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OLD TAVERNS OF NEW  
YORK

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*Old Taverns of New York:*

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# William Harrison Bayles

## Old Taverns of New York

### PREFACE

Much has been written about the old taverns of New York in a disconnected way, but heretofore there has been no connected story linking them with the current events of the early history of the city. This story I have attempted to tell from the Dutch settlement down to the early part of the last century, when the growth of the city and extensive travel entirely changed their character. In doing this I have found myself at issue with many writers on the subject. In every such case the conclusions set down in this book rest I believe upon unquestionable documentary evidence, in part referred to in the text.

Before any newspapers appeared the tavern was a very important institution in the community. It was the medium of all news both political and social, the one place where people of all kinds met to exchange views on every subject of interest to the general public. In this way it exercised an influence second only to the church.

The connection of the taverns with the history of the city was very close. There was hardly an event of importance but had its inception in the taverns, where all questions of interest

to the public were discussed as in no other place. They were frequented by all classes and the influence of each one of them on the community depended entirely on the character of those who patronized it. The merchants, the politicians and the men of letters each had their places of rendezvous.

Following the history of the city chronologically I have endeavored to link with it the influence of the taverns on current events, and at the same time show up the interesting features of tavern life by details of happenings at these places. I have made no attempt to increase interest by any means except the plain, unvarnished truth, which I have considered sufficiently attractive. Tales of the old taverns are enhanced in interest by a glamour of antiquity surrounding the subject by which few can fail to be charmed.

Nothing exists at the present day in any way resembling an old tavern of the first class in colonial times. It was the place for political discussion, for social clubs and for meetings of all kinds. Every one went to the tavern and from no other source could a person gain so much knowledge of public affairs.

*W. Harrison Bayles*

# I

## Dutch Taverns

### Trading with the Indians

On the return of Hendrick Hudson from his voyage of discovery in 1609, his reports were so favorable, especially, as to the abundance of valuable furs which were to be had at very little cost, that several merchants of Amsterdam, without delay, fitted out trading vessels and sent them to trade with the Indians in the territory he had visited. The returns were satisfactory, and they formed themselves into a company under the name of the United Netherland Company and established a trading post on the southern part of Manhattan Island. The exclusive privilege of trade, which had been granted them by Holland, expired in the year 1618, and they endeavored to have the grant renewed or extended, but succeeded only in obtaining a special license, expiring yearly, which they held for two or three years longer.

In the meantime a more extensive association had been formed by some merchants and capitalists of Holland, who in the year 1621 received a charter under the title of the West India Company, which gave to them the exclusive privilege of trade on the whole Atlantic coast, so far as the jurisdiction of

Holland extended. Powers of government were conferred upon the company and the right to make treaties with the Indians.

In 1623, they sent out a vessel which carried thirty families to begin the colony. The vessel landed her passengers and freight near the present site of Albany and a settlement was there established. The return cargo of skins and other freight was valued at about twelve thousand dollars.

## **First Settlement**

It having been determined to fix the headquarters of the company in New Netherland on Manhattan Island, two ships cleared from Holland in 1625 with a large number of settlers for this place. With these was sent out Peter Minuit, as Director-General, to superintend the interests of the company. On board the vessels were carried more than a hundred head of cattle, besides other domestic animals, such as would be needed by the people in a permanent settlement. This was the first real settlement on Manhattan Island. The few huts and storehouses, surrounded by a stockade for protection against the Indians, although it appears they were very friendly, which had been located here for many years, was not a settlement; it was only a trading post; no attempt had been made to cultivate the land.

Unlike the New England settlers and the Swedes upon the Delaware the Dutch did not make use of the log house, so well adapted by economy, ease of construction and comfort, as a

temporary home. It is said that Dutch traders built huts very much like those of the Indian tribes of the neighborhood.

The Indian house or hut was made by placing in the ground two parallel rows of upright saplings adjoining each other and bringing their tops together, lapping them over each other in a curve. On this were fastened boughs and reeds, as a protection against wind and rain, the inside being lined with bark nicely joined together. If such skill were used in joining the bark on the inside as is displayed by some of the North American Indians in building their canoes, it must have presented a very neat and smooth appearance. There was no floor, the fire, in winter, being built upon the ground, the smoke escaping through an opening in the roof. The width of the house was invariably twenty feet, the length being regulated by the number of families occupying it.

If the Dutch traders used such huts they undoubtedly modified them somewhat as to fireplace and chimney and probably made many other improvements to suit their needs.

## **Manhattan Island Purchased**

Peter Minuit, the Director-General, to obtain title to the island, purchased it from the Indian proprietors, and the settlers commenced their town by staking out a fort, under the direction of Kryn Frederick, an engineer sent out for that purpose, and set about the erection of their temporary homes, which were little better than those of their predecessors, the traders. The next

year, 1626, the machinery for a saw mill arrived from Holland and a mill worked by wind power was erected on what is now Governor's Island, which was then covered with a fine growth of forest trees, which after being cut up, could be easily floated to the little town. The settlers were thus supplied with lumber which enabled them to erect buildings more conformable to their needs. They built, as a rule, houses of only one story in height, with two rooms on the ground floor and a garret above. The roof was reed or straw thatch, and this material continued to be so used for about thirty years after the first settlement of New Amsterdam. The fireplace was built of stone to the height of about six feet, having an oven of the same material by the side of it, extending beyond the rear of the house. The chimney above the stone work was made of boards plastered inside with mortar. The average value of these houses was about one hundred and fifty dollars.

The Dutchman did not come to America for the sake of religious or political freedom or to escape persecution. He was lured by the profits of trade and the prospect of finding a better and more extensive home for himself and for his children. In the little village or town that had been formed by the first settlers on the southern point of Manhattan Island no Puritanical laws or regulations prevented him from dealing in beer or strong drink, or in drinking as much as he had a mind to. Beer was the Dutchman's drink, and the West India Company very early erected the Company's Brewery on the north side of Bridge Street, between the present Whitehall and Broad Streets, to

supply the little town with its usual beverage.

The Dutch trader bartered with the Indians for furs, and as the little cluster of houses near the fort grew in population some of the traders also sold, when they could, a little beer and other strong drink which their furs enabled them to obtain from the ships coming into port. For many years, except with the Indians, there does not appear to have been any restraint on this trade in liquor, but, although there were many houses where it was kept on tap for sale, no provision seems to have been made for the lodging of strangers.

## **The City Tavern**

The Dutch from up the river or from the nearby settlements, which were very scanty until the time of Stuyvesant, were, no doubt, always able to find relatives or friends with whom they could lodge; but the English skippers who stopped over on their trips between Virginia and the New England colonies were not only strangers but spoke a strange language, unknown to most of the inhabitants, and it is not difficult to understand the reluctance of having them as guests in the small houses where the accommodations were very limited. Governor Kieft says that he was put to great inconvenience in taking care of them, and so, in 1641 built a large stone house to accommodate and care for them and other strangers, which was known as the Stadt Herbergh or City Tavern. There must have been urgent need for such a house,

for it was the most costly building that had been erected up to this time. The expenditure was much greater than for the building of a new and substantial church in the fort, a short time after. It was, no doubt, intended to impress and increase the respect of strangers and was an object of the admiration and pride of the citizens of New Amsterdam. It was located in a very conspicuous place, with one of its sides facing the East River, apart from the other houses of the town. It was two stories high with a basement underneath and spacious lofts above. In the rear was an extension or addition, a long, narrow structure which was apparently used for kitchen purposes and probably for other uses.

Early in the year 1643 the Stadt Herbergh, or City Tavern, was leased to Philip Gerritsen, its first landlord, at a rental of three hundred guilders, or about one hundred and twenty dollars, per annum and opened for the entertainment of the public; afterwards to Adriaen Gerritsen, down to the beginning of the year 1652, when the tavern was being conducted by Abraham Delanoy. According to agreement, Gerritsen was to sell the Company's wine, brandy and beer, and no other, the Company agreeing not to allow any wine to be sold out of their cellar to the injury of the lessee. The Director-General also promised that a well should be dug near the house and that a brew-house should be erected in the rear or that Gerritsen should be permitted the use of the Company's brew-house.

Shortly after the opening of the tavern it was put to good use in sheltering the fugitives who came to it for protection. Among

these were the settlers from Achter Col, across the Kills from Staten Island, on the mainland, who, driven from their homes, which were destroyed by the Indians, were lodged for a time at the City Tavern, at the expense of the West India Company.

The tavern seems to have been in frequent use as a place of detention of persons obnoxious to the Director and his Council and of persons suspected of offenses against the orders of the Director-General, and it is probable that some part of the building was set apart for that purpose. Sometimes the prisoners were quite numerous, as when, in 1651, the crew of the ship "Nieuw Nederlandsche Fortuyn" were quartered here, and also when in 1656, after it had become the City Hall, were brought here the twenty-three Englishmen who had attempted to make a settlement in the present Westchester, hostile to the Dutch claim. Notwithstanding this, the tavern came to be patronized by many of the best people of the place and by the officers of the West India Company. It became a place where a great deal of business was transacted, both public and private, and was one of the places where all public notices were posted, the others being the fort and the barn of the West India Company. It was, too, before it became the City Hall, the place where the court frequently sat for the trial of minor cases. Here was held in the fall and winter of 1653 the Landtdag, or Diet, consisting of representatives from each of the Dutch towns, for the purpose of providing means of defence against the Indians. This was the most important popular convention that had ever been held in New Amsterdam.

# **The City Tavern Becomes the City Hall**

## **Captain Underhill Makes Trouble**

In 1652 New Amsterdam was incorporated as a city under the government of a schout, two burgomasters and five schepens, and was allowed a separate magistracy, although not independent of Governor and Council. This made it necessary to have a city hall or town house, and soon after the City Tavern was ceded to the city and henceforth was known as the “stadt huys” or city hall.

In the first settlement of New England the laws and regulations as to the sale of strong drink and as to restraint in indulgence were very rigid, but afterwards much relaxed. In New Amsterdam there was little restraint; so that when the notorious Puritan Captain John Underhill came down to New Amsterdam, however exemplary may have been his behavior while at home among his New England friends (although there had been some complaint), he let himself loose and became, as some would say, “gloriously drunk.” On the night of the 15th of March, 1644, in the parlor of Philip Gerritsen of the City Tavern, Doctor Hans Kiersted, Dominie Bogardus, Gysbert Opdyck and several others, with their wives, were having a supper and spending an agreeable evening. Some time after the supper, while they were

enjoying themselves, Captain Underhill, with Lieutenant Baxter and a drummer, who had evidently made the rounds of the town and were in an advanced state of intoxication, appeared at the door. Gerritsen could not forbid entrance to the worthy captain, but told him that he was entertaining a party of friends with their wives and requested him to take a separate room where he would serve them. They were finally induced to do this after much talk. They invited some of the company to drink with them and they complied. Baxter invited Opdyck to join them but he refused. Thereupon Underhill and his companions drew their swords and cut in pieces the cans on the shelves in the tavern, hacked the door-posts and endeavored by force to get into the room where the supper party was. This was for some time resisted by the landlady with a leaden bolt and by the landlord trying to keep the door closed; but, in spite of all opposition, they succeeded in forcing their way in. Underhill was in such a state that it was quite uncertain at what moment he might take a notion to flesh his sword in any Dutchman who stood in his way. With his sword half drawn he cried: "Clear out of here, for I shall strike at random." The fiscal and a guard from the fort were sent for, but they did not succeed in quieting the drunken Englishmen. In reply to some remarks of the Dominie, who suggested that the Director-General himself be sent for, Underhill said, as deposed by witnesses: "If the Director come here, 'tis well. I had rather speak to a wise man than a fool." To prevent further and more serious mischief, fearing that at

any moment Underhill might pink the Dominie, the supper party withdrew, leaving Underhill in possession of the field. Thus the gallant Captain scored another victory.

When Wouter Van Twiller came out, in 1633, as Director-General, the pressing claims of England to the control of the whole territory on the Atlantic Coast, induced the West India Company to send out with him a military force of one hundred and four soldiers to garrison the fort. These were the first that had been sent over.

### **Sergeant Peter Cock's Tavern**

Among the soldiers, some years later, was a man by the name of Peter Cock, who held the rank of sergeant. He built, or had constructed for him, a little house, such as were being put up at that time, northwest from the fort, on ground now occupied by No. 1 Broadway. It was very likely the first house built on that side of the fort and was used as a tavern. It was no doubt more patronized by the soldiers than any other.

Sergeant Cock was in command of several regular soldiers under La Montagne in the expedition against the Indians on Staten Island in 1643. On their return to New Amsterdam, they were all immediately sent out to Greenwich and Stamford, where they scoured the country in search of the Indians. In November of the same year Governor Kieft dispatched one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Dr. La Montagne, Cock and

Underhill, to exterminate the Canarsee Indians. They brought back from this expedition some prisoners, who were afterwards barbarously treated, inhumanly tortured and finally killed in the public streets of New Amsterdam.

At Sergeant Cock's tavern the details of these expeditions and the part taken in them by each individual were, doubtless, thoroughly discussed by the soldiers as they drank their beer or other beverages served out to them. They talked over the quarrels of the Dominie and the Director-General and the last sermon in which the Dominie fulminated his biting diatribes against the Director; how the drummer beat up the drum and the gunner touched off one of the big guns when the Dominie was in the midst of one of his harangues, which distracted the congregation and almost threw them into a panic.

Next to the lot on which Sergeant Cock had built his house Martin Crigier obtained the grant of a lot in 1643, on which a house appears to have already been built, probably by himself. Crigier is said to have come out in the service of the West India Company when a young man, after his separation or release from which he had engaged in the business of trader and sloop captain on the North River and became an active and conspicuous citizen. He was certainly a doughty Dutchman, his name occupying a prominent place in the military annals of New Amsterdam.

The military expeditions in which he was engaged were numerous. In 1657 he went out in command of forty men to settle

difficulties on the Delaware. In 1659 he commanded a force of sixty men, sent out to the same region to repel a threatened invasion of the English. In 1663 he was in command of the force sent to Esopus to punish the savages for their massacre of the Dutch, and in this expedition he seems to have had the complete confidence of Governor Stuyvesant, himself a valiant soldier. With Cornelis Van Tienhoven he was sent to New Haven to treat with the English and he was Burgomaster of New Amsterdam in 1653, 1654, 1659, 1660 and 1663.

### **Burgomaster Martin Crigier, Tavern-Keeper**

He was an innkeeper and we can easily imagine that his house must have been the resort of all the Dutch politicians of his day, where were discussed not only plans of attack and defence, but also the policies of the little town in all its various aspects, both internally and in relation to the Indians and the English. The English, no doubt, were thoroughly discussed, for there was constant trouble with them at this time.

The house was near the fort, on ground now occupied by No. 3 Broadway, and looked out on the open ground of the present Bowling Green, which was then the parade of the soldiers, being in front of the gate of the fort, the eastern side of it being used as a market field on appointed days, where were displayed all kinds of country produce brought in from the surrounding country. Here, also, in this open space, in 1656 and subsequent years, was held,

in the latter part of October and all through November, the cattle market for store and fat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, bucks, and such like. It was promised that stalls and other conveniences would be erected for those who brought such animals to market. This cattle-market, notice of which, by letter, had been sent out to the Dutch and English of Connecticut and Long Island, no doubt brought to New Amsterdam a great many from the surrounding country, even as far away as New Haven. The taverns were full and the life and activity of the city was much increased. The young men drank in the conversations of the city burghers at the taverns, discussed with them the price of beaver skins and other articles of trade with the Indians, and in turn told of the arts of the trapper and hunter, as well as adventures with the Indians and with the wild animals of the forest. These visitors, for a time, made the taverns gay and lively, and sometimes there were, no doubt, heated talks and even quarrels and personal encounters.

In front of the taverns of Captain Crigier and Sergeant Cock groups of men could be seen at such times bargaining and discussing prices and the news of the day. Beer was to be had and there was plenty of talk, for the outlying settlers brought in the news of their own sections and were very anxious to learn all the news of the city and still more anxious to get news from the fatherland.

Those who visited the city to bring in cattle and attend this market made of it a pleasure trip long to be remembered. Although New Amsterdam could not furnish any amusement that

would intoxicate a modern New Yorker yet, to those who were passing their days in isolated homes, the gaiety of the little city was a source of great enjoyment; and in returning to their quiet homes they carried back with them all the little luxuries which they could afford and which the city could supply. They had also a great deal to tell their relatives and friends.

There is no doubt that when Peter Cock and Martin Crigier built their taverns to catch the patronage of the soldiers at the fort, the ground in the neighborhood to the west of the fort and along the river was in a perfect state of nature, untouched by the hand of man. The authorities kept the space in front of the fort clear of building; which, without any preconceived plan or intention on their part, resulted in leaving a triangular open space, which became the parade for the soldiers, the market place for cattle, and, afterwards, in the time of the English, the Bowling Green.

In September, 1659, transfer was made of a lot on the west side of the Heere Straat (Broadway), which was described as bounded on the south by the *newly-built house and lot of Burgomaster Martin Crigier*. It was about this time that improvements and a great advance were being made in the style of building, and as Crigier was at this time and had been some years previous a burgomaster, and was besides a conspicuous man in the community, it is natural to suppose that he would put up a good and substantial house.

On the other side of the fort, close under the shelter of its eastern wall, at the corner of the present Whitehall and Stone

Streets, where the Produce Exchange now stands, was a little tavern which had been built in the most economical manner in 1641, and was kept by a Frenchman, Philip Gerard, called by the Dutch Geraerdy, who had left the gay city of Paris for life among the Dutch of New Amsterdam. Geraerdy probably had good reasons for the change; perhaps it was to escape conscription in the wars then raging in Europe. Riding the wooden horse in the fort was a common punishment of the soldiers, and Philip Geraerdy, we presume from a sense of humor, or for some other good reason, called his house the Wooden Horse, or at least it is so called in the Dutch records. The soldiers no doubt much preferred the wooden horse (or bench) in Philip's tavern to that in the fort. Philip was himself at one time a soldier, and had ridden the wooden horse, for May 27, 1642, "Philip Geraerdy, a soldier, for having been absent from the guard without leave," was sentenced to ride the wooden horse during parade, with a pitcher in one hand and a drawn sword in the other.

## **The White Horse Tavern**

After a few years the name of Philip's house underwent a change. This may have been the result of a sort of evolutionary process, induced by Philip, who erected in front of his house a sign on which was painted a white horse on a dark background, very conspicuous. The house became known as the Sign of the White Horse or the White Horse Tavern.

Some lively scenes were connected with the little tavern. One dark night in the spring of 1643, farmer Jan Damen, whose house was just beyond the present Wall Street near Broadway, drank deep in Philip's house, and was in such a condition that Geraerdy thought it prudent to guide him home, which act of benevolence cost him dearly. Damen must have been in a mood that threatened trouble, for Geraerdy had taken the precaution to draw his sword from its scabbard and carry it himself. At the house Damen's serving man, armed with a long knife, resisted his master's entrance. Damen used the scabbard as a weapon and also secured a knife, and in the fight which ensued Geraerdy was, as the surgeon declared, dangerously wounded, Damen having struck him in the dark under the shoulder blade.

It was a dramatic and semi-tragic scene when "Black John," who hailed from the seaport town of Monnikendam, near Amsterdam, one morning, as they were at the house of Philip Geraerdy, addressed Ensign Hendrick Van Dyck, saying: "Brother, my service to you," to which the ensign answered: "Brother, I thank you." "Black John" did not hand over the can, but instead struck the ensign with it on his forehead so that blood flowed, saying that that was his Monnikendam fashion, and threw him over on his back. This, it is related, was done without having words or dispute of any kind.

Geraerdy became a sergeant in the burgher troops, and while keeping a tavern was also a trader and a man of business. Besides his own language he could speak both Dutch and English, acting

occasionally as an interpreter. He succeeded so well that in a few years he built for himself a substantial house on that part of his lot fifty or sixty feet down from the corner on Stone Street.

## **Taverns Regulated**

When Governor Peter Stuyvesant arrived, in May, 1647, he found New Amsterdam, to use an expression of the present day, “a wide open town.” Before the close of the month he issued an order requiring that all places where liquor was sold should remain closed on Sunday before two o’clock in the afternoon, and, in case of preaching in the fort, until four o’clock, – this, under penalty of the owners being deprived of their occupation, and besides being fined six Carolus guilders for each person who should be found drinking wine or beer within the stated time, excepting only travellers and those who were daily customers, fetching the drinks to their own homes; and that all such places should be closed every night at the ringing of the bell about nine o’clock. In issuing this order he says: “Whereas we have experienced the violence of our inhabitants, when drunk, their quarrelling, fighting and hitting each other, even on the Lord’s day of rest, of which we have ourselves witnessed the painful example last Sunday, in contravention of law, to the contempt and disgrace of our person and office, to the annoyance of our neighbors, and to the disregard and contempt of God’s holy laws and ordinances,” etc.

In March, 1648, he found that further action was necessary. He declared that one-fourth of the houses had been turned into taverns for the sale of brandy, tobacco and beer, and that they were detrimental to the welfare of the community; he therefore issued a set of rules for their regulation. No new tap-houses should be opened without the unanimous vote of the Director and Council. Those who had been tapsters could continue as such for four years at least, but in the meantime, should seek some other means of livelihood, so as not to be dependent on it. Orders as to closing at nine o'clock every night and on Sundays were repeated. Tapsters were to report all fights or disorderly conduct in their places, and physicians were to report all cases where they were called on to dress wounds received in such disturbances. This does not necessarily indicate that New Amsterdam was at this time a disorderly place, for like New York of the present day, it was a cosmopolitan city. The population at that time was not over five hundred souls, and it has been declared that eighteen different languages were spoken by the inhabitants.

### **Litschoe's Tavern**

Some time previous to the year 1648 Daniel Litschoe established an inn on what is now Pearl Street in the outskirts of the town, which became the resort of the country people coming in from Long Island. Litschoe came out to New Amsterdam with the earliest settlers as ensign in the military service of the Dutch.

He was with Stuyvesant at Beverwyck and on his order hauled down the lord's colors. He also went out with Stuyvesant in the expedition against the Swedes on the Delaware as lieutenant.

The tavern seems to have been a good-sized building, for it is spoken of as "the great house," but this is to be taken as in comparison with its neighbors. It had at least a quarter of an acre of ground attached to it, and stood back some little distance from the street. A part of the lot is now covered by No. 125 Pearl Street. In the spring of 1651, Litschoe leased this house to Andries Jochemsen, who kept it as a tavern or ale house for many years and had lots of trouble with the authorities. He would tap on Sundays and after nine o'clock, and his house was the resort of disorderly persons. After keeping tavern for some years in a house which he had built just outside the city wall, Litschoe purchased a lot inside the wall between it and the house he had resided in some years before, and here he, and after his death in 1662, his wife, Annetje, kept a tavern for many years.

When Sir Henry Moody came from Virginia in 1660 to exchange ratifications of the treaty to regulate commerce between that colony and New Netherland he was received with all the usual diplomatic honors. Two members of the council, under escort of halberdiers, were sent "to compliment him in his lodgings," and Moody, appearing in the fort, presented his credentials. He resided a considerable time at the house of Daniel Litschoe and when he left the city he failed to settle his score, for which his library left at the house was sold. More people came

into the city over the river road from the Long Island ferry than from any other direction, and Litschoe's tavern near the city gate was an inviting resting place. It was one of the stations where fire-buckets were kept for use in cases of emergency.

The city wall, above mentioned, was a line of palisades straight across the island along the northerly side of the present Wall Street, passing through the present Trinity Churchyard. On the inside of the palisades was an embankment and a ditch. It was built in the year 1653, when England and Holland were at war and New Amsterdam was threatened by the New England colonists. Through this line of defence there were two gates, the land-gate at the present junction of Broadway and Wall Street and the water-gate at the river road or present Pearl Street.

## **Peter Cock's Troubles to Obtain a Wife**

Peter Cock added much to the piquancy of the gossip of the taverns and the town when, in 1653, probably no longer a soldier, he brought suit against Annetje Cornelissen Van Vorst, claiming the fulfillment of a promise of marriage. The case occupied the time and attention of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens at a great many sessions, statements and counter-statements being presented to the Court, who, considering the case too large for them, sent it, with the papers, to the Director and Council for their decision. It was sent back to the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens, with a recommendation to appoint a committee to

examine the papers and report. The final decision, pronounced May 18, 1654, was that the promise was a binding contract. From this decision Annetje appealed, but it was confirmed. In some way Annetje obtained a release, at any rate, she married November 11, 1656, Claes Jansen Van Purmerendt, a tobacco planter of Paulus Hook. Peter consoled himself with another Annetje, for on June 13, 1657, he married Annetje Dirks, of Amsterdam.

In 1661 Annetje Cock was a widow and in control of the tavern which Peter Cock had left. She asked permission to build a new house on the southeast corner of the lot, which request was refused, as it would be too near the fort. Her husband had contracted for the building of a house on the lot, which she claimed was voided by his death, and wished to make a new contract with others, but the court decided that the old contract was binding. A new house was built which was kept by her as a tavern for many years.

## **A Dutch Tavern**

The taverns of New Amsterdam were probably modeled somewhat after those of Holland, for the Dutch were a people who stuck to the customs of the fatherland. The description of a Dutch tavern, from the journal of one of our citizens who visited a part of the Netherlands where customs have not changed for centuries is here given.

“It was the business of the good vrow or her maid to show up the traveller, and open the doors in the smooth partition of the box which was to receive his weary limbs for the night, and which otherwise he might not be able to discover, and after he crept into it, to come back again and blow out the candle, and in the morning to draw the curtains of the windows at the hour he fixed to rise. There was generally one room in which all the guests were received, and where there was a pleasant reunion in the evening, and all the visitors ate, drank and smoked. It had, in one corner, a closet, which, when opened (and, honestly, it was not unfrequently opened), disclosed sundry decanters, glasses and black bottles; and, on one side of the room, a rack in which were suspended by their bowls a score or two of very long pipes, each one inscribed with the name of a neighbor or owner. This was the room of Mynheer the landlord. He had no care beyond this; mevrow was the head of the house; she attended to all the wants of the guests, and gave them the information which they might desire. She was always on the spot as when, with a ‘wet te rusten,’ like a good mother, she bade you good night, and when, with a ‘hoo-y-reis,’ like an old friend, she bade you good-by.”

In the contract for building the ferry house on the Long Island side of the East River for Egbert Van Borsum in 1655, provision was made for bedsteads to be built in the walls as described above. Thus an apartment could be made to accommodate several travellers at night and yet, in day time, present a neat appearance and be used as a public room. Provision was also

made for the closet or pantry, for it was a source of profit.

A few years later the Ferry Tavern of Van Borsum had acquired such a reputation, to which the culinary art of Annetje, his wife, greatly contributed, that it became the resort of the best citizens when they wished for something extra good, and of the officials of government, as we find that a bill rendered by Van Borsum in February, 1658, for wine and liquor furnished the Director and other officers was ordered to be paid.

## **A Grand Dinner**

When, in 1658, Captain Beaulieu wished to give a fine dinner to his friends, he did not go to the tavern of the Worshipful Burgomaster Martin Crigier nor to that of Lieutenant Litschoe, who entertained the English Ambassador a few years later, nor yet to the popular tavern of Metje Wessels; but was influenced, for some good reason, to go to the house of Egbert Van Borsum, the Ferry Tavern on the Long Island side of the river. Here the Captain and his thirteen friends sat down to a dinner for which Van Borsum, if the record is correct, charged him three hundred and ten florins, or at the rate of nine dollars per plate; and it appears that it was worth the price, for although Beaulieu was sued by Van Borsum for the bill, his defence was that he was to pay only one-half of the expense, the other half to be paid by a few of the other guests. No complaint was made that the amount charged was excessive. Annetje Van Borsum testified

before the Court that she made the arrangement and bargain with Beaulieu alone and looked to him for payment. The Court took this view and gave a verdict against Beaulieu for the full amount. Annetje Van Borsum must certainly have been a fine cook, and the dinner must have been served with some expensive accessories, of the nature of which we can hardly surmise. It serves to show that New Amsterdam, even at this early period, was not entirely devoid of expensive luxuries (for such must have been the case). After the death of Egbert Van Borsum, his widow, Annetje, continued the business for several years, she herself managing the tavern, and her son, Hermanus, attending to the ferry. In her declining years she retired to the city of New Amsterdam where she died at a green old age.

In 1655 Solomon Peterson La Chair, a gentleman of the legal profession, made his appearance in New Amsterdam, and, as there was not a promising prospect in that line of business, he rented the house of Teunis Kray, on the Graft, and petitioned the Burgomasters and Schepens for permission to keep it as a tavern, which could be managed by his wife in his absence on legal business, and would be of great assistance to him in gaining a livelihood. Permission was granted. He afterwards bought the house of Kray, agreeing to pay for it in instalments; but as Kray had formerly sued him for the rent he had now to sue him for the very first instalment; and he never succeeded in paying for it, the money, even when he had it ready, as he says, slipping through his fingers. He did not pay anyone he owed until forced

to. He used every means which his learning in the law and his own ingenuity could devise to avoid paying his just debts. He was impecunious and improvident and constantly in trouble; yet he was a man of considerable learning and ability, as evinced by his register of business as a notary, a volume of some three hundred pages, which was discovered in the county clerk's office some years ago. He obtained a license to practice as a notary in 1661. La Chair, defaulting in payment, Kray came again in possession of the house he had sold, and La Chair moved to a house in Hough Street, where he continued to keep a tavern until his death, a few years later. There was much discussion in the little town on political matters, and La Chair, as a man versed in the law, could probably attract many to his house, where, no doubt, such subjects were thoroughly discussed.

November 26, 1656, a petition was presented to the Burgomasters and Schepens from Metje Wessels, requesting permission "to follow the trade of an eating house and to bring in and tap out wine and beer," which was granted.

## **Metje Wessels' Tavern**

Metje Wessels' house was situated on The Water, which was what is now the north side of Pearl Street, between Whitehall and Broad Streets, in the busiest part of the little city, and not far from the City Hall. It became a noted place for Burgomasters' dinners, and was a popular place for festivities of all kinds,

characteristic of the taverns of this period. The Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam had discovered the toothsome terrapin, for which their successors, the aldermen of New York City, were, years ago, known to be particularly partial, and their dinners at the widow's tavern were no doubt supplied with this delicious viand. Van der Donck, writing in 1656, says: "Some persons prepare delicious dishes from the water terrapin which is luscious food." Here men went on the arrival of a ship, to meet the skipper and hear the news from the fatherland or from other foreign ports. Here were discussed the tidings from up the river, where many young men were making adventurous excursions among the Indians, in the far-off northern wilderness, in the profitable business of gathering furs. The trade in furs, the Indian troubles, the military expeditions, the Dominie's sermons and the Director-General's proclamations, – these, and a great many more, both public and personal matters – were talked over. It was a sort of business and social exchange where were gathered and distributed news and gossip of all kinds.

## **Dutch Festivities**

The Dutch of New Amsterdam had a large capacity for enjoyment and in their holiday season of Christmas and New Year, gave themselves up to every kind of festivity and sport that the place could afford. We find from records that some of these were firing of guns, beating of drums, dancing, playing of tick-

tack, bowling, playing of ninepins, sleighing parties or wagon rides, etc. The taverns and taprooms were full of life and there were likewise many family festivities and amusements, where the tables were loaded with all the good things to eat and drink that were obtainable. Not only was it the season of the delight and enjoyment of the young and gay, but the older and graver citizens joined in the sports with enthusiasm and encouragement. Even the Burgomasters and Schepens, with the other officials, when the season of festivity approached, closed the public offices temporarily. "Whereas," it is recorded, "the winter festivals are at hand, it is found good, that between this date and three weeks after Christmas the ordinary meetings of the Court shall be dispensed with."

Gathered together to celebrate one of the anniversaries of the festive season, the flickering lights from oil lamps and tallow candles, reflected from the whitewashed walls of Madame Wessels' assembly room, shone on as happy and gay hearted a gathering as is found in the magnificent and brilliantly lighted halls of our present grand city. They shone on "fair women and brave men." Notwithstanding the humorous caricatures of Washington Irving, the women were comely and the men were a sturdy and adventurous lot. Here was the government official, with his sword at his side. Here was the prosperous trader or merchant in his silk or velvet breeches and coat flowered with silver lace, with gold or silver buttons, lace neck cloth and silk stockings. He also wore a sword. The common burgher in his

homespun breeches and Kersey coat also took a part. Handsome dresses, displayed on female forms were not numerous but there were some that indicated the success and prosperity of the heads of the families represented by the wearers. Gowns of thick embroidered silk and petticoats of cloth and quilted silk graced the festive dance.

May-day was also celebrated with great spirit and on this occasion the people were accorded by the city magistrates the greatest license. It was announced that “any damage which may come from the general rejoicing within the city on May-day shall be made known to the Burgomasters at the City Hall immediately thereafter when means shall be taken to furnish reparation.”

But Governor Stuyvesant had no sympathy for such “unprofitable customs,” and such “unnecessary waste of powder.” He forbade on New Year and May-days, the firing of guns, the beating of drums or the planting of May-poles, and ordered that at these times there shall not be “any wines, brandy-wines or beer dealt out.” It is supposed that this ordinance was not strictly enforced and that its restrictions were little observed.

Stuyvesant also, in February, 1658, forbade the farmers and their servants to “ride the goose” at the feast of Bacchus and Shrovetide, which brought a protest from the Burgomasters and Schepens, who felt aggrieved that the Director General and Council should have done so without their knowledge and consent. “Riding the goose,” or “pulling the goose,” was a cruel sport, but it was not the fate of the goose that moved

the tender heart of Stuyvesant. He says in response to the protest that “in their time it has never been practiced here, and yet, notwithstanding the same may in some place of the fatherland *be tolerated and looked at through the fingers*, it is altogether unprofitable, unnecessary and criminal for subjects and neighbors to celebrate such pagan and Popish feasts, and to practice such evil customs.” He then gives the Burgomasters and Schepens a sound scolding for their presumption, and informs them “that the *institution of a little bench of Justice under the title of Schout, Burgomasters and Commissioners* does in no wise interfere with or diminish aught of the power and authority of the Director General and Councillors in the enacting of any ordinance or making any particular interdict, especially such as tend to the glory of God and the best interests of the Inhabitants.”

## II

# New York and the Pirates

### The English in New York

When the English captured New Amsterdam, the heart of the British soldier was no doubt cheered and gladdened by the sight of the Sign of Saint George and the Dragon, which was boldly hung out in front of the house looking out on the river on the west side of the present Pearl Street just above Maiden Lane, kept by James Webb, from London. It was a stone house which had been built more than fifteen years before by Sander Leendertsen (Alexander Lindsay), upon the site of the present 211 Pearl Street. When in March, 1665, the citizens were called upon to state how many soldiers they could lodge, the entry is made in the records that "The Man of the Knight of St. George will take one," which undoubtedly refers to the landlord of this house. Webb, in 1665, married Margaret Radel, a widow, and probably kept the house for some years. It was on the road leading to the Long Island ferry, a favorite location for taverns.

Although Colonel Nicolls, the first deputy Governor for his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York, is said to have filled his purse from the proceeds of land grants and by compelling

the holders of old grants to pay him for confirmation, and to have been active in adding to his profits in many other ways, and, although he was given despotic power, yet his rule was characterized by so much leniency and moderation, compared with the paternal, though arbitrary, rule of Peter Stuyvesant, that he became as popular with the inhabitants as, under the circumstances, could be expected. When, at the end of four years, he solicited and obtained his recall, a grand dinner was given him at the house of Cornelis Steenwyck, one of the most prominent Dutch merchants of the city, and two militia companies, the Dutch officers of which had received their commissions from him, escorted him to the ship which was to bear him to England.

The English officials were naturally desirous of introducing English ways and customs. Moved by this spirit, Governor Nicolls, to encourage the English sport of horse-racing, established a race-course at Hempstead, Long Island, which was continued and kept up by his successors, who issued proclamations, directed to the justices, that races should be held in the month of May.

New York, when it came into the hands of the English, was thoroughly Dutch, and the Englishman was not pleased by the ways and customs of the Dutch in tavern life, so different from the English. In a tavern conducted in the Dutch way, where the landlord and all the attendants spoke the Dutch language, the government officials and the English officers did not feel that

ease and comfort that they would in a truly English inn.

The prominent Dutch taverns continued to flourish, but in the course of time, there was a gradual change, produced by the English influence. The Dutch tavern keeper differed much from the inn-keeper of England, and the newcomers, assuming the airs of conquerors, accustomed to the warm welcome of an English inn, chafed under the restraints which they found or fancied, and many broils occurred between the landlords and their Dutch countrymen on one side and the English soldiers and sailors on the other.

## **The Governor Builds a Tavern**

Although previous to this time and some years subsequent, the records of public business transacted at taverns are numerous, for a long time after the English came into control, there is no indication that the taverns were thus much used by the English officials. The want of a tavern truly English, that would satisfy the officers of the government, may have been the cause which led Governor Lovelace to build, in 1672, on his own account, an inn or ordinary right next to the City Hall, and to ask the magistrates for permission to connect the upper story of the house with the City Hall by a door opening into the Court's Chambers. The proposition was agreed to by the magistrates, leaving it to the governor to pay what he thought fit for "the vacant strooke of ground" lying between the buildings and "not

to cut off the entrance into the prison doore or common gaol.”

This door connecting the City Hall and the tavern was meant to serve, in its way, a very useful purpose, but lacking reliable data in reference to the part it played in facilitating communication between the tavern taproom and the halls of justice, we leave each reader to supply the deficiency by his own opinions on the subject.

## **Tavern Regulations**

It was a uniform custom in the English colonies to make provision for the care of strangers and to regulate by law the taverns and the sale of strong drink. By the duke's laws, which were enacted, or rather accepted, by representatives of the people at the Hempstead convention, in 1665, inn-keepers were not allowed to charge “above eight pence a meal with small beer,” and were required to always have on hand a supply of “strong and wholesome” malted liquor.

In January, 1676, it was ordered that “all persons who keep publick houses shall sell beere as well as wyn and other liquors and keep lodgings for strangers.” It was proposed to the governor by the mayor and aldermen that six houses be appointed to sell “all sorts of wine, brandy and rum and lodgings,” and eight to “sell beere, syder, mum and rum and to provide for strangers as the law directs,” that two of “the wine houses be ordinaryes, and four of the beere-houses.” Prices were fixed at which the tapsters

should sell. French wines and Madeira were from one and three pence to two shillings per quart; brandy at six pence and rum at three pence per gill; beer and cider were three and four pence per quart. In the ordinary at the wine house the meal was one shilling and in that at the beer house it was eight pence; lodging at the wine house was four pence per night, and at the beer house it was three pence. Thus a sharp distinction was drawn between the two classes of houses and there was in all probability as great a difference in their keepers.

## **First Merchants' Exchange**

Broad Street had become a desirable place of residence and many citizens of the better class made it their home. The canal or ditch through the middle of it, from the present Exchange Place to the river, would never have been there if New York had not been originally a Dutch town. Across the canal, near the river, between the present Stone and Bridge Streets, was a bridge. This was a favorite lounging place for idlers, where, leaning over the railing of the bridge, they could watch the ebb and flow of the tide and the various small boats which went a little way up the canal to discharge their cargoes of oysters, fish and country produce brought over from Long Island or other nearby points. It was the center of probably more stir and activity than any other place in the little city. Here the merchants had become accustomed to meet for trade and the transaction

of business of various kinds. This induced Governor Lovelace, March 24, 1669-70, to issue an order establishing a sort of business exchange. This order specified that the meeting of the merchants should be between the hours of eleven and twelve on Friday mornings, at present near the bridge, and the mayor was directed to take care that they should not be disturbed. The time of meeting and dispersing was to be announced by the ringing of a bell. It was the beginning of the merchants' exchange. This continued to be the meeting place of the merchants, and near this spot a building called the Exchange was subsequently built.

Not far away, on the present northwesterly corner of Broad and Pearl Streets, stood the tavern of James Matthews, who, besides keeping a tavern, was a merchant and a man of considerable means. The meeting place for merchants being almost in front of his door his house was a very convenient place for them to retire to, to consummate their bargains over a social glass. In 1678 and in 1685 he was one of the farmers of the excise. He died in the latter part of the year 1685, or early in 1686, and his widow continued to keep the house for about two years, when she also died. The executors of her estate petitioned, in March, 1688, for an abatement of £20 excise money.

In September, 1676, Abraham Corbett, "driven with his family from his home eastward of New England," petitioned for a license to distill strong liquors, which was granted him. He became a lieutenant in the militia in 1684; and was one of the farmers of the excise in 1688, which indicates that he

was a man of respectability and deserving of public confidence. He was also a tavern keeper. When Samuel Leete, clerk of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, and an Alderman of the city, died in 1679, he left to Abraham Corbett, “all my household goods in part payment of what I owe him for meat and drink.” By Governor Dongan’s Charter of 1686, Abraham Corbett was appointed an Assistant Alderman. In 1680 he purchased for sixty pounds sterling a house and lot on the east side of Broadway, two or three doors south of the present Exchange Place, and some years later on this lot he erected a fine tavern, which he called the “Royal Oak,” where he spent his declining years in its management. Considering the position which Corbett held in the esteem of the people there is no doubt that his house received the patronage of the best class of the community.

In these early days there were no parks, but the open country was near at hand with all the charms of nature. Just south of the present Trinity Churchyard was the Governor’s Garden. A large gateway led to it and to a charming spot – a piece of elevated ground covered with natural forest – called the “Locust Trees,” which was a resort for those who enjoyed the open air, where they could look out on the broad expanse of the Hudson. It was not then covered with that panorama of moving craft which it now presents. It was the same majestic river as now, but its surface was unbroken except by a lonely canoe or a small sail or two lazily drifting up or down the stream, with the green shores of Staten Island and Pavonia in the distance.

The road along the East River, beyond the “water gate,” had a number of dwellings on its upper side. On the way to the ferry a road joined it called the “Maadge poadge,” or Maiden Lane, and a little way further another, the present John Street, led up to Vandercliff’s Orchard, which is said to have been a place of public resort, owned and kept by Dirck Vandercliff, who was also a merchant, and in 1687 was an assistant alderman.

A singular incident occurred at this place in 1682. James Graham, who was an alderman of the city in 1681, recorder in 1683, and afterwards attorney-general, had, according to evidence, expressed a desire to make the acquaintance of Captain Baxter, an English officer recently arrived in the Province, and accordingly a party of several friends, including Graham and Baxter, met at the tavern of Dirck Vandercliff in “The Orchard,” to spend a social afternoon and evening. About nine o’clock, as the company was about to break up, Graham, after paying the reckoning, was called aside by Baxter, but not out of the sight of the company. Those present saw Baxter act as if to kiss Graham, when the latter called out that he had been stabbed. He had been struck with a knife under the collar bone, the wound being about four inches deep. Baxter was arrested and bound over to await his trial in case of Graham’s death, but the wound did not prove to be mortal.

## Wolfert Webber's Tavern

On the hillside at the present Chatham Square, near the Collect or fresh water pond and the sparkling stream that fed it with the purest water on Manhattan Island, in a charming retreat, then considered far beyond the city wall, stood the tavern of Wolfert Webber, built in the time of the Dutch, and for a long time the farthest outlying dwelling on the eastern side. We find in the record that in 1655, a daughter of Wolfert Webber, tavernkeeper, had been returned to him from her captivity among the Indians. Notwithstanding the danger from attacks of the Indians, Webber continued to keep this house, and it was probably patronized by people who wished to enjoy the pleasures of the quiet and beautiful spot where it was located. In the marshes or swamps to the northwest, called the Kripple Bush, the sportsman could, in season, find woodcock in abundance, or he could enjoy the more gentle sport of angling in the Collect. Although the eastern side of the Collect was very attractive, the western side, at one time, was the residence of the very poorest class of people, and, on account of the stagnant water of the nearby swamps, considered very unhealthy.

When the Dutch were in possession of the city for the second time and called it New Orange, Wolfert Webber was made a magistrate for the Outside People, or those beyond the Fresh Water, and under the English he was appointed by the Dongan

Charter of 1686 an assistant alderman. He represented the Out Ward as assistant Alderman in 1688, 1689, 1706 and 1707, and was still keeping the tavern at this same place. In April, 1715, "enjoying yet good health, but being ancient," he made his will, and died a year or two after.

In 1660, on account of the repeated attacks of the Indians on the outside settlements, an order was issued requiring the abandonment of isolated habitations, and the gathering of the people in hamlets or villages for mutual protection. In response to this order there came a petition from those living beyond the fresh water stream asking that their houses might be permitted to remain, and that encouragement be held out to others to build near them so as to form a village. This request was granted and a village was established near the bowery of Governor Stuyvesant. A tavern, a blacksmith shop and a few other buildings formed the settlement to which was added shortly after a small church, erected by the governor on a part of his farm. To this farm or bowery Stuyvesant retired when the English had relieved him of the cares of office. The road leading to this village became known as the Bowery Road or Lane.

For a time this was the end of the road, but when the English came into possession of the city, they soon sought to open communication with the New England colonies by land and with the recently made settlement of New Harlem. A road was laid out which, in time, was extended through the whole length of the island to King's Bridge, and became the highway of travel for all

going to the north or east.

## **The Two-Mile Tavern**

The tavern which had been set up at the village, as travel increased became known as the two-mile stopping place, and is said to have been a famous place of resort. Its situation was admirable, for the purpose, and it was, no doubt, visited by those making excursions of pleasure from the city, especially sleighing parties. At this time and for a great many years this was the only road of any great length on which such a sport could be enjoyed. For a long time the tavern was occupied by Adriaen Cornelissen, who was farmer and tavern-keeper. He was living here in 1674, when the Dutch for the second time were in possession of New Amsterdam, which they then called New Orange, and was appointed one of the schepens or magistrates for the outside people or those beyond the wall. Under the English rule he was Assistant Alderman in 1684 and in 1687. In 1689 he was made a captain of militia, his commission bearing date, December 16th of that year.

When, in 1690, commissioners came down from the New England colonies to confer with those of New York and deliberate on proper steps to be taken against the French and Indians, they declined to enter the city on account of the prevalence of small-pox, and Governor Leisler fixed upon this house as the place of meeting, describing it as a good, neat

house, about two miles from the city, and kept by Captain Arian Cornelis. Here the commissioners met on the 1st of May, 1690.

## **John Clapp Tavern-Keeper**

A few years later the landlord of this tavern was John Clapp, the maker and publisher of the first almanac by a resident of New York City, which he says was “the product of my many spare Minnits.” It was not the first printed in New York, for Bradford had, for several years, printed Leed’s Almanac. Clapp claims to have been the first person in New York to set up a hackney coach, and announces in his almanac that “about two miles without the City of New York, at the place called the Bowery, any Gentlemen Travellers that are strangers to the City, may have very good Entertainment, for themselves and Horses, where there is also a Hackney Coach and good Saddle Horses to be hired.” He was a promoter of social festivities, which well became him as a genial landlord. In the Almanac, under June, is found the following:

“The 24th of this month is celebrated the Feast of St. John Baptist, in commemoration of which (and to keep up a happy union and lasting friendship by the sweet harmony of good society), a feast is held by the *Johns* of this city, at John Clapp’s in the Bowery, where any Gentleman whose Christian name is John may find a hearty wellcome to joyn in consort with his namesakes.” He notes that John Clapp’s in the Bowery, two miles from the postoffice, is generally the baiting place where

gentlemen take leave of their Friends going on a long journey,  
“where a parting glass or two of generous Wine,

If well apply'd, makes the dull Horses feel,  
One Spur i' th' Head is worth two in the heel.”

Seven miles from Clapp's was the half way house, nine miles further was King's Bridge, and from King's Bridge to Old Shute's, at East Chester, was six miles.

Excepting that of the governor, it is doubtful if there was a single equipage for pleasure in the City of New York at this time, and the ease with which a sled or sleigh could be constructed, which would smoothly and silently glide over the snow, made sleigh-riding a great sport during the period when it could be enjoyed. That John Clapp's house, at the two mile station, was a great place of resort at such times, is no mere supposition. We have the testimony of Madam Sarah Knight, who was in New York in 1704, that this was so. She had come from Boston to New York on horseback, and the quaint and humorous way in which she has told the story of her travels has made her little book a gem for the antiquarian. She says of the New Yorkers: “Their diversion in the winter is riding sleys about three miles out of town, where they have houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery.” On an excursion with Mr. Burroughs, she says that she believes that she met that day as many as fifty or sixty “sleys,” which, she says, “fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious

that they'll turn out of the path for none but a Loden cart," which surely indicates the enthusiasm with which the sport was enjoyed, and John Clapp, at such times, was, no doubt, a very busy man.

John Clapp seems to have received an education which made him a prominent man among the settlers. In the time of Governor Leisler he was a resident of Flushing, when, "at a town meeting upon Long Island where divers of the freeholders of the Towns of Hamsted, Jamaica, Flushing and Newtown wer mett and assembled, to consult on the lamentable state and condition that Theire Maj'ties liege subjects lay under; by the severe oppressions and Tyranical usurpations of Jacob Leisler and his accomplices, it was desired by the freeholders aforesaid that Capt. John Clapp should write an humble letter to Their Maj'ties Secr'ty of Stat in all there behalves and signify to there Maj'ties in what a sad condition we are all in. – Nov. 7th, 1690." This is followed by a long letter.

He was clerk of the New York Assembly, in session in New York during the year 1692. He was also a tavern keeper at that time, and must have been a man to win the esteem and good will of those who became his guests. Lucas Santen, who was at one time collector of the port of New York, and a member of Governor Dongan's Council, when he died, in 1692, left "to my landlord, Captain John Clapp, £40 to buy him a mourning ring, in consideration of the trouble I have given him." The next year Clapp succeeded Cornelissen as landlord of the tavern in the Bowery village. Here all the travel to the north and east passed his

door and we can hardly believe that any traveler would, without stopping, pass the door of such a genial and jovial landlord as we are convinced was John Clapp, and we have reason to believe that his house was a favorite resort for the people in the city. He was undoubtedly residing here in 1703, and at some time between this date and 1710 removed to Rye, in Westchester county, for in the latter year John Clapp made returns of the names of men from 16 to 60 in the County of Westchester, and he was interested there in large grants of land.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century there were two features in the local history of New York City which attract attention. For many years before the close of the century it was regarded by the maritime countries of Europe as a protecting port for pirates, and the political disturbances which resulted in the execution of Jacob Leisler and Jacob Minhorne continued to divide the community into two contending factions composed of many bitter partisans.

## **Trade With Pirates**

Respected merchants from New York sent out ships to the coast of Africa for slaves, loaded with liquors, arms, ammunition and other articles, just such as would be desired by pirates, which they exchanged at tremendous advance in prices for the plunder of these robbers of the seas, and returned to New York with slaves and the valuable goods they had thus obtained.

One successful voyage was often sufficient to make the owners of the vessel wealthy, and they claimed that they were doing nothing wrong; that they had a perfect right to buy goods of any kind wherever they could purchase them to the best advantage. With some this trade in the plunder of pirates was, no doubt, incidental, but it was profitable, although they ran the risk of being the victims of pirates themselves.

Pirates came into port and were received not only in a friendly manner, but were even honored by unusual attentions from the governor, who was apparently interested in their ventures.

William Mason went out of the harbor of New York in 1689 with a commission as a privateer. He turned pirate, made war on East India commerce, and reaped a rich harvest of gold and East India goods, with which he filled his ship. When the ship returned under the command of Edward Coats, she put in on the east end of Long Island, where Coats and his crew found a friendly reception, and learning that they might be favorably received in New York, came into this port. Coats and his crew, by making valuable presents to the Governor and his family, and also to members of the Council, were unmolested. The ship was presented to the Governor, who sold it for £800. Coats said that his exemption from prosecution cost him £1,800.

Captain Thomas Tew, who was known as a pirate, and had been the subject of complaint from the East India Company, came to New York in November, 1694, and was received by Governor Fletcher on terms of intimate companionship; was

invited to his table, and rode by his side in his coach and six. He gave elegant presents to the Governor and his family, and left with a commission as privateer against the French, agreeing to discharge his cargo in this port. He went directly to his former field of activity and made his name still more notorious by his depredations upon the East India commerce.

## **Bellomont's Difficulties**

About this time, John Hoare came to New York and received the usual commission from Governor Fletcher to act against the French. He openly avowed that his destination was for the African coast and recruited for that purpose. From the sequel we can not avoid the conclusion that there was some kind of an understanding with some of the merchants of New York, for after he had been absent about a year they sent out the ship *Fortune* to Madagascar, loaded with goods suitable for pirates, where she was met by Hoare's ship, filled with valuable plunder. The goods were transferred to the *Fortune*, and with a part of Hoare's crew she returned to New York. At this time Governor Fletcher, whose dealings with pirates had been brought to the attention of the British government, had been superseded by the Earl of Bellomont, whose instructions were to put a stop to this illegal trade. The cargo of the *Fortune*, when she arrived in New York, was secretly gotten ashore in the night, and stored. By order of Bellomont the goods were seized and officers

were about to remove them, when a large number of merchants interfered to prevent them from doing it, using violence and locking the officers in the house, who, after three hours, were only released by the appearance of the lieutenant-governor and three files of men. The ship Fortune was forfeited.

Frederick Phillipse, one of the Governor's Council, and reported the richest man in New York, expected a ship from Madagascar and to prevent her arrival in the port of New York with goods that might subject her to forfeiture, sent out his son Adolphus, on a vessel ostensibly bound for Virginia, which laid off the port until the expected vessel arrived, when the East India goods on board were transferred to her and carried to the Delaware, leaving the Madagascar ship to enter with only slaves as her cargo. The East India goods were sent to Hamburg, where they were seized.

In taverns of medium and even in some of the better class, could have been met at this period men who had taken part in captures on the African coast, and who, over their mugs of ale, entertained their companions with stories of their adventures, modified somewhat as suggested by prudence. They were not men of swarthy complexion and ferocious features, with knife and pistol in belt, as pictured by the imagination of writers of tales of the sea, yet they were, nevertheless, as genuine pirates as ever sailed the sea.

For some time, in the latter part of the year 1694, Thomas Tew, the notorious pirate, was a well known and picturesque

figure on the streets and in the taverns of New York, where he spent money lavishly, ordering brandy, ale and other beverages for whoever would drink with him. He was a man about forty years of age, of slight figure and dark complexion; richly and strikingly dressed. He wore a blue cap with a band of cloth of silver, and a blue jacket bordered with gold lace and ornamented with large pearl buttons. Loose trunks of white linen extended to his knees, where they were joined by curiously worked stockings. From his neck hung a rich chain of gold, and in his belt, curiously knit, he carried a dagger, its hilt set with the rarest gems.

The exciting events of the Leisler period had left in the body politic a festering sore that would not heal. The Leislerians believed that the execution of Jacob Leisler and his son-in-law, Jacob Minhorne, had been nothing less than murder, and their relatives and friends were active in England in endeavors to revive the honor of their names and to reverse the attainder of their estates. In this situation of affairs it can readily be seen that there was much uneasiness and excitement in the community, and the taverns were the centers of all this boiling and agitated disturbance in the mercantile and political life of New York.

The bitter opposition which Bellomont received from the merchants and the wealthiest of the people of New York compelled him to look to the Leislerians for support and to appoint to office members of that party. He seems besides to have been moved to take this step from a conviction that great injustice had been done. A few extracts from his letters will tend

to show the situation as he viewed it.

From a letter of the Earl of Bellomont to the Board of Trade, dated September 21, 1698:

“The Jacobite party in this towne have a clubb commonly every Saturday (which was Colonel Fletcher’s clubb day). Last Saturday was seaven night, there mett twenty seaven of them, their ringleaders are Colonel Bayard, Colonel Minviele, both of the Councill, Mr. Nicolls, late of the Councill, and Wilson, late Sheriff of this towne; there is so great a rancor and inveterancy in these people that I think it by no means proper for me to leave this province till I have your Lordship’s orders upon the representations I made to your Lordships by the Richmond Frigatt, and since by Mr. Weaver; for I do verily believe if I should goe from hence, the people would fall together by the ears, besides, should I goe away, it would give the faction great advantage, and would tend very much to the revenue ceasing, and the measures I have proposed to myself for the obtaining the continuance of this present revenue would be thereby frustrated. This the Faction know very well, and therefore are very free in their wishes that I were gone to my other governments.”

To Mr. Popple, Secretary of the Board of Trade, he writes:

“This day another instance happen’d of the brutishness of some of the people here. The Master of the ship that carries this packet, was with me last Tuesday and promised to call on me on Thursday for the King’s packetts, but it seems intended to disappoint me and leave my letters behind and begon his voyage.

I refer you for an account of this man's behavior to the inclosed certificate and warrant, only this I must tell you, I sent yesterday the Commissioner of the Customes Mr. Hungerford to pray him to come to me and receive the King's packetts, and he swore he would not for all the Governours in Christendom, and he would not be Post Boy to carry letters for any body; which refusal of his made me send a warrant to bring him by force. The angry merchants of this town had without doubt encouraged this man to be thus insolent, or he durst not have refused to carry the letters, after promising me faithfully, he would call for and carry them. This is another specimen of the rage and malice of these people, who I am satisfied nothing but fear keeps from rebelling against the Government; unlawful trade and Arabian gold brought in by Pirat ships from the Red Sea are the things they thirst after."

On October 18, 1700, he wrote to Secretary Vernon, as follows:

"The Lords of the Councill of Trade direct me to make an experiment in working some navall Stores here, with the soldiers. I cannot go about it with such Officers who I believe would rather traverse me in such a design than further it; and would I fear stir up a mutiny among the sould'rs, if I should propose to 'em the working of Navall Stores for the King. I am not for breaking those Lieut's, but exchanging them for honest, good Lieut's in some of the Regiments in England. My first Lieut's name is Peter Matthews, bred up from a child with Coll. Fletcher & 'tis at his house that the angry people of this Town have a Club and hold

their cabals; my second Lieut's is John Buckley; there is also another Lieut, in Maj'r Ingoldesby's Company whose name is Matthew Shank, a most sad drunken sott, and under no good character for manhood. I desire also he may be exchanged for a better man from England."

Colonel Fletcher, on his return to England, asked for an examination, which was accorded him by the Lords of Trade. Plausible explanations were made of his conduct, but they were not convincing, and the Lords of Trade recommended that the charges be referred to the Attorney-General for further action. The King, however, seems to have interposed, as there is no evidence of further proceedings against him. Of his subsequent career nothing is known.

# III

## The Coffee House

### An Exciting Election

In September, 1701, a very exciting election took place in the city. Thomas Noell, the mayor, was commissioned and sworn into office on the 14th day of October, 1701. The returns of the election for aldermen and assistant aldermen, which gave the Leislerians a majority in the board, were contested in some of the wards and a scrutiny was ordered by the mayor, who appointed committees, composed of members of both parties, to examine the votes in the contested wards. Some of the Leislerians, who were appointed on these committees, refused to serve, claiming that it was irregular; nevertheless, the scrutiny was completed, and those declared elected, after much excitement and disturbance, finally took their seats at the board. Among those who were declared elected was John Hutchins, landlord of the Coffee House or King's Arms, situated on the west side of Broadway, next above Trinity Churchyard, where the Trinity Building now stands. He had represented the West Ward as alderman in 1697. In 1698 he was returned as elected, but his election was contested, and his opponent, Robert Walters, was

declared elected. He was now again alderman of the West Ward. He had come out with Governor Sloughter as a lieutenant in the regular service and had since then, for the most part of the time, made his residence in New York City. He was one of the signers of a petition stating grievances at New York in 1692 and 1693, during Fletcher's rule. In this paper it is stated that Lieut. John Hutchins was imprisoned at Albany and sent to New York, and coming before Governor Fletcher, was suspended and kept out of his pay, because he had favored the cause of Leisler, and had endeavored to persuade Governor Sloughter not to order the execution of Leisler and Minhorne, it being contrary to his letter to the King for their reprieve and contrary to his commission from his majesty.

After being thus deprived by Fletcher of his pay as an officer, he had to seek some means of livelihood and he turned to the occupation of keeping a tavern. Previous to 1696 he was keeping a house on the southwest corner of Broad and Wall Streets. In this year he purchased a lot on the west side of Broadway, the deed bearing date, October 1, 1696, which is described as "lying and being next and adjoining to the North side of ye Buriall without the North Gate of the City." It had a frontage of sixty feet on Broadway. At the western end of this lot, one hundred and thirty-five feet from Broadway was a street running from the churchyard to Crown Street (now Cedar Street), called Temple Street, a portion of which has since been vacated. Farther down, about ninety feet, was Lombard Street, where is now Trinity

Place. The lot of land inclosed by Temple Street, Crown Street, Lombard Street and the churchyard, about ninety by one hundred and sixty feet, was also conveyed to Hutchins in the deed.

## **The King's Arms Tavern**

On the Broadway lot Hutchins erected a house, which he opened as the King's Arms, more generally known as the Coffee House. It was not large, but for a time it was the most fashionable public house in the city, and was considered the headquarters of the anti-Leislerians party. Upon the roof was a balcony, arranged with seats, commanding a beautiful view of the bay, the river and the city. North of the tavern there were only a few scattered buildings on Broadway, the principal of which was the store of Alderman Jacob Boelen, north of Liberty Street. The extent of Broadway was only to the present postoffice, the road thence continuing on the present line of Park Row, then the post road. The Commons or the Fields, originally the pasture ground for the cows of the Dutch settlers, was at first nearly square, and this road cut off a triangular piece of land on the east side, a part of which, before the charter gave to the city all "waste, vacant and unpatented lands" on the island, was selected and appropriated by Governor Dongan to his own use, on which he built a house, with an extensive garden attached to it. This place, embracing about two acres of land, became known as the "Governor's Garden." After the Governor left the province it is said to have been

converted into a place of public resort, and became known as the "Vineyard." We can find no record of details of any particular interest connected with it.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the use of coffee as a beverage had been introduced into England and on the continent of Europe. The first coffee-house in Paris was opened in 1672. Previous to this time coffee-houses had been opened in London, and in 1663 they were placed on the footing of taverns and a statute of Charles II of that year required that they should be licensed. In the English coffee-house the guest paid a penny for a cup of coffee. This gave him the privilege of sitting by the fire and reading the journals of the day, which the coffee-houses made a point of keeping on hand as one of their attractions, and he had also the opportunity of hearing discussions on political topics or to take part in them, if so disposed, or if he could find listeners. The sober, religious Puritan resorted to them in preference to the tavern. In the time of Charles II, they were places of political agitation-to such an extent that in 1675, the King, by proclamation, ordered that they should all be closed as "seminaries of sedition," but the order was a few days later rescinded.

## **The Coffee House**

When John Hutchins came to New York coffee-houses had become very popular and numerous in London and he was, no

doubt, familiar with the way in which they were conducted, so that when he built his new house on Broadway, in addition to its designation as the King's Arms, he called it the Coffee House. As it was the first and, in its day, the only coffee-house in New York, it had no distinguishing title, but was simply called the Coffee House. In the bar-room was a range of small boxes, screened with green curtains, where guests could sip their coffee or enjoy their chops and ale or Madeira in comparative seclusion. The upper rooms were used for special meetings.

Although Hutchins had been favorable to the Leislerians in Fletcher's time, he seems to have gone over to the anti-Leislerians, and had been elected alderman by the votes of that party. He had borrowed money from both Gabriel Minvielle and Nicholas Bayard, having mortgaged his house and lot in Broad Street to Minvielle and his house and lot on Broadway to Bayard. These two men are named by Bellomont as ringleaders in the party opposed to him. The mortgage to Bayard covered also the lot of ground between Temple and Lombard Streets, and the whole property subsequently came into the possession of Bayard, although, no doubt, Hutchins continued in charge of the house until his death or removal from the city.

## **Two Rival Taverns**

In the election for aldermen there was great excitement in the East Ward, the returns of which were contested. In this

ward Roger Baker was well known as the landlord of the King's Head, and Gabriel Thompson was equally well known as the landlord of the White Lion. As revealed by the scrutiny of the votes, Baker and Thompson were on opposite sides. Baker voted for William Morris, the anti-Leislerian candidate for alderman, and Thompson voted for Johannes DePeyster, who was the Leislerian candidate. Baker had been commissioned by Bellomont a lieutenant of militia and Thompson had also been an officer in the militia. In 1664, Gabriel Thompson, as master of the sloop, Hopewell, cleared from New York for places up the river seven times during the year. He was an ensign at Albany in 1685, and a captain in the expedition against the French and Indians in Leisler's time, and since then had probably been a resident of New York City, where he had kept a tavern. He petitioned, in 1693, that the sub-collector repay to him £36 excise money, which indicated that he was a tavern-keeper, but where his house was then located we do not know. He was one of the signers of the petition showing to the home government the grievances existing in New York in 1692 and 1693.

These were exciting times and the citizens who gathered at these two taverns in all probability had not a few hot discussions over the political situation. On August 29, 1701, a committee of the council was appointed to meet in conference a committee of the assembly at three o'clock in the afternoon at Roger Baker's, at the sign of the King's Head. The conference accordingly met, and from thence adjourned to Gabriel Thompson's at the White

Lion.

During the months of September and October, 1701, many conference committees of the council and the assembly met at the White Lion, the house of Gabriel Thompson. There was a conference meeting here on September 4th and on September 11th we find record of another. On September 28, 1701, we find the following record in the Journal of the House:

“A message was sent to this House from the Council, that a Conference is desired by the Council, with a committee of this House at 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon, at Gabriel Thompson’s, at the White Lion,

Which was agreed to and,

Ordered, That Capt. Provoost, Col. Rutsen, Mr. Hanjen, Mr. Sebring and Mr. Veghte, be a Committee of this House, to confer with a Committee of Council this Afternoon.”

A deed bearing date November 23, 1701, shows that Gabriel Thompson, tavern-keeper, purchased from Nicholas Bayard and Abraham De Peyster the lot on the northwest corner of the present Wall and William Streets, but whether or not he ever kept a tavern here we have not been able to determine. Maps of this locality, of subsequent date, show no building between the City Hall and Bayard’s sugar house. Thompson’s house was undoubtedly in this neighborhood and probably not far from the City Hall, where the assembly held their sessions.

It has been stated by some writers that the King’s Head, the house of Roger Baker, was at the corner of Pearl Street and

Maiden Lane. Henry Coleman, butcher, mortgaged this property in February, 1701, to Roger Baker, vintner, for a loan of £348 10s. Baker may have eventually come into possession of it, and he may have kept a tavern here, but we can find no evidence of it. In the mortgage deed it is described as *lying without the fortifications* on the north side of a street called Queen Street and bounded on the east side by a street which leads to Green Lane.

After the death of Bellomont, during the brief rule of Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, who was a relative of the Earl, the political agitation was active and aggressive. As soon as it became known in New York that Lord Cornbury had been appointed to succeed the Earl of Bellomont as governor of the province, measures were taken to secure the favor of that corrupt individual by the anti-Leislerian party. In this procedure Nicholas Bayard took the lead, and procured addresses to be signed to the King, to parliament and to Cornbury. To Cornbury, a man very susceptible to flattery, they were profuse in their congratulations and in assertions calculated to prejudice him against those who had supported Bellomont and to gain his favor for themselves, that they might again become the dominant party. Not only were reflections freely cast on the Earl of Bellomont, but Nanfan, the lieutenant-governor, was accused of bribing members of the house of assembly.

## The Addresses Signed at the Coffee House

The addresses were signed at the Coffee House, kept by John Hutchins, and as soon as it was known, Hutchins was summoned to appear before the lieutenant-governor and the council and ordered to produce the addresses. This he could not or would not do, and on the 19th of January, 1702, was arrested and committed to jail. Two days after, Bayard was also arrested and committed to prison on a warrant as a traitor. Nanfan was aware that Bayard had dug a pit for others that might be used for his own destruction. He had procured the passage of a law in 1691, when he was striving and hoping for the ruin of Leisler and his friends, by which, "whatsoever person or persons shall, by any manner of ways, or upon any pretence whatsoever, endeavor, by force of arms or otherwise, to disturb the peace, good and quiet of their majesties' government, as it is now established, shall be deemed and esteemed as rebels and traitors unto their majesties, and incur the pains, penalties and forfeitures as the laws of England have for such offences, made and provided." The trial of Bayard was hastened that it might be concluded before the arrival of Cornbury. The prisoners petitioned that they might not be tried until the usual sitting of the Supreme Court. This, of course, was refused. All objections were overruled and Bayard was ordered for trial on Monday, the 2d of March. He was convicted and sentenced to death, and Hutchins was tried and condemned in

like manner. Bayard was granted a reprieve until her majesty's pleasure might be known. Hutchins was released on bail. Bayard was held in confinement until the arrival of Cornbury, when all was reversed. Not very long after, by order of the government, Bayard and Hutchins were reinstated in all honor and estate, "as if no such trial had been."

In the trial of Bayard, testimony was given that the addresses were signed in an upper room in the Coffee House, and that Nicholas Bayard was present, "smoaking a pipe of tobacco." One of the signers was Peter Matthews, who was a lieutenant in the service, and the landlord of the tavern where Bellomont declared the club met which was composed of men opposed to his administration. Lieutenant Matthews had come out with Governor Fletcher in 1692. He had previously been one of the household of the Governor, and by him had been made a lieutenant in the garrison at the fort. He subsequently rose to the rank of colonel and was one of the commissioners of Indian affairs in 1715. In 1703 his house was in the south ward. Soon after, he removed to Orange County, where he held a large grant of land.

## **Trial of Roger Baker**

Another tavern-keeper who became entangled in the meshes of the law and suffered from his boldness in expressing his opinions was Roger Baker, the landlord of the King's Head. We

give an account of his trial taken from a letter from New York, May 4, 1702, which is probably not altogether impartial.

“The Grand Jury brought in presentments. — \* \* \* One against Roger Baker saying the 5 November last the King was made a nose of wax and no longer King than the English please. \* \* \* Roger Baker came upon tryal with a packt petty Jury according to custome, whereof four happening to be absent, a tales was ordered, and although there were then spectators in Court above 30 Englishmen and he told so, yet the Sheriffe went out and brought in three Dutch men of their party, and finding no more he was forced to take one John Ellis an Englishman then in court. Three witnesses were sworn the first said, he Baker spoke the words; but that they were all very drunk it being Holy-day. The other two said they were always present with them, but heard no such words nor nothing like it, that they were all drunk but the other witness to that degree he could not stand. Judge Atwood gave charge to the Jury to bring Baker in Guilty; the Jury went out and stayed all night then came into Court and deliver'd their verdict Not Guilty; at which Judge Atwood was very angry refusing to the Verdict, sent them out again, when after 6 hours they returned again with Not Guilty. At which the Judge grew very passionate, and threatening them several times. They were sent out three several times more and persisted in Not Guilty. Upon which the Judge threatened to imprison and fine them. That so scared the 11 Dutch, that in Open Court being sent for (it being about an hour before the Court was to determine), were

demanded why they were not agreed and who it was that would not agree to find Guilty. Answer was made John Ellis upon which the Judge fell upon him with such menacing language in open Court and a considerable time hectoring and threatening him, he so managed him too that at last he gave his consent in open Court where Baker was recorded Guilty and fined 400 pieces of Eight and to remain in Custody of the Sheriffe till his fine was paid and after that until he made such acknowledgments as the Governor should think fit.”

## **Conferences at The Coffee House**

Conferences of committees of the council and of the assembly were appointed at taverns during the years 1701-2-3, or at the great room in the fort, but after the passage of an act in 1703, declaring the proceedings against Colonel Bayard and Alderman Hutchins, for pretended high treason illegal, and the judgments null and void, the Coffee House or the King's Arms, kept by John Hutchins, became the place appointed for these conferences and they continued to be held here for several years. The Coffee House was the public house patronized by the wealthier class of citizens and by those in official life as well as by the military officers.

Lord Cornbury, at this time governor of New York, is described by Macauley as “a young man of slender abilities, loose principles and violent temper. He had been early taught

to consider his relationship to the Princess Anne as the ground work of his fortunes, and had been exhorted to pay her assiduous court." He was cousin to the Queen, and believing that he resembled her in features, was led by his vanity, it is thought, to dress in women's clothes and appear publicly on the ramparts of the fort and even in the street in that neighborhood. Lord Stanhope says that when Lord Cornbury was appointed governor of New York, and told that he should represent the Queen he fancied that it was necessary to dress himself as a woman. Still another reason is assigned for this silly behavior. It is said that in consequence of a vow he obliged himself for a month in every year to wear every day women's clothes. He otherwise prided himself on his erratic doings, and the town was, at times, amused and entertained, or shocked by the pranks of this kinsman of the Queen. It is said that he once rode on horseback through the spacious front door of the Coffee House, and was thus served with a drink at the bar. It is easy to credit this of such a man.

In the early part of the year 1709 there were several conferences held at the Coffee House by committees from the council and assembly. On September 22d of that year a conference was appointed at the *New Coffee House*. What was meant by the New Coffee House, or where it was situated we are unable to state. The Coffee House as a place of conference does not appear in the journal of the assembly again for many years.

The conferences of the committees of the council and assembly were, no doubt, held at the best taverns in the city,

at those frequented by the members, where at other times they talked of the affairs of state over their wine and spent a pleasant evening in social converse, changes being made as the quality of the taverns changed. At this period there were no clubs, such as exist today, no theatre, no newspaper. There was hardly a man in the community who did not habitually visit some tavern, where he met his friends and neighbors to talk over the news of the town. It was the place where he obtained all the knowledge he possessed of what was taking place in the world around him. The political unrest of the period made the taverns more particularly places of life and excitement.

The history of a people consists not only in their wars and treaties with foreign nations, and in the political disturbances and struggles within; the manner in which they lived, and what were their interests and pleasures, are likely to interest us quite as much. If we can succeed in picturing them in our imagination, put ourselves in contact with them in their everyday walks, it is a matter of great satisfaction. The life and activities of the early colonial days, before there were any newspapers, were reflected in the tavern as in no other place in the community. Here all classes met, and the good listener, could, by the conversations and talks of travelers and other visitors, gain more knowledge of the political and social condition of the neighboring country than in any other way.

## Dinner to Lord Lovelace

In September, 1708, Henry Swift was a tavern-keeper in New York and rendered a bill to the authorities for boarding the French captain and company who came down from Albany. He was one of a number of men who came out with Lord Cornbury and by order of the common council were made freeman of the city gratis. His house was on Broadway, near the Fort. When Lord Lovelace arrived as governor of the province a grand dinner was served in the Fort, which was provided by Henry Swift at a charge of £40, 7s, 6d. Almost four years afterwards he was still petitioning for the payment of this bill. On the 13th of November, 1707, the corporation gave a dinner "as a treat to his Excellency the Governor on his arrival here from his other government of New Jersey." It was provided by Henry Swift and the wine and dinner cost the corporation £8, 5s.

In 1710, Henry Swift was made collector of customs for Perth Amboy, although Governor Hunter was much opposed to the appointment. Conference committees of the council and of the assembly met at his house on September 23, 1710; and again, on November 17 and 18, 1710, conference committees of the two houses were appointed to meet here. Mrs. Swift kept the house after her husband's death. It was owned by Arent Schuyler, of New Barbadoes, New Jersey, and when he died, by will dated December 17, 1724, he left the house and two lots of ground to

his daughters, Eva and Cornelia. Mrs. Swift was then living in the house, as stated in the will.

## **Festivals**

From the time of the English occupation, feast days and anniversaries had been observed with more or less spirit and display, which increased as the population of the city increased. The birthdays of the King and members of the royal family and the anniversaries of the coronation and the gunpowder plot were generally observed, and a new governor was always received with more or less enthusiasm, and his entry into the city was attended with imposing formalities. When Governor Andros came to New York, in 1688, he was accompanied by a large and brilliant retinue, and was received with great ceremony and escorted to the fort by the city guard – a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, in showy uniforms – where his commission was published, and later at the City Hall.

In August, 1692, the common council resolved that “a treat be made to welcome his Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, now arrived in this city to the value of £20 or thereabouts,” and in December, 1697, they ordered that four barrels of powder be provided for saluting the Earl of Bellomont on his arrival; and after his arrival in the city, it was resolved by the common council that a dinner be given at the charge of the corporation for the entertainment of his Excellency, Earl of Bellomont, captain-

general, etc., etc.; that a committee be appointed to make a bill of fare (two aldermen and two assistants), “and that for the effectual doing thereof, they call to their assistance such cooks as they shall think necessary to advise.”

On the 15th of February, 1703, the treasurer of the city was ordered to repay to the mayor £9 10s 3d, which he had expended for a bonfire, beer and wine, on her majesty’s birthday, the 6th of February, and on the 24th of this same month the common council ordered that a public bonfire be made at the usual place, and that ten gallons of wine and a barrel of beer be provided, at the expense of the city, to celebrate the success of her majesty’s arms at Vigo and in Flanders, and the housekeepers were ordered to illuminate.

Much more deference was paid to the dignity of office two hundred years ago than at the present time. Not only were governors received with great honor at their appearance to assume the office, but often, when they left the city to visit Albany or New Jersey, they were, on their return, entertained by the corporation. In November, 1704, Lord Cornbury, on his return from his other government of New Jersey, was entertained at a dinner given by the corporation at the house of Richard Harris, which cost the city £10 18s 6d. This is the bill rendered, and which was ordered paid:

	£	s	d
Dec. 19. To a piece of beef and cabbage		7	6
To a dish of tripe and cow-heel		6	0
To a leg of pork and turnips		8	3
To 2 puddings		14	6
To a surloin of beef		13	6
To a turkey and onions		9	0
To a leg of mutton and pickles		6	0
To a dish of chickens		10	6
To minced pyes	1	4	0
To fruit, cheese, bread, &c.		7	6
To butter for sauce		7	9
To hire 2 negroes to assist		6	0
To dressing dinner, &c.	1	4	0
To 31 bottles wine	3	2	0
To beer and syder		12	0
	10	18	6

Richard Harris married the widow of Roger Baker, who had been the landlord of the well known King's Head, not long after the latter's death, which occurred in 1702, and he may have continued this tavern, which is very likely, as it was probably being conducted by the widow when he married her. The year after his marriage, he was elected assistant alderman, and his house for many years was patronized by the officials of the province and the city. He was assistant alderman for several years. In 1707 he was one of a committee for leasing the Long Island ferry. On the 10th of October, of that year, the committee met at his house for that purpose, and for their expenses he was paid by the city £1 12s. Five years after this, when he was no longer a member of the common council, the lease being about to expire, the committee for leasing the ferry met at his house on the 17th of December, 1712, and this time he charged the

corporation £7 10s 9d. Conference committees from the council and assembly met at his house several times in November, 1710, and in 1712. On the 6th of October, 1714, the governor gave notice of the death of Queen Anne, and on the 11th, King George was proclaimed in the city. The common council ordered seven or eight cords of wood for a bonfire and twenty gallons of wine for the people. The expenses of the common council on this occasion at the house of Richard Harris amounted to £8 4s, which was ordered to be paid.

On November 7, 1717, the council requested a conference at the house of John Parmyter on the subject matter of the bill for letting to farm the excise, and on October 20th of the same year a bonfire was ordered and a dinner was given by the corporation at his house in celebration of the anniversary of his majesty's coronation. The aldermen seem to have been ever ready to celebrate any of the usual anniversaries by eating a good dinner and drinking good wine. The bill for this dinner was as follows:

		£	s	d
Corporation of New York, Dr.				
1717	To John Parmyter			
Oct. 20	To 32 bottles of wine	3	14	0
	To beer and cyder		5	3
	To eating	1	12	0
	To dressing supper		6	
		5	17	3

As on most occasions a large portion consisted of liquor exhilarants.

John Parmyter had been a resident of New York since the time of Bellomont and probably had been a tavern-keeper for some years previous to the date of this dinner. His house was on or near the corner of Beaver and New Streets. In 1712 an act was passed by the legislature of the province prohibiting all but John Parmyter to make lamp-black, for five years, "this to encourage the first to set up that manufacture." He no doubt continued to keep tavern and had the monopoly of the manufacture of lamp-black until his death, and it also appears that his widow continued to carry on both lines of business. An act to prohibit all persons but Susannah Parmyter, widow, and her assigns, to make lamp-black during the space of ten years, was passed by the legislature in 1724. She continued to keep the tavern and rendered a bill to the authorities in August, 1727, for the "board of the Governor of Canada (sic) and fourteen men and wine."

The custom of meeting in conference at the taverns continued and the names of the keepers of these houses are given in the journal of the assembly. In 1713 conference committees met several times at the house of Bernard Hardenbrook and in 1718, at the house of Elizabeth Jourdain, who was the widow of Henry Jourdain, captain of the sloop *Dolphin*, who died at sea in the latter part of the year 1702. The *Dolphin* was probably a slaver, for Henry Jourdain, in his will, evidently made at sea, directs that sixty-one elephants' teeth marked *H. J.*, and some gold in bulk should be delivered to his wife in New York, which indicates that he had visited the African coast. His entire estate amounted to

£426, which enabled his widow to set up a public house, where she entertained the committees from the council and assembly and “lodged his majesty’s soldiers.”

## **The Tavern of the Widow Post**

The house of the widow Post appears to have been a favorite place for members of assembly, where according to Mr. Isaac Robin, secretary of council, they discussed matters of state over their wine, and committees met on business of various kinds. The popularity of her house seems to have continued for several years. In November, 1721, we have record of the examination of Vincent Pelow before the council at the house of the widow Post, in relation to the small pox raging in Boston, and on November 9, 1726, the assembly, “taking in Consideration the Conveniency and Accommodation, which the Members of this House have every Sessions, as well at the Meeting of Committees as otherwise, at the House of the Widow Post, and that the Trouble and Expense, which is occasioned to her on such Occasions far exceeds her Gains. It is the Opinion of this House that she ought to be exempted from paying any Excise, from this Time until the first Day of November next,” and it was ordered that the commissioners for letting to farm the excise take notice thereof accordingly.

Obadiah Hunt was a tavern-keeper whose house seems to have been used both by the provincial and city officers as a place for

conference on consultation. He was a member of the common council for several years, which may have been one cause of his house being used by that body. It was situated on Dock Street between Whitehall and Broad Street, next door to the custom house. He owned the house and appears to have been a man of some property, but of little education. He was a popular landlord. In January, 1718, the corporation paid Obadiah Hunt £4 6s 9d, for expenses at his house by the corporation on the anniversary of the coronation, October 26th last, and on the anniversary of Gunpowder Treason Day, November 5th. The dinner, wine, beer, cider and other expenses at the house of Obadiah Hunt on the occasion of the entertainment given to Governor Burnet, on September 20, 1720, shortly after his arrival in the province, cost the corporation £21 8s 6d. Meetings were held at his house for the transaction of business of various kinds connected with the city, such as auditing accounts, leasing the ferry, leasing the docks and slips, etc., and on the arrival of a new governor, in April, 1728, his house was again the scene of an entertainment in his honor, which cost the city £15 6s 6d.

# IV

## The Black Horse

### The Black Horse Tavern

In the early part of the eighteenth century, there stood on the southern corner of Smith and Garden Streets, the present William Street and Exchange Place, the Black Horse Tavern, kept by John DeHoneur, who seems to have been its landlord for many years. John or Johannes DeHoneur was recommended for the office of captain of militia in June, 1709. Whether he was a tavern-keeper at this time, or how soon after he became one, we do not know, but on October 18, 1727, the assembly directed that the Committee on Grievances meet every Tuesday and Friday, during the sessions, at five o'clock in the afternoon, at the house of John DeHoneur, and that the first meeting be on Friday next. The next year the Committee on Grievances requested permission to meet at other place and time than at the place and time appointed for their meeting, and they were allowed by the assembly to meet at such other times and places as they should judge necessary, but they, nevertheless, must meet every Thursday evening at the house of John DeHoneur. It continued to be the meeting place of committees, and ten years

after, in 1737, it was the meeting place, by appointment of the assembly, of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. In the record it is sometimes named as the house of John DeHonneur, and at other times as the Black Horse Tavern. In the contest between Cornelius Van Horne and Adolph Phillipse, they were ordered to exchange lists at the house of John DeHonneur.

The assembly, like the common council, were inclined to meet at taverns for the transaction of public business, where they were evidently surrounded by a more cheerful atmosphere than in the cold halls of legislation and justice. Where the room was warmed by a large and lively fire in the spacious fireplace, and the inner man warmed and exhilarated by good old wine, business was transacted with more cheerfulness and alacrity. The Black Horse Tavern was the scene of many such meetings, and, no doubt, of some very exciting ones. In the contest over the votes for Van Horne and Phillipse there were, very likely, some lively discussions. The Black Horse was for many years one of the most prominent taverns in the city.

Governor Montgomerie, after being governor of New York about two years, died on the 1st of July, 1731, and Rip Van Dam, as senior member of the council, and president of that body, became, *ex officio*, acting governor of the province.

Governor Cosby was appointed to succeed Montgomerie, but did not arrive until the 1st of August, 1732, so that Van Dam was acting governor for a period of thirteen months. He had been invested with all the powers, duties, and rights of the

office, and had been allowed to draw the full amount of the salary from the public funds. Governor Cosby, like almost all the governors sent out to the provinces, had a sharp eye to his own profit, and had obtained, before he left England, an order on Van Dam for one-half of the salary, emoluments and perquisites of the office during the time that the latter had exercised the chief authority; and, accordingly, made demand shortly after his arrival. Van Dam was willing to surrender one-half of the salary which he had received if Cosby would pay to him one-half of the receipts, other than salary, and not otherwise, Van Dam resisting, Cosby instituted suit by way of information in the equity side of the court of exchequer, where he was confident of a decision in his favor. The counsel for Van Dam excepted to the jurisdiction of the court as being illegal. Great excitement ensued in consequence of a division in the court itself. Chief Justice Morris supported the exception, the two associate judges, DeLancey and Phillipse, voting against the plea. The decision of Chief Justice Morris annoyed the governor, who demanded a copy of it. Morris, to prevent misrepresentation, had it printed and sent it to the governor with a letter. Both the decision and the letter were published in the Gazette. This exasperated the governor beyond all bounds, and almost immediately Morris was removed from the bench. Shortly after James DeLancey, who afterwards became prominent, was appointed chief justice in his place.

The contest between Cosby and Van Dam, at first personal,

soon involved the people, and divided them into two parties. Those in office, and their following, supported the governor, while the party of the people, especially after the removal of the chief justice, were violently opposed to the arbitrary act of the governor in removing a judge because his decision was not as he wished, and to the favoritism which could, by an *ex post facto* order, divest any of the colonial officers of salary earned and appropriated to individual use, and direct the amount to be paid to a stranger who had performed no service for it. If this were conceded, there would be little stability in the rights of British subjects.

In the fall of 1733, Lewis Morris, being removed from the office of chief justice, offered himself as a candidate for representative for the county of Westchester in the assembly. Opposed to him was William Forster, supported by the chief justice, James DeLancey, and the second judge, Frederick Phillipse, who both appeared in person on the ground, and exerted their influence to the utmost to defeat the election of Morris. The account of this election, as told in the first number of the New York Weekly Journal, reads like a page from the history of feudal times, when the lords appeared upon the scene, followed by their retainers, ready for contests in the lists or on the field of battle.

The high sheriff of the county, having, by papers affixed to the church of East Chester and other public places, given notice of the day and place, without stating any time of day when the

election was to take place, the electors for Morris were very suspicious of some intended fraud. To prevent this, about fifty of them kept watch upon and about the Green at East Chester, the place of election, from twelve o'clock the night before until the morning of the appointed day.

The electors of the eastern part of the county began to move on Sunday afternoon and evening, so as to be at New Rochelle by midnight. On their way through Harrison's Purchase, the inhabitants provided for their entertainment, there being a table at each house plentifully provided for that purpose. About midnight they all met at the home of William LeCount, at New Rochelle, whose house not being large enough to entertain so many, a large fire was made in the street, at which they sat till daylight, when they again began to move. On the hill, at the east end of town, they were joined by about seventy horsemen, electors of the lower part of the county, and then proceeded to the place of election in the following order: First, rode two trumpeters and three violinists; next, four of the principal freeholders, one of whom carried a banner, on one side of which was affixed in golden capitals, KING GEORGE, and on the other side, in like golden capitals, LIBERTY & LAW; next followed the candidate, Lewis Morris, formerly chief justice of the province; then two colors. Thus, at sunrise, they entered the Green of East Chester, the place of election, followed by about three hundred horsemen, the principal freeholders of the county (a greater number than had appeared for one man since the

settlement of the county). After riding three times around the Green, they went to the houses of Joseph Fowler and Mr. Child, who were well prepared for their reception.

About eleven o'clock appeared William Forster, the candidate of the other side; after him came two *ensigns*, borne by two of the freeholders; then came the Honorable James DeLancey, chief justice of the province of New York, and the Honorable Frederick Phillipse, second judge of the province and Baron of the Exchequer, attended by about one hundred and seventy horsemen, freeholders, and friends of Forster. They entered the Green on the east side and rode round it twice. As they passed, the second judge very civilly saluted the former chief justice by taking off his hat, a salutation which the former judge returned in the same manner. After this, they retired to the house of Mr. Baker, who was prepared to receive and entertain them.

About an hour after this the high sheriff came to town, finely mounted, with housings and holster caps of scarlet, richly laced with silver. Upon his appearance the electors on both sides went into the Green. After reading his majesty's writ the sheriff directed the electors to proceed to their choice, which they then did, a great majority appearing for Morris. A poll was demanded and the sheriff insisted that a poll must be taken. A poll was taken, and did not close until about eleven o'clock at night. Morris, although the votes cast for him by thirty-eight Quakers were rejected, because they would not take the oath, was elected by a large majority.

The indentures being sealed, the whole body of electors waited on the new representative, at his lodgings, with trumpets sounding and violins playing and then took leave of him.

The foregoing follows the account which appeared in the New York Weekly Journal, which was friendly to Morris. In the same number of this paper the only item of local news is the following, which we reproduce in fac-simile.

**NEW-YORK, Nov. 5.** On *Wednesday* the 31<sup>st</sup>. of *October*, the late Chief Justice, but new Representative for the County of *Westchester*, landed in this City, about 5 o'Clock in the Evening, at the Ferry-stairs: On His landing He was saluted by a general Fire of the Guns from the Merchants Vessels lying in the Road; and was receiv'd by great Numbers of the most considerable Merchants and Inhabitants of this City, and by them with loud Acclamations of the People as he walk'd the Streets, conducted to the *Black Horse Tavern*, where a handsome Entertainment was prepar'd for Him, at the Charge of the Gentlemen who received Him; and in the Middle of one Side of the Room, was fix'd a Tabulet with golden Capitals, **KING GEORGE, LIBERTY and LAW.**

On *Thursday* last the House of Representatives were adjourned to the third *Tuesday* in *April* next.

Thus the Black Horse Tavern had become the rallying place and rendezvous for the party of the people, and was, from this time, we have every reason to believe, the place where they continued to meet to concert on measures against prerogative and favoritism and against the arrogance and arbitrary acts of the governor and his supporters. These sentiments were not new to the people, but had been lying dormant, like smoldering embers, which needed only a slight agitation to fan them into a flame. Not since the time of Bellomont had there been so much bitterness displayed in party strife.

Since 1725, a newspaper had been printed in New York, but William Bradford, its printer, was in the pay of the government, and no item in opposition to the governor or his friends was to be found in its pages. In November, 1733, appeared the first number of the New York Weekly Journal, printed by John Peter Zenger, and devoted to the support of the party of the people, at the head of which were Lewis Morris and Rip Van Dam. It soon began to make itself felt. It was eagerly read, its sarcastic, reflections on the government, and its biting criticisms, furnishing a weekly entertainment to the public, which drove the governor and his friends almost to madness. Its effect was so keenly felt that it was resolved, in council, that Zenger's papers, Nos. 7, 47, 48 and 49, and also two certain printed ballads, as containing many things tending to sedition and faction, to bring his majesty's government into contempt, and to disturb the peace thereof, should be burned by the common hangman or whipper, and that the mayor and

magistrates should attend the ceremony. This they refused to do and forbade the whipper, who was in the employ of the city, to obey the order. His place was supplied by a negro slave of the sheriff. Attempts were made to have Zenger indicted, but the grand jury refused to bring in a bill.

In November, 1734, Zenger was arrested and imprisoned, by order of the council, for printing seditious libels, and, for a time, was denied the use of pen, ink and paper. In January, 1735, the grand jury not having indicted him, the attorney-general filed an information against him. In the meantime he was editing his paper through a hole in the door of his cell. At the April term of court his counsel, James Alexander and William Smith, the two ablest lawyers of New York, filed exceptions to the legality of the commissions of the two judges. For this they were silenced, and John Chambers was appointed by the court counsel for Zenger

## **Trial of John Peter Zenger**

### **Dinner at The Black Horse**

When the trial came on, in July, 1735, Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, a lawyer of great reputation, who had been secretly engaged, unexpectedly appeared by the side of the prisoner. He was capable, eloquent and audacious, and, in conjunction with

Chambers, managed the case with so much ability and skill that the jury, after being out only ten minutes, returned with a verdict of *Not Guilty*, which was received with shouts and cheers. The judges threatened the leaders of the tumult with imprisonment, when a son of Admiral Norris, who was also a son-in-law of Lewis Morris, declared himself the leader and invited a repetition of the cheers, which were instantly repeated. Andrew Hamilton was hailed as the champion of liberty. The corporation of New York shortly presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box, “for his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press.” Zenger was released from prison, after having been confined for more than eight months. After the trial was concluded, the enthusiasm and demonstrations of satisfaction centered at the Black Horse Tavern, where a splendid dinner was given to Andrew Hamilton in celebration of his great victory. At his departure, next day, “he was saluted with the great Guns of several Ships in the Harbour as a public Testimony of the glorious Defence he made in the Cause of Liberty in this Province.” Gouverneur Morris stated to Dr. John W. Francis his belief that “the trial of Zenger, in 1735, was the germ of American freedom – the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America.” The Black Horse Tavern, therefore, if it was not the cradle of liberty, was certainly the nursery of those sentiments which ripened into the Declaration of Independence. No spot in New York is so closely identified with this victory for the rights of free speech and for

the liberty of the press, as the site of the Black Horse Tavern, which is now occupied by an office building called Lord's Court.

Lewis Morris at this time was in London, where he had gone to lay his grievances before the home government. His case came before the Committee of the Council in November, 1735, "when the Lords gave it as their opinion that the Governor's Reasons for Removing him were not sufficient." He was not, however, restored to the office of chief justice, but was appointed governor of New Jersey, where he had large interests, and where the people had long desired to have a government separate and distinct from New York.

Many writers have erroneously asserted that the Black Horse Tavern was the resort of the friends of the governor, where balls were given by the aristocratic members of society, and that Robert Todd was its landlord; but all that is necessary to clear up this mistake is to pay careful attention to the files of the two rival newspapers of that day, Bradford's Gazette and Zenger's Journal.

On Broad Street, near the corner of Dock Street (the present Pearl Street), Robert Todd, vintner, kept his house, which became, indeed, the favorite place for the balls and entertainments of the governor's party, as was the Black Horse Tavern for the party of the people. On October 9, 1735, the governor was invited "to a very splendid entertainment provided for him at Mr. Todd's in order to Congratulate his Excellency upon his safe Return from Albany, where he had been to renew the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Six Nations of

Indians.” After dinner they drank the healths of the different members of the royal family and the health of his excellency and prosperity to his administration – “the music playing all the while.” “His Excellency was also pleased to Drink Prosperity to Trade, and at the same time, in a very obliging manner, assured the Gentlemen there, That if they could think of any Methods to Promote and Encourage the Trade and Welfare of this Province, he would heartily contribute every Thing in his Power thereto.” In the evening the house was illuminated.

### **Anniversary of the Coronation**

Two days after this, on the 11th of October, the anniversary of the coronation was celebrated at the Fort, when the healths of the King and Queen and the other members of the royal family were drank under the discharge of cannon, “the two Independent Companies posted there, being under arms all the time.” In the evening the governor and his friends were entertained at the house of Mr. Freeman, which was handsomely illuminated. “The whole was concluded with Dancing and all the Demonstrations of Joy suitable to the Day.” Mr. Thomas Freeman was the son-in-law of Governor Cosby.

At the same time, at the Black Horse Tavern, the house of John DeHoneur, was made “a very handsome Entertainment in Honour of the Day for Rip Van Dam Esq. President of His Majesty’s Council. Matthias Norris Esq. Commander of His

Majesty's Ship, *Tartar*, and Capt. Compton, Commander of His Majesty's Ship *Seaforth*." Thus we see that the commanders of the two men-of-war lying in the harbor, honored with their presence and were honored by the party of the people at the Black Horse Tavern; and this accounts for the salutes given by the guns of the ships in the harbor to honor Andrew Hamilton on his departure from the city the previous August. "At Noon the Company met, and while the great Guns of his Majesty's Ship *Tartar* were Firing they Drank the following Healths, the King, the Queen, the Prince, Duke and Royal Family, the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Glorious and immortal Memory of King William the third, Success to Coll. Morris, in his Undertaking, to the speedy Election of a new Assembly, Prosperity to the Corporation, my Lord Wiloughton, Duke of Dorset, Sir John Norris and General Compton, and then the Company Din'd, in the Evening the City was Illuminated, the Afternoon and Evening were spent with all the Joy and Dancing suitable to the Occasion."

The account of the celebration of the anniversary of the coronation at the Fort is found in the *New York Gazette*, which makes no mention of the celebration at the Black Horse Tavern. The *New York Weekly Journal* gives an account of the celebration at the Black Horse Tavern, but makes no mention of any celebration at the Fort. In the same way, the account of the celebration of the birthday of the Prince of Wales, by the party of the people, is given by the *New York Weekly Journal* of January 26, 1736, as follows:

“The 19th instant being his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales’s Birthday. It was celebrated at the Black Horse in a most elegant and genteel manner. There was a most magnificent Appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies. The Ball began with French Dances. And then the Company proceeded to Country Dances, upon which Mrs. Norris led up two new Country Dances upon the Occasion; the first of which was called *The Prince of Wales*, and the second, The Princess of Saxe-Gotha, in Honour of the Day. There was a most sumptuous Entertainment afterward. At the conclusion of which the Honourable Rip Van Dam Esq., President of His Majesty’s Council, began the Royal Healths, which were all drank in Bumpers. The whole was conducted with the utmost Decency, Mirth and Cheerfulness.”

No mention is made of any celebration at the Fort. The New York Gazette has the following account of the celebration of the governor’s party:

“On the 20th Instant, being the Anniversary of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales’s Birthday, the Royal Healths were drank at the Fort, by the Gentlemen of the Council, and the Principal Merchants and Gentlemen of the Place. The Continuance of the Governour’s Indisposition hinder’d the Celebration of the day with the usual solemnity at the Fort; However there was a Ball in the Evening at Mr. Todd’s, at which there was a very great appearance of Gentlemen and Ladies, and an Elegant Entertainment made by the Gentlemen, in honour of the Day.”

At the Black Horse, committees of the assembly met for the transaction of public business, but the conferences of committees of the two houses were held at the house of Robert Todd. Here, on the 4th of November, 1736, a conference was held of committees from the council and assembly, to prepare an address to his majesty on the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It seems also to have been a place for public entertainments. A concert of vocal and instrumental music was given here, January 21, 1736, for the benefit of Mr. Pachelbell, the harpsicord part performed by himself, the songs, violin and German flutes by "private hands." Again on the 9th of March, 1736, this was repeated, when it was announced that tickets could be had at the Coffee House, at the Black Horse and at Mr. Todd's; at 4 shillings each. Mr. Pachelbell was probably the music teacher, and was assisted in the concert by his pupils or friends. On the evening of January 6, 1745, a concert was given at the house of Robert Todd, for the benefit of Mr. Rice, which the newspaper affirms was "thought by all competent judges to exceed anything of the kind ever done here before."

When Samuel Bayard died, in 1745, he left the house on Broad Street next adjoining the DeLancey house, which afterwards became the noted Fraunces Tavern, to his son, Nicholas, which he states in his will, was in the tenure of Robert Todd. It had been occupied by him for at least eight years; earlier, his house is described as next to the Exchange Coffee House.

Among the last acts of Governor Cosby was that declaring

Rip Van Dam suspended from the council. This was to prevent Van Dam, as senior member of the council, from succeeding him and again becoming acting governor. After the death of Cosby, Van Dam and his friends declared this suspension illegal, and Van Dam made an effort to obtain control, but George Clarke, next in order, was supported by the council and also by the assembly, when it convened, and in the course of a few months received his commission from England as lieutenant-governor, which put an end to the claims of Van Dam. Clarke received from Cosby a legacy of trouble, but he was an astute politician and a much abler man than Cosby. He is credited with the policy of making it appear that the governorship of New York was not a desirable post, and by this means held his office for many years, and then retired to England with a competency. The community continued to be divided by party strife. The government party were, in derision, called "courtiers," and they in turn characterized the opposition as a Dutch mob. A visitor to New York in 1739 describes the different parties as courtiers, Zengerites, the prudents and the no-party-men; and states that there was much bitterness displayed, and that the women were as zealous politicians as the men.

## **Exchange Coffee House**

From the time of the establishment of a coffee house on Broadway, in 1696, until about 1738, there had been but one

coffee house in New York, so far as we can ascertain. The first coffee house, called also the King's Arms Tavern, disappears from our view in 1709, and we hear no more of any coffee house until 1729, when we find that there was then a coffee house also called the King's Arms supposed to be situated in Broad Street near the exchange, and called the Exchange Coffee House. It had probably had a continued existence during this interval. During the time of political excitement preceding and following the trial of Zenger, it appears to have been, with the house of Robert Todd, the resort of the "courtiers," as the supporters of the governor and his party were called. In March, 1731, there was a sale of several lots of land by auction at this house, and after the death of Governor Montgomerie, his library, a collection of valuable books, was announced to be sold on the 1st of June, 1732, and notice was given that a catalogue of the books and conditions of sale might be seen at the Coffee House. In October, 1732, the late governor's barge, which he had used in making visits to his government of New Jersey, with awning, damask curtains, two sets of oars, sails and everything necessary for her, were sold by auction at the Coffee House. It seems at this time to have become a place for public sales of all kinds and for the transaction of all kinds of business.

In 1747 it was on the corner of Broad and Dock (now Pearl) Streets and its landlord was David Cox, who gave it up in 1749, when Andrew Ramsay, who was then the landlord of a tavern in Dock Street, announced that he had opened the Exchange

Coffee House next door to where Mr. Cox lately kept it. This was the house known some years before as the Fighting Cocks. When Ramsay purchased the unexpired part of the lease of the Long Island ferry, in 1750, and moved to the ferry house on the Long Island side of the river, he was succeeded by Richard Clarke Cooke, who describes his house as the Gentlemen's and Exchange Coffee House and Tavern at the Sign of the King's Arms. His occupancy was of short duration. Anne Stockton made an attempt to establish an ordinary in it, but at the end of about a month she gave notice that she "has declined, and is advised to teach young Ladies to sew and embroider and Millinery."

George Burns then became the landlord of the King's Arms, which appears no longer to be known as a coffee house, and which was brought back to its former location on the corner. Benjamin Pain appropriated the name of "Gentlemen's Coffee House" – and carried it to Broadway, where he opened a house in April, 1751.

In January, 1753, a committee of the common council met at the house of George Burns, the King's Arms, for the purpose of letting to farm the ferry between New York City and Long Island, when they were furnished with the usual entertainment provided for such occasions.

On Monday, the 25th of June, 1753, in celebration of the anniversary of the festival of St. John the Baptist, "the Ancient and Right Worship Society of FREE and Accepted MASONS of this City assembled at the Spring Garden, and being properly

cloathed made a regular Procession in due Form to the King's Arms Tavern in Broad Street, near the Long Bridge, where an elegant Entertainment was provided." Here, they drank his majesty's health and many other loyal healths and concluded the day in the most social and satisfactory manner. The King's Arms Tavern continued on or near the corner of Broad and Dock Streets for many years and was a well known tavern under various landlords.

In 1696, what was called the Shoemakers' Pasture was divided into building lots, and soon after on lot number 58, of the map of this property, on the southeast side of the present William Street, about midway between John and Fulton Streets, was built a house which became a prominent and much frequented tavern, from its sign, known as the Horse and Cart. The part of William Street near this tavern became known as Horse and Cart Street. It has been said that this house was a tavern in the time of Captain Kidd, and that he was a frequent visitor to it before he went on his fateful voyage. This may be a mere tradition, but if true, the house, which is still standing, at No. 122 William Street, must be over two hundred years old. It is, at any rate, we think, the oldest house now standing on Manhattan Island. In October, 1733, it was advertised as the meeting place of the proprietors of a tract of 50,000 acres of land, "for concerting matters necessary for their mutual defence in law," and again, in 1737, a meeting of these proprietors or their proxies was called at the same house.

George Burns, who in 1750 was keeping a tavern opposite the

Merchants Coffee House, moved to the noted sign of the Horse and Cart, where he announced that “to gratify his Customers he takes in the Boston, Philadelphia and New York papers.” He soon gave place to Captain George Edmonds. It seems to have been a tavern that was patronized by travelers, especially those coming in from the north and east and was a favorite of the New England people, as is shown by the announcement made by Captain Edmonds when its landlord in 1751, that it had “lately been very much balked, to the great Disappointment of Numbers of Persons from New England that used to frequent that House.” Notice was given in March, 1752, that “the once noted Horse and Cart Inn, in the City of New York, is now revived by Edward Willett.” Thus there are indications that the house had lost the popularity which it once enjoyed. Throughout all its many vicissitudes it retained its name for a great many years. Landlords came and landlords went, but the sign of the Horse and Cart remained, and was well known as a landmark by which the locations of other houses and places were designated. The house was still known as the Horse and Cart as late as 1765. The old sign was probably taken down about this time, or a little later, and during the decade preceding the Revolution the house was known as the Golden Hill Inn.

In 1733 there was a tavern on Broadway that hung out the sign of the Coach and Horses, kept by Thomas Welch, from London, where, it was announced, could be had “very good Entertainment for Man and Horse,” and where were “also Horses to be let or

stand at Livery.”

In 1738 Captain Norris, commander of the ship Tartar, then lying in the harbor of New York, was in need of men and made application to the mayor for permission to impress thirty seamen to man his ship. The governor and council ordered the mayor to comply with this request, but the mayor pre-emptorily refused to obey the order, and the governor and council prudently refrained from taking further action. Thus it seems that it was difficult at that time to obtain a crew for a man-of-war in New York harbor, but a year or two later there was no difficulty in obtaining volunteers for privateering.

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