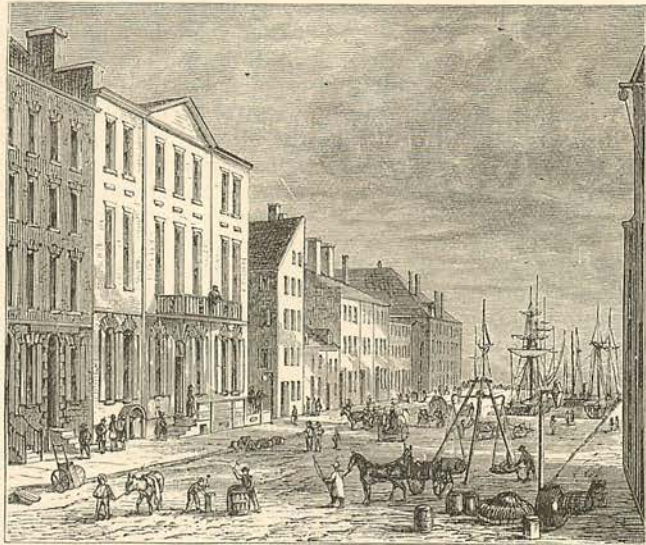
some of the patriots seem to have indulged the hope that it might be permanently held. Such must have been the opinion of Cornelius Bradford, who engaged the Merchants' Coffee-House in May, and announced his intention "of keeping it in a manner to give satisfaction, and to give the greatest attention to the arrival of vessels when trade and navigation should resume their former channels." Cornelius Bradford was a warm patriot, and appears to have been the confidential express messenger between the Sons of Liberty in New York and the association in Philadelphia, as Paul Revere was between Boston and New York. His tenure of the house was of short duration, and he left with the troops when Washington evacuated the city in September. The presence of the British army gave a new life to taverns and other public-houses. Such of the merchants as were either distinctly loyal or neutral in feeling—and there were many whose close alliance with English families, or imperious considerations of personal interest, brought within the latter class—continued to frequent the Coffee-House. There remains on record a pleasing incident, of the kindly feeling which governed some of their number, in the account given by Captain Alexander Graydon, of the patriot army, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Harlem Heights. Passing the Coffee-House, he was insulted by some of the royalist mob, when Mr. Theophylact Bache and other gentlemen who happened to be sitting there came out and interfered for his protection.

In 1779, at the request of the military commandant, such of the members of the Chamber of Commerce as had remained in the city resumed their sessions, which had been suspended since 1775, and their old room over the Exchange being used for other purposes, engaged the Long Room of the Coffee-House, where they continued to meet until the close of the war. From 1779 to 1781 one Mrs. Smith was their hostess. In 1781 James Strachan, who had kept the Queen's Head Tavern on the dock, which seems to have been a favorite resort of the gentlemen of the navy and army, tries his fortune in the old building, where he promises "to pay attention not only as a coffee-house, but as a tavern in the truest sense, and to distinguish the same as the City Tavern and Coffee-House, with constant and best attendance. Breakfasts from seven to eleven.

Soaps and relishes from eleven to half past one. Tea, coffee, etc., in the afternoon, as in England." He hung up little bags for the correspondence with England by the British men-of-war, and levied a tax of sixpence sterling for each letter, which brought such a storm about his ears that he was compelled to apologize in the public prints, and to refund the sums received, which the captains of his Majesty's ships the *Robust* and *Janus* announce as amounting to £19. Although he had a fair share of patronage, the Chamber of Commerce taking the Long Room by the year, and the societies meeting here, the Loyal Sons of St. Andrew celebrating their anniversaries, and the Ancient York Masons holding the great festival of St. John the Baptist at his rooms, Strachan was not successful in his venture, and in 1783 made a piteous appeal to those who were in his debt to settle their accounts. A few months later the exiled patriots returned to the city, and Cornelius Bradford, who had lived near Rhinebeck during the occupation, again took possession of the house, which he announces as the New York Coffee-House. He seems to have been a man of vigorous and original mind, and by the various attractions he devised soon made the old stand the centre of business. He opened a book in which he entered the names of all vessels on their arrival and departure from the port, with such extracts from their logs as were of interest or value, which was the first marine list ever undertaken in the city. He also opened a city register, in which the merchants and others were requested to enter their names and residences—the first approach to a city directory ever made. The Exchange at the foot of Broad Street having fallen from its high estate as a meeting-place of merchants to an ordinary market-house, the Coffee-House became the rendezvous of merchants and traders, while the bridge at the side of the building in Wall Street was the daily scene of vendues of all kinds, from sheriffs' sales of houses and lands to the disposal by licensed auctioneers of cargoes of merchandise, invoices of dry-goods, and even horses and carriages. The neighborhood resumed its importance. Daniel Phoenix returned to his old residence in Water Street, opposite the lower end of the Coffee-house Bridge on the Wall Street corner, and opened an auction-room, the insurance office occupying the second



floor. Below as well as above Water Street both sides of Wall were occupied by auction stores, and took the name of "the Merchants' Promenade, or the Auctioneers' Row." The brick building in Wall Street, No. 34, next door to the Coffee-House, was used on the first floor as a store by Richard Platt, and above as a notary public, conveyancing, and attorney's office by James M. Hughes. Next door to the Coffee-House, in Water Street, John Simnet, the watch-maker, who came to New York from Clerkenwell, near London, in 1764, and had been driven "by the



THE TONTINE COFFEE-HOUSE.

temper of war" to Albany, again hung out the sign of the dial from the elegant projecting window. In his window he exposed a regulator to view—a curious dial-plate twenty inches in diameter. On the opposite corner of Water Street, Shepard Kollock published the *New York Gazetteer and Country Journal*.

The Bank of New York, the first institution of the kind in the city, was projected in the Merchants' Coffee-House (the old name clung to it, notwithstanding the attempted changes of proprietors) on the 24th February, 1784, and here also it was formally organized the March following. The societies of various kinds all reorganized under State charters after the peace, and almost without exception made the Coffee-House their head-quarters. The Chamber of Commerce and Marine Society met here regularly, the governors of the New York Hospital held their annual elections, and the societies for "promoting useful knowledge" and "for the manumission of slaves" their business meetings in some one of the rooms of the old house. The sessions of the Cincinnati were held here, and the army men patronized the old patriot on all occasions when their interest or pleasure brought them together. The Grand Lodge of the Master-Masons was also here. The national societies of St. Andrew and St. Patrick followed the universal example, and held their merry anniversaries at Brad-

ford's bountiful board. The newspapers are full of notices of these festivities. In 1784 the Masons gathered here on St. John's Day, and marched in procession to St. Paul's Chapel, where the Rev. Mr. Provost preached to them a sermon. The Marine Society entertained Congress here on the 19th January, 1785, and the Chamber of Commerce received the same distinguished guests at a formal entertainment, officially accepted by the President and Congress, the 3d February following. The toasts, thirteen in number, are full of interest as showing the sentiments then entertained. Among them appear "Free trade with all nations!" "May persecuted liberty in every quarter of the world forever find an asylum in America!" In 1785 the Governor of the State, the Chancellor, Hon. Judge Jay, and other distinguished citizens dined with the Irish citizens on the anniversary of St. Patrick, "the tutelar saint of Ireland." Evacuation-day was also celebrated at the Coffee-House, when an elegant turtle supper was given to a select party of ladies and gentlemen, the day and a number of patriotic toasts were drunk, and the evening concluded with a ball for the ladies, Isaac Gouverneur, Sen., Esq., in the chair. On the morning of the 3d November the St. Andrew's Society of the State held their anniversary assembly at Mr. Bradford's. The Scottish flag was displayed on the Coffee-House at sunrise. At

twelve the election of officers was had, and the Hon. R. R. Livingston, Chancellor of the State, chosen president, Robert Lenox, secretary. The business concluded, the society, honored with the company of the Governor of the State, the Mayor and Recorder of the city, sat down to dinner. Some of the toasts are too broad to bear repetition in our day. Besides the "Land o' Cakes" and the "Land we live in," mention may be made of "All the Bonnie Lassies that kiss among the Heather," "Robert Gib's Contract," "The Tocher of Cramond," which some antiquarian Scot must interpret to modern generations.

The next year Cornelius Bradford took final leave of his many friends. He died at the age of fifty-seven years. The *New York Packet*, in an obituary notice, explains the secret of his success. It says of him not only that he "was distinguished as a steady patriot during the arduous contest for American liberty, but that he always discovered a charitable disposition toward those who differed from him in sentiment," and adds "that the Coffee-House, under his management, was kept with great dignity both before and since the war, and he revived its credit from the contempt into which it had fallen during the war."

Bradford's widow continued to keep the house until 1792, and enjoyed the patronage of the societies as usual. This was a period of unusual interest in New York. The ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State Convention of Massachusetts on the 8th February, 1788, was celebrated with great joy in New York. At sunrise a standard of the United States was "joined on the Coffee-House," on which was inscribed, "The Constitution, September 17, 1787," and at noon the old flag of Massachusetts, with the figure of a pine-tree, was hung out, with the date of her adhesion. There was a large gathering of respectable citizens, including members of Congress and the Mayor, and a repast was partaken of, which, "in the true republican style," as the report says, consisted of two articles, beef and salt fish. After dinner the usual thirteen toasts were drunk, under the fire of six guns to each toast, in honor of the States which had adopted the Constitution. Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Georgia, Massachusetts, were honored in turn, and "New York, may it

soon become an additional pillar to the new roof!" It was not till July, 1788, that the ringing of bells and salutes from the fort and shipping announced the joyful news of the erection of the eleventh pillar in the adoption of the new Constitution at Poughkeepsie. The merchants at the Coffee-House, who, more than all other members of the community, felt the need of stronger protection from the national arm, "testified their joy by repeated huzzas!"

The anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated by the army officers with great state on the 19th October, 1788, the thirteen toasts commemorating as many interesting events in the history of the country. As an expression of general sentiment, they are worthy of reproduction.

1. The memorable 5th September, 1774. Meeting of the First Congress.

2. The memorable 17th June, 1775. Battle of Bunker Hill.

3. The memorable 4th July, 1776. Declaration of Independence.

4. The memorable 26th December, 1776. Battle of Trenton.

5. The memorable 17th October, 1777. Capture of Burgoyne.

6. The memorable 6th February, 1778. Alliance with France.

7. The memorable 16th July, 1779. Stony Point taken by General Wayne.

8. The memorable 17th January, 1781. General Morgan defeats Tarleton at Cowpens.

9. The memorable 19th October, 1781. Capture of Lord Cornwallis.

10. The memorable 3d September, 1783. Definitive treaty of peace.

11. The memorable 25th November, 1783. Final evacuation of the United States by the British.

12. The memorable 17th September, 1787. New Constitution.

13. General Washington.

In 1789, under a call headed the "Test of Patriotism," the friends of a plan for the encouragement of American manufactures met in the Long Room. Out of the meeting grew an ephemeral society, which disappeared a few years later. At the Coffee-House also met a great number of citizens on the 21st February of the same year to nominate a *merchant* to represent the State in Congress. Even before the Revolution the merchants had chafed against the interference of the law-

yers, who were their stipendiaries in their affairs, and the Chamber of Commerce had been compelled to pass a resolution excluding all lawyers from membership and interference in that with which they had no concern. It is quite impossible in any reasonable limits to enter into explanation of all the incidents which occurred at this period of which the Coffee-House was the scene. Enough to pass to the crowning glory of its history. On the 23d April, 1789, a Federal salute from the Battery announced that President Washington had arrived, and was coming up the East River to the landing at Murray's Wharf. He was received at the City Coffee-House, as it is termed in the newspapers, by the Governor and the principal officers of the State, the Mayor and the principal officers of the corporation, and thence accompanied to the house prepared for his reception, with an escort of military and citizens. It is an interesting thought to imagine the feelings of the chief, who had taken the simple farewell of his officers in December, 1783, at the Whitehall slip, as he received the welcome of the nation on his landing, not far distant, as the constitutional President of a united republic. This may be held as the culminating point in the history of the Merchants' Coffee-House.

In 1792 the Tontine Coffee-House was built on the opposite cross corner, and, in almost cruel mockery to the old house, the meetings of its subscribers were held in the old and famous Long Room. Indeed, the purpose of the Tontine Building was to afford new and more ample accommodations for the merchants, and particularly for the Chamber of Commerce. In 1793 Mrs. Bradford retired. She lived in Cortlandt Street until May, 1822, when she died. She was succeeded in the old house, then 200 Water Street, by John Byrne, who opened the house as the New York Hotel, and remained there until 1798, when he crossed over to the Tontine.

The story of the Coffee-House is now closed; "old times were changed, old manners gone." The Freemasons still clung to their old rendezvous, and the Friary—a social club—held its meetings here by order of the "Father."

In 1799 the veteran Edward Bardin (a famous tavern-keeper from 1764, when he first appeared as keeping the King's Arms Tavern in the Fields, and later in various

public-houses, the history of which does not belong to this sketch) endeavored to revive the flickering celebrity of the famous house. He was in possession in 1804, when the old building was destroyed in one of the most distressing calamities that had ever visited New York. A fire commenced in Front Street, No. 104, and a high wind blowing, with little assistance at hand, swept away all the houses on both sides of Front Street, and the west side of Water Street as far as Wall. Among other houses, the old Coffee-House, occupied by Edward Bardin, was totally consumed. The building was of brick, and valued at \$7500.

The next year (1805) the city was visited by the yellow fever, and the house, slowly rebuilt, was only re-opened as a hotel in 1806, as the Phoenix Coffee-House, Edward Bardin resuming its control. In 1816 it was turned into the Phoenix Stores. As late as 1823 the Shades, a retail liquor store, was kept on the ground-floor, at the corner of Wall and Water. John Byrne, of whom mention has been made, died while keeper of the Tontine, in 1780, and was buried from St. Peter's Church; and old Bardin, who had witnessed all the vicissitudes of tavern-keeping from 1764 till 1816, when he retired from the Tontine, which he had kept from 1812—a period including the history of New York from the beginning of the French war to the close of the war of 1812—died, at the ripe age of eighty-nine, in 1823.

The old house is gone and forgotten, yet its record may challenge that of any building on this continent for the extent and variety of the interesting historic scenes which its walls witnessed, from the day when it was opened, with the water edge close upon its rear piazza, until its destruction, when two new blocks had been filled in to the East River, and the house by the water-side had lost its original riparian charm.

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#### MISSING.

You walked beside me, quick and free;  
 With lingering touch you grasped my hand;  
 Your eyes looked laughingly in mine;  
 And now—I can not understand.

I long for you, I mourn for you,  
 Through all the dark and lonely hours.  
 Heavy the weight the pallmen lift,  
 And cover silently with flowers.