STLI-S.006
CRBIB# 010531
PROPERTY OF LIBRARY 2
DIVISION OF CULTURAL
RESOURCES, NARO
356/133458

HISTORY OF BEDLOE'S ISLAND

By

Benjamin Levine

May, 1952

Statute

HISTORY OF BEDLOE'S ISLAND

By

Benjamin Levine

A dissertation in the department of history submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at New York University

May, 1952

C O P Y

CONTENTS

I. Period of Dutch and English Control, 1670-1783. 3

II. From the Revolution to the Period Preceding the War of 1812 26

III. Military Aspect, From the War of 1812 to 1877 44

IV. Statue of Liberty, Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Developments. 61

Bibliography 92

CHAPTER I

PERIOD OF DUTCH AND ENGLISH CONTROL, 1670-1783

The lower end of Manhattan Island and New York Harbor have played an essential role in the history of the United States. This paper will trace the history of Bedloe's Island, situated in the Upper Bay of New York Harbor, from its earliest reference among Dutch colonial records to the present day.

Although Bedloe's Island (which is approximately 12 acres in size) is located in the Upper Bay of New York Harbor, it is geographically in the territorial waters of New Jersey. However, pursuant to an interstate compact entered into by New Jersey and New York in 1834, the island itself, above the mean low water mark, is in New York State. The State of New Jersey retains the riparian rights to all the submerged land surrounding the Statue of Liberty and extending eastward to the normal interstate boundary line at the middle of the Hudson River channel. The actual location of Bedloe's Island is approximately 3/8 land miles off shore from Jersey City, New Jersey, which is the source of telephone, power, and water service. It is about 1 and 5/8 land miles from the Battery, at the southern tip of Manhattan Island, New York City.

Bedloe's Island has been under the jurisdiction of Holland, England, and the United States. It was even borrowed by the French government for a while. It has also been the property of private individuals, of the Corporation of the City of New York, of the State of New York, and of the federal government. Today, Bedloe's Island is primarily associated with the Statue of Liberty. Nevertheless, we must not forget its historic past and the active part it played in the

changes which time has brought to the originally-inhabited Indian country.

The first name, an Indian one, given to the island was "Minissais." Among Dutch records are the names: "Hore" Island, "Great Oyster" or "Oyster" Island. The next official name, for approximately ten years, given in 1670 by the English Governor Lovelace, was "Love" Island. After Isaack Bedloo came into possession of the island, it was referred to as Bedloe's Island. Archibald Kennedy, Comptroller of the Port of New York, Earl of Cassiles, then acquired the island from Bedloo's descendants in order to establish a summer home there, and he named it "Kennedy's" Island. In 1758 the island became the property of the Corporation of the City of New York, and from that date until 1796 it was known as Corporation Island. After ownership was conveyed to the State of New York, it was again referred to as Bedlow's Island. Only now it had the anglicized spelling of the Bedloo name. This same appellation remained when the property was transferred to the federal government. A last endeavor was made to change the island's name in 1877. This came about when the island was chosen as a site for the Statue of Liberty. The proposed name was Liberty Island. This last attempt, however, was not successful. The final name, apparently with no historical basis except that of derivation, is Bedloe's Island.

New York harbor and bay were the territory of the Mohegan Indians. When, in 1609, the Dutch entered the river, now known as the Hudson River, its eastern or left banks were inhabited by this particular group which was broken up into a large number of bands and local chieftaincies, or sachedomes, each having a separate name, like our townships, and each asserting the right of independent power, but all being adequately recognized by their mother tongue. Those who

inhabited the island of New York or Manhattan, together with Staten Island, the the smaller group of islands in the bay were known as Monatons or Manhattans (a geographical term).[1] These Monatons or Manhattans were members of the numerous stock of Mohegans who were responsible for naming Bedloe's Island "Minissais," or the "lesser island."[2]

The name "Hore" Island is mentioned only once, in the earliest of Dutch records, in the following manner:

> Recorded for, and at the request of Archibald Kennedy Esq.r This 9th Day of January Anno Dom 1746
> . . . Whereas Isaac Bedlow Late of the said City Merch.t Deceased was in his life time and the day of his death lawfully seized of an in a certain Island commonly called by the name of Great Oyster Island or hore Island situate lying and being in the County of New York in hudsons River to the West of Nassau Island between Mitton Island and the main about South South West from fort Anne within the City and being so seized thereof died intestate.[3]

The appellation of Oyster or Great Oyster Island was used very often. There were three islands in New York Harbor which were referred to in this manner. Ellis Island was one; Bedloe's Island was another; the last is now a submerged rock "and is shown on the Coast and Geodetic Survey chart, number 541, as 'RK, awash'."[4]

There were, apparently, a great abundance of oysters on all the above-named islands, particularly Bedloe's. An interesting article seems to verify the fact:

---

1. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Report of the Aboriginal Names and Geographical Terminology of The State of New York (New York, 1845), Part I, p. 12.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. New York City Conveyances (Hall of Records), Liber 33.
4. Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909 (New York, 1922), IV, 960.

> To Be Let- Bedloe's Island, alias Love Island, together with the Dwelling-House, being finely situated for a Tavern, where all kinds of Garden Stuff, Poultry &c may be easily raised for the shipping, outward bound and from whence and Quantity of pickled Oysters may be transported; it abounds with English Rabbits.[5]

In so far as the name "Love" Island is concerned, the following reference is made in a footnote of the Executive Council Minutes of November 19, 1672.

> On August 19, 1670, Lovelace (Governor of New York) gave the new name of "Love Island" to a "Certaine Little Island in y^e^ Bay neare this Citty comonly called Oyster Island," for which Bedlow had "a Patent graunted by Co^11^. Richard Nicolls."[6]

It is from its first owner, Isaack Bedloo, that Bedloe's Island derives its name. The earliest record we have concerning Isaac Bedloo, dates back to May 16, 1653. It is a marriage certificate, and it reads, "Isaac Bethloo Van Calis in Vanckryck en Lysbeth Potters Van Batavia in Oostindien."- Or, in English, "Isaac Bethloo from Calais in France, and Lysbeth Potters from Batavia in the West Indies."[7]

Isaac Bedloo, from his name, was probably of French ancestry. It has been maintained that he was "an English Merchant." But the record of his marriage does not indicate it. Bedlow is an English name, but Bedloo is French. Joannes Nevius and his predecessor as secretary always entered it in the Minutes of New Amsterdam as "Bedloo." A still stronger proof of the proper spelling is to be found in

---

5. New York Gazette or The Weekly Post-Boy, July 9, 1753.
6. Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York (Albany, 1910), I, 152.
7. A. Van Doren Honeyman, Joannes Nevius Schepen And His Descendents A.D. 1672-1900 (Plainfield, New Jersey, 1900) pp. 81-84.

Bedloo's own signature, "Isaack Bedloo."[8]

He was an educated man and certainly knew how to write his own name, although he had the idiosyncracy of adding a "k" to Isaac, whereas in the City Minutes, it was written with a "q"- "Isaacq."[9] He was a merchant and shipowner, as well as an active, enterprising, useful citizen of New Amsterdam, and later, New York.

The name Mr. "Isaack Bedloo" first appears on the New Amsterdam records February 10, 1653, as defendent in a suit for slander brought by Joost Goderis, in which plaintiff claimed that Bedloo drew a knife and cut him in the neck. The exact issue of that suit does not appear, but it is evident from the Court Minutes afterward that Mr. Bedloo was a plain-spoken man, who did not hesitate to mix himself up with some of the lively activities of the community.[10]

After Bedloo's marriage to Elizabeth de Potter in 1653, his name is mentioned only once in the New Amsterdam records, on December 8 of the same year. From that time onward there is a complete hiatus concerning him until May 16, 1659, when he is noted as one of the Select Burghers of the City. It is supposable that between those dates he and his wife had gone to Holland and remained there.[11]

In 1659, Bedloo was a resident of New Amsterdam, being named a "burgher." In 1660, a house on Hoogh straat (High Street) was sold by Joannes Nevius, as vendue master, and stated to be "at present occupied by Mr. Isaac Bedlo." In 1665 his residence is again noted as on Hoogh straat.[12]

---

8. Ibid., 81-84.
9. The Records of New Amsterdam (New York, 1897), VI, 88.
10. Honeyman, op. cit., 81-84.
11. Ibid., 81-84.
12. Ibid., 81-84.

After 1660, Mr. Bedloo's position among the esteemed group of citizens of the city was secure. Among the Royal Archives at the Hague File, West Indies, Isaack Bedloo's name was listed with ninety-four other names in the "Remonstrance of the People of New Netherland to the Director-General and Council," dated September 5, 1664.[13] A group of citizens having a great deal of interest in the public welfare made a formal objection to their country of origin against the common plight which existed in the Dutch colony. They proclaimed:

> We cannot conscientiously foresee that anything else is to be expected for this fort and City of Manhattan (as your Honors must be convinced), than misery, sorrow, conflagration, the dishonor of women, murder of children in their cradles, and in a word, the absolute ruin and destruction of about fifteen hundred innocent sould, only two hundred and fifty of whom are capable of bearing arms, unless you be pleased to adjust matters according to the conjuncture of the time.

After reading the above declaration, it is not strange to learn that Bedloo united with his New Amsterdam neighbors in changing his loyalty from Holland to England when the Duke of York's men occupied New Netherland in 1664. The name "Isaac Bedlo" is seen with two hundred and fifty-one other Dutch names in the pledge of loyalty after the surrender of New York, in the following document:

> A CATALOGUE ALPHABETICALL of y^e^ Names of such Inhabitants of New Yorke & c^a^ as tooke the Oath to bee true subjects, to His Majestie, October the 21^st^, 22^nd^, and 26^th^ dayes 1664.
>
> I sweare by the name of Almighty God, that I will be a true subject, to the King of Great Brittaine, and such Governors and Officers, as from

---

13. John Romeyn Brodhead, Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York (Albany, 1858), II, 249.

> time to time are appointed over me, by His Authority, and none other, whilst I live in any of his Majesties territoryes; So Help Me God.[14]

From this time on, all the official colonial records are in English. Thus, all the Dutch and other European names were anglicized and simplified. That is why Bedloo's descendants spelled their names, "Bedlow." Incorrect assumptions have been made about Isaac Bedloo's lineage. It was supposed that he was English and that "Bedlow" was the correct spelling. As late as 1886, there was a newspaper article entitled, "Spell It With A 'W', It Should Not be Bedloe's Island, But Bedlow's."[15] In this article Mr. Charles A. Blair, a New York attorney who was committed to the care of Bedlow's possessions, correctly maintained that there was no historical basis for the name Bedloe. However, when he goes on to maintain, on the basis of his brief review of the island's and the family's history, that the name should be spelled "Bedlow," his argument becomes weak, because he does not go back far enough in his historical resume to follow up the earliest spelling of the Bedloo name. Another article followed this one.[16] It was addressed to the editor by Mr. George W. Adams of New York and entitled, " 'Bedlow' is Correct." In this article Mr. Blair's account is verified on the basis of Adams' marriage to Isaac Bedlow's lineal descendent and to his knowledge of the complete family history. It would be rather interesting to examine this further in order to learn whether or not Mr. Adams was aware of the repeated manifestation of three Isaac Bedlows: grandfather, son, and grandson. It was the grandson who always spelled his name in the English manner.

---

14. Ibid., (1853), III, 74.
15. New York Times, Aug. 14, 1886.
16. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1886.

But to return to Isaac Bedlee himself, who was designated by the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens to the office of settling disputes between persons, "to argue and examine the case, further to decide it and if possible to reconcile parties; if not, to report their award to the Court."[17] He was a merchant who had large business relations with importers and with "the Virginias." His contracts were sometimes as large with the Virginias as that of "40 hogs-heads of tobacco."[18] After the English occupation he remained the same official position of arbiter and conciliator, served as foremen of juries, brought and defended large and small suits, was alderman of New York City from July 24, 1667, until October 3, 1669; again from October 13, 1670, until his death in February, 1673.[19] In 1667 and 1668, reference is made to him as "Comptroller of his Ma^ties Customes for this Port of New York, & y^e rest of his Royall H^es Territoryes."[20] Generally speaking, he grew rich and waxed powerful. In 1669 he made various purchases of real estate. Governor Lovelace used him as a factor (agent for making purchases) and also commissioned him "to bee Cap.^t of a ffoot-Company in this City." The commission issued by the governor, read:

> By Vertue of y^e Commission & Authority unto mee given by his Royall Highness James Duke of Yorke and Albany & c: I doo Constitute & Appoint you Isaack Bedloo to bee Cap^tn. of a ffoot Company lysted or to bee lysted w^th in this City & Precincts. You are to take into yo^r Charge and care y^e Company as

---

17. The Records of New Amsterdam, op. cit., V, 65; Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, op. cit., 152.

18. Honeyman, op. cit., 81-84.

19. Min. of Exec. Counc. of N.Y., op. cit., 152; Rec. N. Am., op cit., VI, 88, 260-262, 332-334, 361-362; Stokes, op cit., IV, 270; James Riker, Revised History of Harlem (New York, 1904), 280.

20. Min. of Exec. Counc. of N.Y., op. cit., 152; Calender of Historical Manuscripts (Albany, 1866), Part II, p. 3.

Captaine thereof & duely to Exercise both yo.r inferiour Offic.rs & Souldyers in Armes, & to use your best care, skill & Endeavour to keep them in good Ordr & Disciplines; hereby requiring all inferiour Officers & Souldyers under yo.r Command to obey you as their Captaine; And you are likewise to observe & follow such Orders & Directions as you shall from time to time receive from mee or othr yo.r superiour offic.rs according to y.e Discipline of Warr. Given under my Hand & Seale y.e 1.rst day of ---- in y.e 21.th yeare of his Ma.ties Reigne, Anno Domini 1669. [21]

(Francis Lovelace)

Isaac Bedloo died in 1673, a man of wealth, leaving his wife Elizabeth at least 10,000 florins.[22]

Perhaps the most interesting thing connected with Bedloo's life relates to the island on which now stands the Statue of Liberty. This island was first granted on the 23d of December, 1667 by Governor Nicolls to Captain Needham, who sold it to Bedloo.[23] It was then known as Oyster Island, but Governor Lovelace in 1670 changed its name to "Love Island" in the following curious paper:

A Graunt From y.e Governor To M.r Isaack Bedlow That His Island Called Love Island Shall Be A Privileged Place.

Whereas M.r Isaack Bedlow hath made very good Improvem.t upon a Certaine Little Island in y.e Bay neare this Citty commonly called Oyster Island for y.e w.ch he hath a Patent graunted by Co.ll Richard Nicolls, & at his request I have given it a New name That is to say y.e name of Love Island. For an Encouragement unto y.e said M.r Isaack Bedlow in his further manuring & Improvem.t thereupon I doe hereby give and

---

21. Min. of Exec. Counc. of N.Y., op. cit., II, 634.

22. Honeyman, op. cit., Part II, p. 17; Min. of Exec. Counc. of N.Y., op. cit., I, 152; Conveyances, op. cit., 92.

23. John Romeyn Brodhead, History of The State of New York (New York, 1871), II, 168.

graunt unto him that y^e^ said Island now called Love Island shall be a Privileged place where no warrant of Attachm^t^ or arrest shall be of force or be served unlesse it be by y^e^ peace of Criminall Matt^rs^. Given und^r^ my hand at ffort James in New Yorke this 10th Day of August in y^e^ 22th yeare of his Maties Raigne Annoque Domini 1670.[24]

It would almost seem as if the Dutch wanted a place of refuge, perhaps for runaway married couples. The name would indicate this, and then it was to be a place of refuge, where the civil law could not molest offenders. But the name did not last long.

The family Isaac Bedloo left, after his death, consisted of his wife, the former Elizabeth de Potter, and his four children; Isaac, Sarah, wife of Class Burger, Catherin, wife of Thomas Harvardern, and Mary, wife of Joseph Smith. Elizabeth de Potter Bedloo, who was appointed administratrix (of her late husband's estate), remained a widow for seven years and then, April 22, 1680, married Pieter De La Noy.[25]

Whatever it was that Mrs. Bedloo intended to do with Love Island may appear to be a little confused. It is stated that an "Agreement /was made/ between Capt. James Carteret and Elizabeth Bedloo, for the purchase of Love Island."[26] Brodhead[27] refers to this transaction of April 20, 1676, as a sale of the island by Mrs. Bedlow to Capt. Carteret; but this appears questionable, because, on July 1, 1679, there was an "Agreement between Capt. James Carteret and Mrs. Elizabeth

---

24. B. Fernow, Documents relating to the History of The Early Colonial Settlements principally on Long Island (Albany, 1883), XIV, 639.

25. Honeyman, op. cit., 81-84; Stokes, op. cit., IV, 69; Cal. of Hist. Mss., op. cit., Part II, pp. 23, 38, 83.

26. Cal. of Hist. Mss., op. cit., 45.

27. Brodhead, Hist. State of N.Y., op. cit., II, 168; Stokes, op. cit., IV, 309.

Bedlow for his /Capt. Carteret's/ resignation of Love Island."[28]

It is chronologically apropos to mention here that several years after this, October 1, 1691, an act was passed dividing the province of New York into 12 counties, each county being bounded and described, and Bedloo's Island's relationship to Manhattan is shown thus:

> This Citty and County of New Yorke to contain all the Island commonly called Manhattans Island Mannings Island the two Barne Islands and the three Oyster Islands Manhattans Island to be called the City of New Yorke and the rest of the Island the County.[29]

It was not until December 29, 1693, that the children of Isaack Bedloo settled the disposition of their parents' estate, both "Reall & personall." They decided that the estate "should be equally divided and parted amongst the said Isaac, Sarah, Catherin and Mary . . . to be holden used possessed & enjoyed in severallity, and not in Joynture."[30] Some time later, however, Mary Bedlow Smith, "Widow of Joseph Smith late of the said City Merchant," took over all the shares in the island. After having procured the property, the widow Smith intentionally went through a manner of insolvancy. Unable to meet the demands of her creditors she broke up "shop keeping" and relinquished all of her properties to meet their claims. Consequently, she sold the whole island to Adolph Philipse and Henry Lane, New York merchants, in August 1732. In the following interesting, 120-year old document is contained the entire transaction.

---

28. Calendar of New York Colonial Manuscripts, Indorsed Land Papers; In the Office of The Secretary of State of New York. 1648-1803 (Albany, 1864), p. 19.

29. The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 To The Revolution (Albany, 1894), I, chapt.17, p. 267-268; Stokes, op. cit., IV, 370.

30. Conveyances, op. cit., pp. 92-94.

Recorded for and at the request of Archibald Kenedy Esq.r . . . this 12th day of January Anno Dom 1746.

This Indenture made the Eighth day of August in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and thirty two Between Mary Smith . . . Widow of the one part and Adolphe Philipse and Henry Lane . . . Merchants of the other part Witnesseth that the said Mary Smith in consideration of the sum of Five Shillings . . . to her in hand paid by them . . . where of she doth acknowledge hath granted bargained & sold . . . All that a certain tractt or parcell of land situate lying and being up Rahway river. . . in the County of Essex and the province of East New Jersey . . . and also that a certain Island commonly called and Known by the name of Great Oyster Island or Bedlows Island situate lying and being in the City of New York in Hudsons river to the West of Nassau Island between Nutten Island and the main about South South West from Fort George in the City . . . . This Indenture made the ninth day of August in the sixth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain France and Iceland King Defender of the faith & c And in the year of our Lord Christ One thousand and seven hundred and thirty two Between Mary Smith of the City of New York Widow of Joseph Smith late of the said City Merchant Deceased of the one part and Adolph Philipse and Henry Lane.[31]

The merchants Philipse and Lane who had taken over "Widow" Smith's island found that they had little use for it. However, an advertisement, which they ran for seven days, offering "Bedlows Island" for sale, is evidence enough of the fact that they too desired to part with it profitably.[32]

---

31. Conveyances, op. cit., pp. 94, 95, 96.
32. The New York Gazette, Aug. 4-11, 1735.

During the time that Lane and Philipse owned the island a new phase of its history was begun. The municipal and state authorities were apprehensive about the fearful disease small-pox being brought into the colony. The City, therefore, was compelled to temporarily take possession of the island in order to control a situation which might possibly arise. The following report is contained in the Minutes of Executive Council of the Province of New York:

> The city is quarantined through fear that small-pox and other malignant fevers may be brought in from South Carolina, Barbadoes, Antigua, and other places, where they have occasioned great mortality. Bedlow's Island is made the first quarantine station. The Mayor procured on June 27 /1738/ the order of council which required "that one of the Pilots for this Port be Constantly waiting at or near sandy hook," and go on board all in-bound vessels and inform all the shipmasters from those places "that it is the order of the board, that before they Come into this Harbor they first Anchor as near as may be to Bedlows Island, and there wait till they be Visited by some of the Physicians of this City, and not put on shoar any of the Goods or Persons on board, nor suffer any to Come on Board of them, until Report to the Mayor of the Condition and State of health of the People on board, and untill he has leave to wey Anchor and Come into the harbor and unload." Whereupon the common council appoints Dr. Roeloff Kiersted to execute the order of the Council, and to report to the Mayor regarding the health of the persons on board the vessels, that measures may be taken to prevent "any Infectious Pestilential or Malignant Disease or Distemper" being brought into the City. The City Marshalls and Constables are also given special orders to make the order of council more effective.[33]

---

33. Mins. Exec. Counc. N.Y., op. cit., IV, 429-430; Stokes, op. cit., IV, 309.

Following this decree the Common Council appointed a certain John Tenbrook to the position of quarantine inspector on the island in the following document.

> Order'd [April 6, 1742] that John Tenbrook be forthwith Sent to Bedlows Island; there to Remain till further Order. to take Care that no person Whatsoever: (Except by Order from the Mayor) go into the House or Houses. Where any person has the Small Pox: or Come from any Such House to this City: and this board will Reward him the Said John Tenbrook: for this trouble therein.[34]

On February 29, 1744, two years later, when the brig "Mary and Ann" arrived from Jamaica with small-pox on board, she was quarantined off "Bedlars" Island. The health certificate issued by Dr. Roeloff Kiersted was called into question by James Jauncey, master of the vessel, who refused to go into quarantine. Prosecution against him for contempt was ordered. After Dr. Kiersted's examination of the vessel, she was allowed to proceed to the city. However, general quarantine measures were ordered for her.[35]

In 1746, Archibald Kennedy purchased the island, and the transaction is negotiated in the following interesting record:

> Recorded for, and, at the request of Archibald Kenedy Esq^r . . . this 22d day of January Anno Dom 1746.
>
> This Indenture made for the nineteenth day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred forty six Between Adolphe Philipse . . . and Archibald Kennedy . . . (sole survivor of the earlier Lane-Philipse combination) for and in consideration of the sum of One hundred pounds . . . to him in hand paid by the said Archibald

---

34. Minutes of The Common Council of the City of New York (New York, 1905), V, 50; Stokes, op. cit., IV, 573.
35. Stokes, op. cit., IV, 578.

> Kenedy the receipt whereof the said Adolph Philipse doth hereby acknowledge Hath bargained sold and demised, and by these presents, doth bargain sell and demise unto the said Archibald Kennedy all that Island commonly called and Known by the names of Great Oyster Island and Bedlows Island . . . To have and To hold the said Island and premises with the appurtenances before mentioned and every part and parcell thereof unto the said Archibald Kennedy his executors administrators and assigns from the date of these presents for and during the full end and term of the one whole year from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleat and ended yielding and paying therefore, one pepper corn in and upon the Feast of Saint Micheal the Archangle if demanded to the intent that by virtue of the statute made for transferring uses into possession he the said Archibald Kennedy may be in the actuall possession of the said Island and premisses with the appurtenances.[36]

The new owner of the island was an enlightened and engaging individual. He was also an esteemed and reliable inhabitant of New York, for he was given the keys to the city when he was "Complimented with the freedom of this Corporation" by the Common Council. Other documents of young New York have committed to writing some of his diverse functions. In 1714 he was given the commission of Adjutant of His Majesty's King George's regular forces in the province of New York. In 1722 he was appointed collector and receiver general of the Port of New York. He retained this esteemed position for forty-one years. During the latter portion of July and the beginning of August 1743, Mr. Kennedy interchanged regularly the position of presiding officer with Chief Justice De Lancey at the meetings of the

---

36. Conveyances, op. cit., p. 101.

provincial council.[37] At the time he was collector of customs, in 1753, he confiscated the colony's gunpowder "stored in the magazine of the city, on the pretense that it was unlawfully imported."[38] His rightful power in this particular function was questioned, and the person in charge of the powder house at the time, Abraham Hardenbrook, brought action against him. Just how the case was decided is not known, and on July 25, 1755 it was still subject to argument.[39]

It would be interesting to know exactly how much satisfaction Mr. Kennedy experienced from his island as the place of uninterrupted freedom from occupation and the mental relief from professional duties which he had desired. It is recorded that he occupied the island as a summer residence.[40]

On February 19, 1755 a new beacon light on the island is provided for by the State (in the Militia Act),- namely on "Mr. Kennedy's Island.". Each new beacon "shall be made of twelve or a greater Number of poles set in the Ground at proper Distances asunder, and a pitch Barrel on each pole; and the respective persons living nearest to the same, shall upon seeing the Beacon which may be erected near Sandy Hook, or other place, on Fire, or upon the appearance of six or a greater Number of large Ships, which from proper Glasses they may judge to be ships of War, set fire to a like number of such pitch Barrels; and at every of the said places where Beacons are appointed to be erected, there shall be Lodged a Cannon or Great Gun, with a sufficient quantity of Gun Powder, and immediately after the said

---

37. July 30, 1746, Stokes, op. cit., IV, 598.
38. Aug. 8, 1753, Ibid., IV, 641.
39. Ibid, IV, 645.
40. Manual of The Corporation of The City of New York (New York, 1855), p. 498.

Beacons shall be . . . so set on fire, such Gun . . . shall . . . be discharged from each Beacon, once for every ship that . . . appears . . . in sight." A guard or watch is to be kept on each beacon when the governor or commander-in-chief shall so order, in which case the Colonels of regiments in the countries where beacons are, shall see that the order is executed by detachments of men from their regiments. These beacons are intended to spread the alarm to New Jersey and Connecticut as well as New York. In case of alarm, every soldier on notice thereof, is "immediately to Repair Armed to his Colours or parade," on penalty of 25 pounds, "which parade shall be understood to be the Habitation of his Captain, unless otherwise ordered." Special provision is made in this act for the defence of the County of Suffolk, which is so exposed that "a Descent may be made on the Eastern part thereof by Water."[41]

The new beacon provided for on Bedloe's Island to notify the colony of attack could in no way ward off the virulent enemy which visited the City in 1755. Throughout 1755, 1756, and 1757 small-pox broke out along the Atlantic seaboard menacing all the colonies. Precautions were taken in New York to segregate all who developed that or any other contagious disease. The General Assembly passed:

> An Act [May 3, 1755] to prevent infectious Distempers being brought into this Colony and to hinder the Spreading thereof.
>
> The initial steps are taken to establish a quarantine at Bedloe's Island. All Vessels having the Small Pox Yellow fever or other Contagious Distemper on Board and all Perons Goods

---

41. Stokes, op. cit., IV, 665.

> and Merchandizes Whatsoever coming from any place infected with such Distempers Shall not come into any the Ports or Harbours of this City or nearer the Same City that the Island Commonly called Bedlows Island, And shall be obliged to make their Quarantine there.[42]

On May 25, 1755, there is a record of John Baird, surgeon of New York, being appointed to examine all vessels suspected of having any contagious disease on board.[43]

A year later, on July 26, 1756, Governor Hardy wrote from Albany to Archibald Kennedy, who was presiding councillor of New York City, ordering him to practice every rule possible in order to render impossible the invasion of small-pox which was then raging in Philadelphia.[44] Socially-conscious Mr. Kennedy complied with the governor's request by offering his island for the use of a temporary quarantine station for those people who had been subject to exposure as well as those who had already contracted the disease. Consequently, various persons "were sent from this City to Mr. Kennedy's Island. . . with Small pox."[45] It is recorded on October 13, 1756, that there was a case of small-pox on New Street, and so measures were taken by the provincial council to prevent the disease from spreading. Also, on the same day, a sloop from St. Croix was ordered into quarantine at Bedloe's Island; it was discharged sixteen days later, on October 29.[46]

On October 19, 1756, the Common Council appointed a committee "to conferr and Treat with the City Members of the Generall assembly,

---

42. Col. Laws of N.Y. from 1664 to Rev., op. cit., III, 1071-1073; Cal. of Hist. Mss., op. cit., Part II, p. 633. This Act was to remain in force for one year only. It was received on March 24, 1758, when the administration of quarantine was transfered from city to province.- Stokes, op. cit., IV, 668.
43. Cal. of Hist. Mss., op cit., Part II, p. 634.
44. Stokes, op. cit., IV, 682.
45. Ibid., IV, 688.
46. Min. of Exec. Counc. of Province of N.Y., op. cit., IV, 431.

for /the/ Province /of New York/, Concerning the building of a Pest House and of Erecting proper and Convenient Goals on some Grounds to the Southward of Fresh water."[47]

On January 25, 1757, payment was made for "sundry necessaries" which had been provided for various persons "who were sent from this City to Mr. Kennedy's Island /Bedlow's Island/ with Small Pox."[48] On April 14, of the same year, the Common Council paid John Brown "for the use of Mr. Kennedys /Bedlow's/ Island for sundry persons who were sent there with small pox by order of the Board."[49]

The estimated real estate worth of Bedloe's Island had moved upward to a large extent since the day when "Widow" Mary Smith had been forced to relinquish her claims. On February 18, 1758, the Common Council required two aldermen to "wait upon Archibald Kennedy Esq.r and purchase from him for this Corporation the Island Commonly Called Bedlows Island for any sum not Exceeding one Thousand pounds in order to Erect thereon a pest House and make Report thereof to this Board how and in what manner they have treated with him for the same." They reported immediately that they agreed to pay Kennedy "one Thousand pounds in two payments, five Hundred on the first of May next, and five Hundred on the first of May, 1759."[50] This agreement was altered on May 10 as follows: "the amount of one Thousand pounds to be paid in two parts, five Hundred pounds on his Executing to this Board a Release for the same and five Hundred pounds on the first of May next /1759/ by bond with Interest."[51] On May 18, it was

---

47. Min. of Com. Counc. of The City of N.Y., op. cit., VI, 71.
48. Ibid., VI, 80.
49. Ibid., VI, 87.
50. Ibid., VI, 124.
51. Ibid., VI, 131.

ordered that the sum of five hundred pounds "be paid to the Clerk of this Board by one or both of the managers of the Late Lottery the said sum to be paid by him into the hands of Archibald Kennedy Esq.r on his Executing a Release to this Corporation of the Island Commonly Called Bedlows."[52]

On January 30, 1759, it was found necessary "that a pest House be fourthwith Built on the Island Commonly Called Bedlows Island, which this Corporation lately purchased from Archibald Kennedy Esq.r for that purpose, " and a Committee was appointed "to order the purchasing of materials for Carrying on and Compleating the same."[53] Payments were made "towards Carrying on the Building of the pest house," on June 20, July 20, August 21, September 19, and November 13, 1759; and on January 9, partly "for sundry Necessarys to be sent to such Sick as were Lately up on Bedlows Island," February 13, and August 4, this last date representing payment "for Printing and Glazing the Sick house or Hospitall on Bedlows Island."[54]

On May 8, 1760, the state legislature found it necessary to cooperatively aid in the municipal affairs of its principal City. Thus a legislative act was passed to "enable the Mayor Recorder and Aldermen of the City of New York . . . to order the raising of a Sum not exceeding five Hundred pounds by a Tax on Estates Real and Personal in the said City." The extra tax was necessary on account of the "expense of finishing the new Goal Purchasing the Island Commonly called Bedlows Island and Building a Pest house thereon together with the heavy expense of Firewood and other Necessaries for his Majesty's

---

52. Ibid., VI, 133.
53. Ibid., VI, 162.
54. Ibid., VI, 175, 176, 178, 180, 196, 203, 205, 218.

Troops Quartered in this City."[55]

It might be a point of interest to note here that the earliest record showing the use of the name Bedloes Island is Ryder's map (1670). The map of the harbor, published by Bradford in 1735, shows this same name too.[56] The same island is shown on the Montresor Map of 1765-6 as "Kennedys or Corporation I."[57]

During the time that it owned the island, the Corporation of the City of New York was faced with the problem of renting the property. Time after time this question was listed among the items of discussion of the Council's meetings. On September 6, 1769, "Samuel Rogers, the tenant of Bedlows Island, is removed by the common council, and the island is leased to Evert Pells."[58] Pells was undoubtedly a satisfactory tenant, and not until July, 1772 was the Corporation looking for a new occupant.

On July 23, 1772, it is recorded that the Board gave Elias Stilwell permission "to take into his Possession their Island Commonly called Bedlows Island, and to occupy the Sameuntil an order shall Issue from this board to the Contrary."[59]

Both Stilwell and the Corporation found that they had to, of necessity, temporarily abandon the island when the relations between England and her American colonies became more strained. At the time the red coats occupied New York City they seized every strategic position, including Bedloe's Island, which they used as an asylum for Tory sympathizers. This type of settlement was not looked upon

---

55. Col. Laws N.Y., op. cit., IV, 506-508; Stokes, op. cit., IV, 715.
56. Stokes, op. cit., IV, 309.
57. Ibid., IV, 309.
58. Min. of Com. Counc., op. cit., VII, 179.
59. Ibid., VII, 368.

with good will by the insurgents, and we read from a colonial newspaper that on

> Tuesday evening last [April 2, 1776], a number of our troops went and set fire to all the buildings on Bedlow's Island, where the men of war were entrenching and fortifying it for an asylum for the Tory Refugees, burnt and brought off all their interesting tools, with a large number of white shirts and great coats, & c. likewise and abundance of poultry of all sorts; the Asia fired on our people, but not one man either killed or wounded.- Same evening, a barge, full of men, supposed to be from the men of war, landed and endeavoured to set fire to the Air furnace, but they were timely discovered before much damage was done.[60]

This act of plunder on the part of the colonists was approved by their fellow insurgents. The following day the American Commander stationed at New York formally thanked those who "effected burning the buildings, defacing the works, and bringing off the entrenching tools, last night, on the Island, under the guns of the Asia Men of War."[61]

The Tory Governor Tryon of New York was an eye witness, from his position on board the "Dutchess of Gordon," which lay in North River of "the burning of the hospital on Bedlow's Island by four hundred Rebels in Seven Pitiaguas" (periaguas). He wrote an account of it to Lord Germain on April 6.[62] Since this document is of great historical interest, a copy of it is introduced here.

---

60. The New York Journal, April 4, 1776, citing the Const. Gaz., New York Mercury, April 8, 1776.
61. Stokes, op. cit., IV, 921.
62. Ibid., IV, 921.

Ship Dutchess of Gordon,
North River
New York, 6th
April 1776

My Lord,

Since my last publick Dispatches by the Brig three Sisters, to N^oo^ 33 inclusive, this Province has become more particularly the Object of attention and Military Operations by the enemy than formerly . . .

I was an eyewitness to the burning of the hospital on Bedlow's Island by four hundred Rebels in Seven Pitiaguas on the 2^d^ Instant. The Asia fired two Cannon Shot which obliged them to precipitate their retreat. They burnt a stack of hay and killed a number of poultry I reserved for General Howe's expected arrival. Part of their plan was to have seized about sixty Countrymen who had fled from persecution, and were subsisted by me on that Island. But getting intelligence of the design I removed all the men on board the Ship Lady Gage a few hours before the enemy landed on the Island, which Ship was taken a short time before the men of War's cutters from a Dock on Staten Island, and which I have taken up for the reception of Recruits and distressed Persons. The King's Ships have also taken several other prizes . . .

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect and esteem, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obed^t^ Serv^t^

W^m^ Tryon

Lord George Germain[63]

The British evacuated the Tory stronghold of New York City at the close of the War. With the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, young America was ready to start out on her journey into the unmapped territory of nationhood.

---

63. E. B. O'Callaghan (editor), Docs. rel. to the Col. Hist. of the State of N.Y. (Albany, 1875), VIII, 673-674.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE PERIOD PRECEDING THE WAR OF 1812

Not only was the young American republic confronted with political problems, she was also compelled to face and solve the social and land problems which were just as urgent as the political. The very air was rife with small pox and other infectious distempers, and many Americans were in a complete state of alarm as to the possible outcome of this. The natural point of entrance through which these diseases passed into the United States was the seaport town, and precautionary measures had to be taken in these areas.

New York again chose Bedloe's Island for a quarantine station in 1784, and the state legislature passed the following act.

> An ACT to prevent the bringing in and spreading of Infectious Distempers in this State. Passed 4th May, 1784.
>
> Whereas the ports of this state are now open to vessels coming from any foreign parts, by means where of many infectious distempers may be brought into this state; in order as much as possible to prevent the same.
>
> I Be it enacted by the people of the State of New-York, represented in Senate and Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same. That all vessels, of whatever kind they may be, having on board any person or persons infected with yellow fever or any other contagious distemper, shall not come into any ports or harbours of this State, or nearer to the City of New-York than the island commonly called Bedlow's Island, and shall be obliged to perform

> quarantine there, or such other place, and for such time, and in such manner as the governor, or person administering the government for the time being, or in his absence from the said city, as the Mayor thereof shall think proper to direct and appoint.[1]

The utilitarian and benevolent way in which the island was employed notwithstanding, it still remained something of a white elephant to the Corporation. It was necessary to seek for new occupants all too often. On January 30, 1786, the Common Council "Ordered that the Treasurer let out Bedlow's Island to a suitable Person who will keep it agreeable to the original intention of the Corporation."[2] The "original intention" meant that it might forcibly be taken possession of and utilized as a quarantine station when necessary. On April 4, 1788, the Treasurer was again ordered to rent the island "for three Years on the most advantageous Terms in his power: reserving the Use of the pest House & the privilege of Fishing for the Alma House & Bridewell on the Shore of the Island."[3] The Treasurer reported to the Council twenty-six days later that he had rented it at ten pounds a year. At the end of that three year period the Treasurer was again ordered to "let out Bedlow's Island on the best terms he can get, reserving the privilege to use it as a Pest house."[4]

On March 11, 1791, having found no tenant, the board appointed "a Committee to inquire into the conditions of the buildings there, and report the terms at which the island should be let."[5] Messrs.

---

1. Laws of the State of New York Comprising the Constitution, and the Acts of the Legislature, since the Revolution, from the First to the Twentieth Session, Inclusive (New York, 1798), I, 117, 118; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1190.
2. Min. of the Comm. Counc. of the City of N.Y., 1784-1831 (New York, 1917), I, 174.
3. Ibid., 359.
4. Ibid., 627.
5. Ibid., 629.

Van Zandt, Janeway, and Van Dyke gave a formal official account of the disposition of the buildings. Their statements, however, were not put into the Minutes of the Common Council. The board was in favor of leasing the island to a Mr. Cromwell for twenty-eight years for ten pounds a year. A supplementary contractual agreement stated that he "put & keep in Repair the buildings at his own Expense & . . . surrender the Island and Buildings in good Order & Repair at the end of the Term and the Corporation to use it during the Term as a Pest Isle" when necessary.[6] When Mr. Cromwell failed, in his turn, to approve of the contract, the Treasurer was directed to look for another occupant.[7] On May 30, 1791, the City Treasurer let the Island out to James Sullivan for a period of four years, and the Common Council approved the draft of the articles of agreement and ordered that they be executed.[8]

The Corporation was compelled to take possession of the island for quarantine purposes before Mr. Sullivan's lease was terminated. The infectious small-pox had reentered New York City. The Common Council directed that Mayor Richard Varick "be authorized to inform the french Consul that if there should be any sick on Board the french Fleet expected here they can have the use of Bedlow's Island."[9] The French Consul favorably received the Mayor's liberal offer, and for a term of three years, until July 11, 1796, the island was used as an isolation station by the French.

During this same period war clouds were beginning to darken the sky on both sides of the Atlantic, menacing the American republic,

---

6. Ibid., 642.
7. Ibid., 643.
8. Ibid., 647.
9. Ibid., II, 23.

England, and France. Thus the United States began to exercise caution by looking about and examining her strategic military positions. The legislature in New York, on March 26, 1794, passed "An ACT authorizing the Erecting of Fortifications within this State." This was done because of the possibility that congressional appropriations for fortifying the City and Port of New York would not be sufficient. The sum of thirty thousand pounds was appropriated "for the purpose of repairing and erecting fortifications at or near the City and Port of New-York." George Clinton, Matthew Clarkson, James Watson, Richard Varick, Nicholas Fish, Ebenezer Stevens, and Abijah Hammond were named commissioners, with full power to repair and erect such fortifications. They were to procure cannon and ammunition, by applying first to the President of the United States. They could appropriate part of the money "to the building and equipping of one or more floating batteries." Other commissioners were named for the western and northern frontiers.[10]

Mayor Varick, as one of the commissioners to study the question of defense fortifications for the City, informed the Common Council, on April 14, 1794, that the commissioners

> had determined on the erection of works on Bedlows Isle and on Ellis's Isle and that the Law under which they acted required that the Land on which the Fortifications are erected must be vested in the People of this State and therefore it will be necessary for this Board to grant surrender and assign the said Isle called Bedlow's Isle and the Soil from high to low water mark around the said Isle called Ellis's Isle to the People of this State for the Purposes of erecting Fortifications as aforesaid.[11]

---

10. Laws of N.Y. (New York, 1800), Webster III, 61; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1306.

11. Min. of Comm. Counc., op. cit., II, 71-72.

The board ordered the clerk to prepare the draft of a grant and report it.

On April 21, 1794, the clerk, in accordance with the Common Council's order of April 14, produced "the Draft of Grant to the people of this State of Bedlows Isle and the Soil from high to low Waters Mark around Ellis's Isle for the purpose of erecting Fortifications for the Defence of this City and no other with a proviso that whenever all or any part of the Premises shall be no longer used for the purpose of Fortifications the same be revert to and vest in this Corporation."[12] The board approved and ordered that the grant be engrossed, sealed and signed by the Mayor.

On November 1, 1796, Governor Jay, in addressing the twentieth session of the New York Legislature, summarized the generous aims of the Legislature with regard to diminishing the growth of disease throughout the state. The Governor said:

> Difficulties were experienced in executing the benevolent intentions of the legislature respecting a Lazarette in the vicinity of this City. Ground conveniently situated could not be purchased, and the placing it on Governor's Island, where it could not have been erected at a proper distance from the garrison, was liable to strong objections. These difficulties have been removed by the liberality of the Corporation of the City. They have gratuitously conveyed Bedlow's Island to the State, for this and such other public uses as the legislature may from time to time direct. Certain buildings erected there by the French republic, have been purchased, and prepared to serve the purpose of a lazarette for the present. But as additions and alterations will be necessary, and as precautions should be

---

12. Ibid., 73.

> taken to prevent that island from being further diminished by encroachments of the water, the appropriation of some money for these objects will be requisite.[5]
>
> The measures prescribed by law to prevent the bringing and spreading of infectious disease in this state have been taken and faithfully executed. It is however to be lamented, that cases of the like fever have occurred, and there is at present very little reason to doubt whether the disease may be generated here. The subject of nuisances, therefore, having become important to the safety as well as to the comfort of our fellow citizens, well deserves the notice and interpretation of the legislature.[13]

During the time when the island was posed midway between City and State, fortifications were begun there under an act of the legislature entitled "An ACT making further provision for Fortifications within this State. Passed the 6th of April, 1795." It recites the fact that fortifications had been commenced in conformity with the act of March 26, 1794, "and, unless the prosecution of the same be continued, the works already begun, but not completed, will go to ruin." The sum of twenty thousand pounds was appropriated for "compleating, making and repairing the fortifications on Governor's island, Bedlow's island and Oyster island in the city of New-York."[14] When the Act was passed, the original appropriation of

---

13. State of New York- Messages From The Governors Comprising Executive Communications to the Legislature and Other Papers Relating to Legislation from the Organization of the First Colonial Assembly in 1683 to and Including the Year 1906, edited by Charles Z. Lincoln (Albany, 1909), II, 381-382. Note number 5 in the quotation is Lincoln's note. Ibid., II, 382.

5 chap. 67, passed March 30, 1797, appropriated $4500 for the erection of a lazarette on Nutten or Governor's Island. The same act provided for the compensation of the health officer and physician for services at the temporary lazarette on Bedlow's Island. Stokes, op. cit., V, 1335.

14. Laws of N.Y., op. cit., (Albany, 1800), Chap. 43, Webster III, 106; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1318-1319.

twenty thousands pounds had been lowered to five thousand.[15] It is unfortunate that no complete record is left of the works which the State built.

Both State authorities and ordinary citizens again manifested a great deal of consternation with regard to a possible unarrested spread of disease. Governor Jay wrote to Mayor Varick on June 7, 1796, and demanded with importunity the building of a lazarette to guarantee greater quarantine protection for the City. He proposed buying Bedloe's Island from the City, "as a place whereon to erect a Lazaretto for the reception of Persons inflicted with Contagious Fevers."[16] (There appears to be some confusion as to the exact meaning of the conveyance of April 21, 1794 to the State.) Governor's Island had formerly been viewed as a fit place for this purpose, but arguments were put forth against placing a lazarette so near the garrison. The plan was thus abandoned. Since Bedloe's Island, which still was under the jurisdiction of the Corporation, had already been used for a quarantine station, it was again viewed as the proper site for the same purpose. "I think," Jay wrote "it would be agreeable both to the State and the citizens of New York that it should be purchased by the State, and the intended lazaretto built there in preference to Governor's Island."[17] At the time Governor Jay was writing to Mayor Varick the French were occupying the Island for their own hospital purposes. Thus, continued Mr. Jay, an arrangement satisfactory to both the Corporation and the State might be concluded "in case the French intend soon to remove it [Bedloe's Island] as I have

---

15.

16. Messages From The Governors, op. cit., II, 360.

17. The Correspondence And Public Papers of John Jay, 1794-1826, Edited by Henry P. Johnston (New York, 1893), VI, 217.
Ibid., 217.

understood they propose to do."[18] On June 13, 1796, six days later, this letter of June 7 from "His Excellency the Governor to Mr. Mayor" was read in the Common Council, and the Board decided, "that a Grant be made of the said Island to the People of the State of New York [for the consideration of five shillings] for the purpose of erecting such Lazaretto and for such other purposes as the Legislature shall from time to time direct."[19]

On July 11, 1796, the Common Council having been informed "that the french Republic stood in no further need of the use of Bedlows Island," that the Governor having represented to the board "that the Commissioners of the Health Office had determined the same to be the most proper Place for the erection of a Lazaretto," and the board having agreed to "grant and surrender the said Island to the People of the State of New York for those Purposes," it now ordered "that the Consul of the french Republic be respectfully informed that the Season renders it necessary that immediate preparation should be made by the Commissioners of the Health Office for the Comfortable Reception and accommodation of such sick Persons as they may find it necessary to send there," and that he be requested to give the necessary orders "for the speedy removal of the Buildings and Materials erected and placed there at the Expence of the french Republic."[20]

On August 10, 1796, the Common Council approved of the grant of Bedloe's Island to New York State with the proviso "that when ever it shall no longer [be] used for the Purpose [of quarantine] it shall

---

18. Ibid., 218.
19. Min. of Comm. Counc., op. cit., II, 248.
20. Ibid., 257.

revert and revest in this Corporation."[21]

By September 5, 1796, the Common Council was notified that the "Lazarette on Bedlows Isle" was ready to admit persons with "infectious Disorders" and that consequently the hospital at Belle Vue was no longer needed for this purpose. Thus a Committee, composed of Esquires Aldermen Gabriel Firnam, Robert Lenox, and Assistant Aldermen Mangel and Minthorn, was appointed to observe, examine, and report upon the further state of arrangement of Belle Vue.[22]

It might not be amiss to include at this point "A Report on the subject of Yellow Fever made to the governor of New York" of November 28, 1796 by Richard Bayley. Dr. Bayley reports to Governor Jay the condition of the hospital established on Bedloe's Island, and of the docks where "the late malignant fever" is supposed to have originated. He states in part:

> The necessary Buildings for the sick on the Island are First. A large and well ventilated House to contain the patients during their sickness. Secondly. A small building to receive the sick, on their first arrival, where they have to undergo a proper cleansing: This might be provided with Bathing-tub, the means of warm bathing, and necessary cloathing of every kind, Thirdly- a separate building for convalescents, which may be the means of not only saving many lives, but also, in the event, prove highly economical, by greatly expediting the recovery of the sick.- Fourthly. A separate building to which the dead should be immediately conveyed. Fifthly. A wash House to which the dirty linnen bedding & c. & c. may be immediately sent. . . .

---

21. Ibid., 268-269.
22. Ibid., 275.

Before I conclude I must take the liberty of mentioning to your Excellency what has hitherto been the condition of the Hospital, lately established upon Bedlow Island; I am induced to do this in order . . . that measures will, in consequence, be taken to provide for the Hospital in such manner, as may be necessary, to compleat the establishment, and give it extensive utility. The necessary alterations and repairs which the Buildings on Bedlows Island required, to render them fit to receive the sick, were not completed untill the beginning of August. As soon as those was done, application was made to the Commissioners of Health, for a supply of necessaries to accomodate the sick; which at this period were sent to the Hospital from White hall, and from several Vessels just arrived from sea. The Commissioners directed the Beds and bedding, which had been used the year before at Bellvue, to be sent to the new Hospital upon Bedlows Island: But unfortunately those articles were in a very filthy state and altogether improper for present use. But as the sick were already at the Hospital, we had no alternative but to select the cleanest of those Articles, and use them in that state. . . .

Under these circumstances, the consequences were such as might naturally be expected, for within eight days from the time, that those Articles were brought to the Hospital, those people who had been employed in transporting the bedding from Bele Vue, the nurses who had attended the sick, and the steward of the Home were attacked with fever. The attending Physician Monsieur Bouvier, was also most indisposed for several days. From this distressing situation, however, the Hospital was soon happily relieved by a supply of Beds- bedding, and such clothes as were necessary for frequent change, and placing the sick in a state of the greatest cleanliness. From the period that this was done, neither nurse, visitor, nor any kind of attendant, were known to be attacked with fever.[23]

---

23. Richard Bayley to Governor Jay, Nov. 28, 1796, Jay Papers, Box 2 #9, New York Historical Society.

On March 30, 1798, the legislature passed "An ACT to provide against infectious and pestilential Diseases." Three persons, who were to make rules for cleaning the streets, etc., were to be appointed commissioners of the health office at the City of New York. Nuisances, like factories which are offensive to the health, were to be removed if found harmful, by warrant of the Mayor or recorder directed to the sherrif, on the representation of the commissioners. Vessels, in certain cases, were subject to quarantine. The duties of commanders and pilots and of the Health Officer of the port, were defined. "Moneys" were appropriated for repairing the buildings for the reception of the sick on Bedlow's Island.[24]

Within less than two years from the time that the Health Officers had removed the hospital from Belle Vue to Bedloe's Island the Health Commissioners offered the suggestion to the Common Council that (in their opinion) it was improper to continue to have a lazarette on Bedlow's Island. They based their opinion on the supposition that the government would complete the fortifications and place troops there, as proposed during the summer of 1798. They requested the permission to again use Belle Vue Hospital. Their request was granted, and Belle Vue was again made use of.

In spite of the keen desire on the part of both the Mayor and the Governor to convey Bedloe's Island to the State, the property remained balanced between the City and State until November 2, 1796 when the transfer of the property was executed, as can be seen in the following Special Message to the Assembly.

---

24. Laws of N.Y. (1798), op. cit., III, 388; Stokes, op cit., V, 1350.

Gentlemen. - I have now the honor of laying before you the . . . grant from the Corporation of this City to the people of the State for Bedlows Island.

John Jay.

New York, 2d November, 1796.[25]

In case of war, which seemed, threateningly enough, as though it would occur in the near future, New York City was a likely point of attack. Governor Jay was apprehensive and felt that New York's position should be made unassailable. In his opening speech to the Legislature, January 6, 1796, 19th session of the Legislature, he said:

> It has been often and justly observed that in order to preserve peace, every nation should not only treat others with justice and respect, but also be in constant readiness to resist and repel hostilities. Imbecility invites insult and agression, and the experience of ages proves that they are the most secure against war who are the best prepared to meet it.
>
> Although it belongs to our national government to provide for the defence of the United States, and although that great object will doubtless continue to receive, as well as to claim their attention, yet it is also highly interesting that nothing properly depending on us be ommitted to give efficacy to their laws and measures.
>
> Having but one port through which the great mass of our exports and imports pass, the importance of fortifying it has been generally seen, and considerable progress has been made in executing the plans formed under the direction of the general government for that purpose. Much yet remains to be done, and if from the details which will be laid before you, it shall appear that further aids on the part of this state would be proper, I am persuaded they will be really afforded.[26]

25.

26. Messages From The Governors, op. cit., II, 386. Ibid., II, 359-360.

The appropriation act, passed on April 11, 1795, had authorized the commissioners of fortifications to expend five thousand pounds for "compleating, making and repairing the fortifications on Governor's island, Bedlows island and Oyster island in the city of New-York."[27]

From a "Statement of moneys applied to the defence of certain ports in the United States, in pursuance of the act to provide for the defence of certain ports and harbors in the United States, passed the 20th March, 1794, distinguishing the moneys expended each year, from after the passing the said act, upon the fortifications of each harbor, to the 1st day of October 1799," it can be seen that Congress in 1794 passed an act providing $15,737.73 for defence fortifications in New York.[28] The federal government assigned Charles Vincent, a temporary engineer in the service of the United States, to study from defensive and offensive aspects the military position of New York. In his report to Secretary of War Henry Knox, entitled "General observations on the defence of the Harbor and City of New York, 1794," Mr. Vincent suggested with favorable representations the fortifying of Bedloe's Island. He maintained that if an enemy vessel should succeed in forcing the passage past Sandy Hook, the vessel would "find new obstacles on approaching Bedloe's Island." Mr. Vincent pointed out that from fortifications erected on this Island situated so as to face the channel, fires might cross with great advantage those of Governor's Island and "concur with those of Oyster Island [Ellis Island]." Therefore, Mr. Vincent advised that a battery, mount-

---

27. Ibid., 360.

28. American State Papers. Documents, Legislative And Executive, of the Congress of the United States, Commencing March 3, 1789, and ending March 3, 1819 (Washington, 1832), Class V "Military Affairs," I, 141.

ed with six pieces of the largest caliber, two mortars, and twenty pieces of heavy cannon, be erected on the Island. This battery was to be defended by a strong redoubt and have a "gaol" inclosed within it. The estimated expense was calculated at approximately $25,000. Mr. Vincent recommended the construction of similar defenses on Ellis Island, and, in terminating his report, he stated that "All the works to be made in Bedloe's, Oyster Island and Governor's Island, will be of little cost. . . . they cannot be ordered too soon."[29]

Contained in a memorandum on fortifications, referred to the first session of the sixth Congress, is the total amount of money expended for the defence of New York Port and Harbor in accordance with the bill of March 20, 1794. This amount was $100,031.41.[30] Between the years 1794 and 1801 an annual appropriation was made. However, the exact amount used for Bedloe's Island is not known.

A Committee was appointed to inquire into the actual state of the fortifications of the ports and harbors of the United States and reported to the House on February 10, 1797. Included in this report was a description of the fortifications on Governor's, Bedloe's, and Oyster Islands. This paper was returned to the Secretary of War on May 31, 1797, and subsequently lost.[31]

On June 6, 1797, James McHenry, from the War Office, prepared a "Memorandum for the Committee of the House of Representatives on Fortifications, & c.," where it is stated that New York is "Among the harbors, & c. which it may become proper to secure, by improving or adding to existing fortifications." The memorandum contains the

---

29. Ibid., 78-80.
30. Ibid., 153.
31. Ibid., 116.

recommendation that $90,000 be appropriated "To complete the works on Governor's Island, Bedloe's Island, and Oyster Island."[32] Despite the recommendation no action was taken by the federal government.

Within the year the Legislature directed Governor Jay to provide it with information concerning the approximate cost "of putting the city and port of New York in a respectable state of defence."[33] They were curious as to whether the federal government would cooperate with the state legislature in bearing the cost of such a project. In reply to this request, Jay wrote to the Assembly in April of 1798 in the following words:

> April 5, 1798.
>
> Gentlemen.- By your resolutions of the 19th of March, you were pleased to request me to be caused to be laid before you an estimate of the sums necessary, and the means to be adopted for putting the City and port of New York in a respectable state of defence, and to inform you whether there would be grounds to expect the co-operation of the government of the United States in defraying the expense attending that object. My message of the 21st of March afforded reason to expect further communications from me on the subject, and it appears to me proper that before the adjournment of the Legislature, you should be particularly informed of the measures which have been taken for the purposes, and the result of them.
>
> As the Act of 1794 has been entrusted and committed the business of fortifying the port of New York to the exclusive management and discretion of the seven commissioners appointed in it by name, and not being authorized either officially or otherwise to participate in the direction of it, I understand your request to intend only, that I

---

32. Ibid., 118.
33. Ibid., 118.

> should obtain from them,and lay before you the desired information; that this might be done in the most ample and satisfactory manner, I did by a letter written on the 20th of March, and inclosing a copy of your resolution, request Col. Stevens to come here immediately, and bring with him the necessary documents, for although they had heretofore communicated to me their plans and estimates, yet none of their papers remained in my possession, and I had reason to believe that those documents together with the information to be obtained from his, and from other honourable and well informed commissioner, who during the session has been in his place in the Senate, would give you full and satisfactory intelligence on the subject. . . .
>
> John Jay.[34]

By a State law on August 27, 1798, it was provided that the sum of $150,000 be appropriated for the purpose of repairing and completing "the fortifications in New York City and vicinity, and for constructing such other fortifications on New York Island, Governor's Island, Bedlow's Island, Ellis Island, and Long Island, and for providing such other means of defence for the security of said City and port as the governor of the State shall deem necessary for the security and defence of the same, provided that said sum shall be expended under the direction of the President of the United States."[35]

The problem of whether the federal government or the State would be financially accountable for the erection of fortifications around the harbor of New York was still not completely solved. Contained in an address (on this subject) to the Assembly by Governor Jay,

---

34. Messages From The Governors, op. cit., II, 418-419.

35. R.S. Guernsey, New York City And Vicinity During The War of 1812-15 (New York, 1889), I, 61.

February 18, 1799, is the following note:

> A clause in the appropriation act, chap. 94 required the Comptroller to "collect and liquidate the expense incurred by the fortifications in this State for the defense of the United States, and also to liquidate with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States the specie value of the funded debt of the United States assumed by the said states of the debt of this State, on the principles contained in the Act of Congress passed the 15th day of February last, relative to the balances reported by the Commissioners for settling the accounts between the United States and the several states."[36]

By an act of the Legislature on February 15, 1800, Bedloe's Island was ceded to the United States government, together with Ellis Island and Governor's Island, at which time the State reversed the right to execute on these Islands any process of the New York Civil or Criminal Courts. The peculiar exemption, above mentioned, which Bedloe's Island had since 1670, was thereby abrogated.[37] By another act passed the following March 28th, the State pledged itself for the expenditure of a sum in fortifications equal to that assumed by the United States in the debt of this State.[38]

On November 5, 1800, Governor Jay reported to the Legislature in a Special Message that "with the concurrence of the Secretary of War, engineers have been engaged, and are now employed in making the necessary surveys, and in devising a plan, which, when finished, will be laid before the President, and communicated to you."[39]

---

36. Ibid., II, 438.
37. Man. of Corp. of City of N.Y., op. cit., 498; Laws of State of N.Y., op. cit., (1800), Chap. IV, p. 7; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1375.
38. Messages From The Governors, op. cit., II, 567-570; Guernsey, op. cit., I, 61.
39. Messages From the Governors, op. cit., II, 469.

It was necessary for New York to resort to additional taxation in order to meet her share of expense in the fortifications undertaking. On January 26, 1802 Governor George Clinton, when reviewing the fiscal obligations, in an opening speech to the Senate and Assembly, stated that the various claims confronting the State treasury would have been met earlier "were it not for the engagement to expend in fortifications a very large sum, supposed to be due to the United States."[40]

Colonel Jonathan Williams, chief engineer of the United States, Director of the Military Academy at West Point, and president of the American Military Philosophical Society, was appointed to make a thorough survey of New York Harbor in the fall of 1805. He began the repair and improvement of the defense fortifications on Governor's and Bedloe's Islands. The sum of $100,000 was appropriated by the State legislature to aid in this work, although it was not immediately used.[41]

---

40. Ibid., II, 506-507. The tax law was amended and passed April 5, Ibid.

41. Guernsey, op. cit., I, 63; American State Papers, op. cit., I, 118.

CHAPTER III

MILITARY ASPECT, FROM THE WAR OF 1812 to 1877

The time was one of peculiar difficulty. Great Britain and France, with their allies and subject states, were contending for each other's life blood. France had become superior in position and influence on the mainland of Europe; England had secured the advantage of sea superiority. Each nation was victorious in its orbit. The sole method by which either of them could to a greater degree harass the other, except if the other were unwise enough to abandon its peculiar place, was by starvation. This the rival governments attempted by putting an end to all trade with the other power. The United States was at that time the chief commercial country which was lending no active military assistance to either belligerent. Upon it, therefore, fell the weight of this new method of waging a war.

Since the foreign relations of the young American republic had invested itself with a mien menacing to the peace of the country, the inhabitants of New York City manifested great dissatisfaction with fortification conditions. Therefore the Corporation and the local merchants drew up a petition citing "the defenceless situation of the port of New York." This call for aid was later referred to Congress, and a Committee was appointed to investigate the merchants' memorial. On January 28,1806, Senator Samuel L. Mitchill, a member of the Committee to whom was directed the memorial of the merchants of New York, delivered, at the first session of the ninth Congress, a

report on "Fortifications Communicated To The Senate," in which he put into concrete form the memorialists' assertions. In his report Mr. Mitchill said that "Bedloe Island, though very small, has also been considered proper for defensive operations, and, in some degree, prepared to annoy the enemy."[1] The House of Representatives did not respond immediately with an appropriation for the erection and completion of adequate land batteries, but discussed the plan of defending New York harbor and other seacoast ports by gun boats in case of war.

Moved by the apathy of the federal government, Governor Morgan Lewis, in an Opening Speech to the 29th session of the State Legislature, on January 28, 1806, made an address with the following appeal.

> It remains then, gentlemen, a question for your consideration whether in this state of things, you will not make an effort towards the protection of the key of your state, and the seat of your wealth. The expense will certainly be great. It may, however, by judicious management be rendered as gradual as to be little oppressive . . . . Meanwhile I cannot omit calling to your recollection, gentlemen, the act of the 28th of March, 1800, by which the State stands pledged for the expenditure of a sum in fortifications equal to that assumed by the United States in the debt of this State.[2]

The importance of New York as a commercial depot was growing. Her condition of being open to attack was a theme of public interest. It was generally agreed that national assistance would be provided

---

1. American State Papers, Class V, op. cit., I, 191.
2. Messages From The Governors, op. cit., II, 567-570.

in its protection. The repair of batteries and magazines on the several islands in the harbor was recommended. More precisely in reference to Bedloe's Island, a communication, dated December 3, 1807 (1st session, 10th Congress), to the Senate on "Fortifications and Gunboats" advised that "a strong redoubt on Bedloe's Island, for mortars and some heavy cannon," be erected.[3]

On May 18, 1809, the erection of a land battery in the shape of a star was begun on Bedloe's Island. Speaking of the construction of the new fortifications on Governor's and Bedloe's Islands the Columbian Centinal said:

> The fortifications at Governor's Island progress very rapidly. Between 4 and 500 men are kept constantly employed on the works. The genius of Col. Williams, united with the superior mechanical abilities of Messrs Hillard and Soyder, has rendered the fortification, in point of strength and elegance, equal to any perhaps in the world. They are at present employed in the erection of a circular Tower, which, from its situation, will be of great advantage, in case of attack, being placed on a point of the Island, from whence it can command the Narrows, and in fact, the whole of the Channel. It will be completed in about three months. At Bedlows Island, also, they have commenced the erection of a Star,which will be of great service, and the chains are forgeing, which is to be affixed to the blocks to be sunk in the Channel. When the works are all completed, the general complaint that our harbour is defenceless, will, we hope, cease, as whatever nature and art can furnish will be applied; it will be placed in a posture of defence superior to any in the United States.[4]

---

3. American State Papers, Class V, op. cit., I, 220.
4. Boston Columbian Centinal, May 18, 1808; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1491.

On October 9, 1808, Senator Samuel L. Mitchill wrote to Judge Ambrose Spencer a description of the fortifications undertaken by the War Department for the defence of New York. Speaking of Bedloe's Island, Mitchill said that "the front wall of the mortar battery which commands all the channel and anchoring ground to the full distance that a shell can be sent," is nearly up to the intended height. The form given to this front is irregular because of the Island's position and the irregular shape of its bank. This battery "will be on the level of the ditch of a star fort in its rear," which not only will command it, but will command and protect Ellis Island. The excavations for this work are made, and "the mason work will be carried on at the opening of the spring, in the mean time the work will go on until the severity of the winter puts a stop to it."[5]

The following January, General Henry Deaborn, after a visit to the Harbor, reported to President Jefferson that a mortar battery had been started on Bedloe's Island and the front wall raised to the intended height. Moreover, continues the report:

> Part of the redoubt in the rear has been excavated, but as the season is too far advanced to begin any new piece of mason work, nothing more than a continuance of excavation and a collection of materials will be attempted this winter. Two brick barracks, consisting of only the walls and roof, have been raised another story and rendered habitable.[6]

---

5. Guernsey, op. cit., I, 68-69; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1469; Philadelphia Aurora, Oct. 28, 1808 citing the New York Mercury Adv; New York Gaz. and Gen. Adv., Oct. 19, 1808.

6. American State Papers, Class V, op. cit., I, 237.

President Jefferson in a message to the House of Representatives on fortifications, dated January 6, 1809, after first covering the fortifications on Governor's Island, goes on to say:

> On Bedlow's Island, a mortar battery, commanding all the anchoring ground between Red hook and the quarantine, and affording a protection to Ellis's Island, has been commenced, and the front wall carried up to the intended height.[7]

President Jefferson's message continues on about the state of fortifications on Ellis Island and Castle Garden. The message then goes on to describe City defence. In conformity with interest and unity, the description of City defence is herewith quoted:

> Connected with the plan of defence for the harbor and city of New York, the United States have purchased a house and yard in the rear of the Custom House for the deposit and safe keeping of heavy artillary, on travelling carriages, and all kinds of military stores, except powder. Since the purchase a brick wall of nine feet in height has been erected round the yard.
>
> The United States have also obtained, at about two miles distance from the city, a site, containing nearly two acres, which has been enclosed with a wall nine feet high, and on which have been erected an arsenal, laboratory and large powder magazine, from which the smaller deposits in the batteries can be supplied with ammunition.
>
> At Sag Harbour, on Long Island, a small battery with a magazine and barrack, has been ordered to be erected . . . but from want of a sufficient number of engineers to superintend the numerous

---

7. Stokes, op. cit., V, 1500, quoting N. Y. Assembly Jour., 32nd session, 44-45.

works contemplated for the defence of our ports and harbours, nothing more has been done than to survey this harbour, and select a proper site for the battery.[8]

The construction appears to have dragged throughout 1809, for on December 21, in a report to the House of Representatives, the "enclosed indented works of masonry, calculated for forty guns" was represented as "unfinished."[9]

The following month, Colonel Jonathan Williams, in an annual report of "New York Harbor Defences" to Governor Tompkins, describes most completely the state of the various fortifications there.

New York, January 19, 1810.
Sir: I have received your Excellency's favor of the 6th Inst. and in compliance with your request, shall describe the present state of the defence of this harbour.

1. The battery off Laight and Hubert Street is ready to receive its guns, and is capable of mounting sixteen guns of the heaviest metal.

2. Fort Columbus on Governor's Island is finished, and capable of mounting one hundred and four guns, of which upwards of fifty are already on the ramparts. This is a regularly enclosed work of masonry, with ditch, counters carp, covertway and glacis, capable of resisting a large siege.

3. Two tier platforms in the Castle at west point of Governor's Island are finished, each being capable of receiving 26 guns, on the lower platform, eleven French 36 pounders, are already mounted. This lower tier may be ready for action as soon as the guns are all mounted, but it would not be advisable to mount the second tier until the arches are dry, unless compelled by the necessity of

---

8. Ibid., V, 1500.
9. American State Papers, Class V, op. cit., I, 246.

the occasion. The whole force of this castle when completed may be stated at 100 Guns, including the terrace on the top.

4. At Ellis's island there are eight 32 pounders, and the platform is capable of mounting twenty.

5. At Bedlow's island the mortar battery may be ready to receive eight or ten mortars as soon as they can be mounted, but the main work, which is calculated to mount forty guns, is about one half done: it will be completed in the course of the next summer.

6. Also in the course of the next summer the first tier of a castle off the old Battery will be completed, and mount thirty of the heaviest pieces.

7. There are in the arsenal, between State and Wall Streets, 24 pieces of heavy artillary ready mounted on travelling carriages.

For a description of the works at the Narrows, I beg leave to refer to the annexed copy of a letter I wrote to the commissioners on fortifications by their request.

From the foregoing, you will perceive that the interior defence of this harbour, in its present state, may amount to one hundred and sixty guns, or thereabouts, and when completed will amount to three hundred and four guns and ten mortars, exclusive of the travelling pieces. The defence at the Narrows as far as the works are ready, or nearly so, would amount to one hundred and nineteen guns, if they were mounted. But the ultimate defence, if the plan were completed, might be made equal to four hundred guns; that is, two hundred on each side of the Narrows.

I beg leave to remark that there are on Staten Island, two points which seem pre-eminently for mortar batteries, one of the north and one of the southern extremity of the Narrows, and both under complete command of Fort Tompkins. The first would annoy ships at the Quarantine ground /in the lower bay on the west bank, midway between the Narrows and Sandy Hook/, and the other

would probably prevent their lying between Gravesend bay and the west bank; the present season necessarily suspends all operations of masonry, except those of a preparatory kind, but no time is lost that can be usefully employed, and I hope to proceed with rapidity at the opening of the spring.

In the course of all my duties in this harbour, it has been in the highest degree satisfactory to know that I have enjoyed the confidence of your Excellency and the commissioners, and I beg you to believe that I entertain a grateful sense of your and their very obliging attention.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant.

Jonathan Williams,
Col. Commdt. of Engineers.

His Excellency Governor Tompkins.[10]

The completed fortifications at New York are described in a Presidential report to Congress, dated January 17, 1811. In it is contained the following information. Fort Columbus, on Governor's Island, consists of an enclosed work of masonry, comprehending four bastions and a revelin, a brick magazine, brick barracks, and a furnace for heating balls red hot. Castle Williams consists of a fortress on a projecting point of Governor's Island, with a bombproof covering and two stone magazines. There is another stone magazine on that Island, besides a brick arsenal, a wooden gun-house, and wooden barracks. On Bedloe's Island is a star fort of masonry, having a stone magazine, with barracks of brick, and a brick arsenal. On Ellis Island, opposite Fort Columbus, is a circular battery of masonry with barracks of stone and wood. At the south-western ex-

---

10. Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins Governor of New York 1807-1817, Military (New York, 1902), II, 250-252; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1515.

tremity of the City (Castle Garden) there is a circular battery of stone with 28 heavy cannon mounted, two magazines and cisterns, and barracks. At the North Battery, about a mile up the Hudson, is a semi-circular work of stone with a stone magazine and a furnace of heating shot. Near the custom house (formerly the government house) is a brick arsenal and a three-story brick magazine. Near the junction of the Harlem branch (Eastern Post Road) and the Bloomingdale branch of the Bowery Road is an arsenal, together with a magazine, a stone and brick laboratory, and enclosed with high walls.[11]

The star fort of masonry on Bedloe's Island was thus completed in 1811, and thirty twenty-fours were mounted.[12] Also, at this time the stone magazine, which held two hundred barrels of powder, and a brick arsenal were completed, and for a few years this fortification was referred to as the "works on Bedlow's Island."[13] On November 9, 1814, New York's war Governor, Daniel D. Tompkins, named the fort, "Fort Wood," in memory of Eleazer D. Wood, a distinguished hero in the Battle of Fort Erie.[14]

It was Eleazer D. Wood's peculiar good fortune to be prominent in every branch of his profession, whether as an engineer, making the daring reconnaisance, or directing defences; as an artillarist, pursuing the flying foe to the Thames, or serving in the battery at Chippewa as a paladin cavalier in the final rout of Proctor's fugitives; or as the accomplished infantry commander, leading the column and charging the besiegers at Fort Erie. Wood was graduated

---

11. Man. of Corp. of City of N.Y. (1868), op cit., 882-883.
12. New York Columbian, Dec. 19, 1811.
13. American State Papers, Class V, op. cit., I, 309.
14. N.Y. Columbian, op. cit., Nov. 11, 1814.

from the Military Academy at West Point in the class of 1806 and was promoted a second lieutenant in the United States Corps of Engineers. The young lieutenant was undoubtedly familiar with the fort which bears his name, for, until 1813, he was employed in constructing fortifications for the defence of seaports. While first in battle, he was also first in the estimation of those he so faithfully served. In the following dispatch to the War Department, General Harrison recommended that Captain Wood be recognized for distinguished services in the defence of Fort Meigs:

> Captain Gratiot, of the Engineers, having been for a long time much indisposed, the task of fortifying the post devolved upon Captain Wood. It could not have been placed in better hands. Permit to recommend him to the President, and to assure you that any mark of his approbation bestowed on Captain Wood would be highly gratifying to the whole of the troops who witnessed his arduous exertions.[15]

This recommendation secured for Captain Wood the brevet of Major "for distinguished services in the defence of Fort Meigs." General Harrison also had only high praise for Wood's efficiency in the invasion of Canada. General Brown, his Commanding Officer, reported his marked distinction at Niagara, where his "high military talents were exerted with great effect." Another officer, Brigadier-General Gaines, said that "in the command of a regiment of infantry he has proved himself well qualified, but never so conspicuously as in the

---

15. The Centennial of The United States Military Academy At West Point, New York, 1802-1902 (Washington, 1904), I, 593.

repulse of the British assault on Fort Erie." Porter, under whom he led a column in the sortie from Fort Erie, reported to Brown, "you know how exalted an opinion I have always entertained of him;" and his Commanding General, when Lieutenant-Colonel Wood was killed in action, pronounced this truthful eulogy of his worth:

> Wood, brave, generous, and enterprising, died as he had lived, without a feeling but for the honor of his country and the glory of her arms. His name and example will live to guide the soldier in the path of duty so long as true heroism is held in estimation.[16]

On September 12, 1816, Major-General Jacob Brown, then General-in-Chief, addressed the following letter to Brigadier-General Joseph G. Swift, Chief Engineer of the Army:

> I think it proper to express to you, as Chief of the Corps of Engineers, the high sense I entertain of the services of Colonel McRee, Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, Captain Douglass, and Lieutenant Story, who served with my division upon the Niagra in 1814. They were all greatly distinguished, but Colonel McRee and Lieutenant-Colonel Wood have particular claims upon me for the cheerfulness and ardor with which they have entered upon the execution of every enterprise, having in view the long honor of my command, and for the zeal and talent they uniformly displayed. Lieutenant-Colonel Wood fell! The occasion and the manner of his death secure to him the patiot soldier's best reward-pure and imperishable fame. To this I can add nothing; but, as a tribute of my respect for the hero and the man, I

---

16. Ibid., I, 598-599.

> request you to cause a monument be erected at my expence to his memory. Let it stand near the Military Academy at West Point and, though it can not elevate his name, it may stimulate the soldiers of his school to die like him without a feeling but for the honor of their country and the glory of her arms.[17]

In compliance with this request so honorable to General Brown, the Chief Engineer had executed the white marble obelisk. This monument was first erected in the center of the general parade; later it was moved to the knoll north of the West Point Plain; and now it is near the entrance of the cemetery.[18]

During the peaceful years following the second contest with Great Britain a Corps of Artillary was stationed at Fort Wood. It can be seen, from a report entitled "Distribution of the Army of the United States, showing the strength of posts and garrisons," that the aggregate strength of the fort in 1817 was seventy-four men under the command of Captain Romayne.[19] The following year, however, three hundred and six men were stationed there with Lieutenant-Colonel House the commanding officer. At that time the battery still mounted twenty-four cannon. A corps of artillary and one company were stationed there.[20] In 1819, from a statistical report on the "Numerical strength of the Army, Its Distribution, And Number of Ordnance," it can be seen that a "Corps of artillary, 1 Company, 2d and 3d of the 4th battalion" with an aggregate of three hundred and forty-five men were distributed among the seven following fortifications: Fort

---

17. Ibid., I, 599, quoted from Cullum's Campaigns of the War of 1812.
18. Ibid., I, 599.
19. Am. State Papers, Class V, op. cit., I, 671.
20. Ibid., I, 671.

Columbus, Castle Williams, Fort Lewis, Fort Wood, Fort Gibson, Castle Clinton, and Humbert battery.[21] From 1820-1824 a small garrison was stationed at Fort Wood, but no additional fortifications or repairs were made during the time.

An entertaining illustration of the sportive life at the fort may be visualized from a petition brought before the Common Council of the City on February 19, 1821 by "sundry citizens, employed as Oystermen," complaining of the garrison of "United States Troops stationed on Bedlow's Island," and stating that they obstructed them in the pursuit of their occupation, "by taking them out of their Boats, and even threatening to fire upon them if they followed their occupation nigh to said Island." This complaint was referred to the Police Committee.[22]

There was some discussion regarding the expediency of discarding some of the smaller forts along the Atlantic seaboard about this time. However it was judged politic by the Nineteenth Congress to employ Fort Wood on Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor as a useful appurtenance of the defence system. The problem of competently defending the City had again come to the government's attention, and a communication to the House of Representatives, dated April 12, 1826 from the Engineering Corps, on the subject of an augmentation of the Corps of Engineers of the Army, read:

> New York Harbour- The object of the projected works of the vicinity of New York are to cover the city against an attack by land or sea; to protect

---

21. Ibid., I, 817.
22. Min. of Comm. Counc., op cit., XI, 504; Stokes, op. cit., V, 1614.

> its numerous shipping; to prevent as much as possible the blockade of this great port, which will soon have, added to the immense wealth of its own rivers, the productions of the boundless regions on the northern and western lakes; and to cover the interior communication projected to unite the Raritan with the Delaware. . . .
>
> Of the permanent works heretofore erected, Castle Clinton has already been ceded to the City. The others should be maintained as constituting a last barrier; as affording the convenient places of deposit for stores and munitions of all kinds, and of rendezvous for recruits, and good positions for military hospitals.[23]

A garrison of approximately thirty men and an assistant surgeon were stationed on the Island. "It was fitted up" for the Commissioners of Emigration "at a large expense," and occupied by them as "a temporary hospital for the use of convalescent patients from the quarantine," and a ward was also established "for the treatment of surgical and similar cases which may be sent from the City."[24] The quarantine continued periodically for a number of years until the old star-shaped mortary ceased to perform its primary function and became the base for the pedestal upon which stands the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World.

By 1851 the garrison on the Island had been enlarged. In September of that year, Mrs. Harriet St.John Simpson, wife of Dr. Josiah Simpson, U.S.A., the Surgeon stationed on Bedloe's Island, wrote to a friend giving a picture of their life on the island. It is interesting enough to quote part of her letter:

---

23. American State Papers, Class V, op. cit., III, 290ff.
24. New York Evening Post, Dec. 28, 1848; Stokes, op. cit., V,1814.

> Doctor is busy enough with the Command so large as it is. He had between fifty and sixty men in the hospital. Some of them very ill and has had a number of deaths. One man was buried today. A man who used to milk Mrs. Brown's cows. We had taken a good deal of interest in his case, sent him down a number of things to tempt his appetite, but it was of no avail. Doctor has got into his new hospital. Indeed, he says he does not know what he should have done if it had not been ready for him. There are now on the island some 600 men, if not more. The ramparts are half covered with tents and still none are sent off. I am getting tired myself seeing so many men around.[25]

A year later the fairly large garrison of six hundred men on Bedloe's Island had been considerably decreased according to Mrs. Simpson. She writes again:

> Dr. had a whole budget of news for me. Said there was to be a moving of troops all around the harbor. The depot is ordered over to Fort Columbus (Gov. Island), the companies there go to Fort Hamilton and the company at Fort Hamilton comes here to Bedloe's Island. I felt some anxiety to know our destination, but Doctor is not included in the order and remains here. . . . The men have already gone and the place looks quite deserted. The Major's family are to leave this morning and they have a most dismal day for it. It is rain- as hard as it can pour, but the steamboat is now at the wharf waiting for them and they must not mind the weather. . . . As a company is only 50 men, Doctor says he can fold his hands this winter. We both feel

---

25. Excerpt from letter dated Sept. 23, 1851 and loaned by Mrs. Chas. W. McCutchen of Plainfield, N.J., daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Josiah Simpson, U.S.A.

> this movement very much lessens our chances of remaining here. They will hardly keep an able-bodied man like the Doctor here when some old man not able to do much duty, will answer just as well. . . . However, they may take it into their heads to let the Doctor alone.[26]

Until the outbreak of the Civil War the garrison on the Island was rather limited in size. In regard to this, New York's Mayor C. Godfrey Gunther wrote to Secretary of State William H. Seward requesting that the part of Bedloe's Island not employed for public purposes be set aside for the custody of passengers from abroad who had been exposed to communicable diseases. Mayor Gunther based his request upon the fact that the government authorities were in possession of a large portion of the Battery which ordinarily could be used for a quarantine. The matter was referred to Brigadier-General Richard Delafield, Chief Engineer. He declared that such an adjustment by the Corporation would seriously reduce the effective operation of the Ordnance, Hospital, and Quartermaster's departments on the Island. Therefore he held it injudicious to grant Mayor Gunther's application.[27]

During the Civil War the safety of New York was not gravely menaced. Therefore Fort Wood was used for an ordnance deposit and a recruiting station. The property was placed in charge of an ordnance sergeant, while the general hospital was kept up and some additional wooden barracks erected. The Island was employed in this

---

26. Letter dated Nov. 26, 1852 from the same collection.
27. New York Times, Sept. 29, 1864.

capacity for another decade until 1877- when it was chosen as the site for the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World.[28]

---

28. The Master Plan, Statue of Liberty National Monument (Washington, 1939).

CHAPTER IV

STATUE OF LIBERTY, LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

The Statue of Liberty was the gift of the people of France to the people of the United States and was intended to commemorate the first hundred years of independence of the United States and the alliance of the two countries during the Revolutionary period.

Upon the dedicatory tablet installed in the pedestal upon which the Statue stands, the French donors thus expressed the significance of the Statue.

> A gift from the People of the Republic of France to the People of the United States, this Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World Commemorates the Alliance of the Two Nations in achieving the Independence of the United States of America and attests their Abiding Friendship. Auguste Bartholdi, Sculptor. Inaugurated October 28, 1886.[1]

It had been intended to present the Statue in 1876, during the Centennial Celebration of American Independence, but numerous delays postponed the actual dedication for ten years.

The idea of presenting to the United States a monument was born one evening in 1865, nearly one hundred years after the War of Independence. Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, a young Alsatian sculptor, was dining at the home of Edouard de Laboulaye, a professor, publicist, and historian- as well as outstanding French interpreter of the American Government during the War of 1861-1865. Other guests,

---

1. This plaque of bronze is on the second level in the pedestal of the Statue.

eminent in politics and letters, were present.[2]

The topic of conversation was international relations, especially the relations between France and Italy. It was remarked that Italy was not grateful for what France had done for her. It was even said that it was impossible for gratitude to really exist among nations and that it was more than likely that France could not count on the United States to remember what had been done for her in the past by France.[3]

De Laboulaye, the father of the idea of the Statue of Liberty, said that never had there been a tradition of friendship between Italy and France and that although, in 1859, France had rendered Italy a service, Italy felt that "France had repaid herself for it." He further observed that this fact would make "the remembrance unpleasant to the Italians."[4] He stated, however, that the case of the United States was entirely different. For a long time there had been a sympathetic feeling between France and the United States, due perhaps to the thoughts that they had in common of the struggles endured in the past. Had not the Americans and the French both struggled for independence? Is it not well known that the results of the American "War for Independence" might have been far different, if it had not been for the aid rendered the colonies by the French at the time? Who can ever forget the assistance that Lafayette gave? De Laboulaye believed that Lafayette was honored in the United States as much as any American hero. "When

---

2. Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, The Statue of Liberty Enlightening The World Described By The Soulptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi (New York: North American Review, 1885, Published For The Benefit of The Pedestal Fund), p. 12.
3. New York Daily Tribune, May 31, 1885.
4. Ibid.

hearts have beaten together something always remains, among nations as among individuals."[5]

Although nations may not remember the treaties which made them what they are, they generally remember the names and deeds of the individuals who have helped them in their hour of need. The help that France gave to America during the War of Independence, continued de Laboulaye, could be attributed to a fraternity of feelings, a community of efforts and emotions. Thus, he concluded, if a monument were to be built in America as a memorial to their independence, he should think it very natural if it were a common work of both nations.[6]

This conversation came back to Bartholdi's mind a long time afterward, during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. He had always felt a sympathetic curiosity concerning America, and a lively desire to know the country. When the war was over, Bartholdi could not go to his native land, Alsace, which was shut against him by the Germans; at Paris, the Commune was in power, and civil war was raging. He therefore decided to go to Versailles to see the friends whom he had not seen for so many months.[7]

He found himself again at the house of Mr. de Laboulaye, with messieurs Lafayette (son of the Marquis who served in America), Henri Martin, Remusat, Volowski, de Gasparin, and other distinguished men, whose sympathies toward the United States were well known. They talked again of American sentiment and of the diverse opinions which prevailed in America. Again de Laboulaye took up his views and declared that, without any doubt, there would be at the hundredth

---

5. Ibid.
6. Bartholdi, op. cit., 13-14.
7. Ibid., 14-15.

anniversary of the independence of the United States a movement patriotic and French in America. He told Bartholdi to go to see America and study it. Bartholdi was also instructed, by de Laboulaye, to propose to their friends in America that a common work be made in remembrance of the ancient friendship of France and the United States. It was, then, in these convictions of de Laboulaye, that the germ of the monument of the French-American Union was found.[8]

Imbued with the thoughts of those eminent men, furnished with their letters of recommendation, enjoying full authority to express himself, and stimulated by the thoughts of de Laboulaye and those other eminent Frenchmen, Bartholdi departed for America.

In the course of the voyage, Bartholdi formed some conceptions of a plan of a monument, but he maintained that at the view of the harbor of New York, the definite plan was first clear in his eyes. He was conscious, when he first landed at New York, that he had found the idea which his friends had hoped for.[9]

Frederic Auguste Bartholdi was born at Colmar in Alsace, France on April 2, 1834. At first he studied painting under Ary Scheffer, but soon abandoned it for sculpture under Soitoux's influence, working thereafter by preference on a colossal scale with architectural effects.[10]

When Bartholdi was twenty years old he traveled in Egypt and

---

8. Ibid., 17.
9. Ibid., 18.
10. "Bartholdi, Frederic Auguste," The New International Encyclopaedia (New York, 1922), I, 719.

studied Egyptian art. This had a very noticeable effect upon his taste for sculpture of the broad and decorative type. Bartholdi made a second trip to Egypt in 1868. He was further impressed by the ruins which he saw and much more greatly convinced by the principles which were there to be discovered.[11]

At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, Bartholdi obtained a commission from the government to go to Colmar to organize the National Guard. After the completion of this assignment he went to Tours and placed himself under the orders of the Government of National Defense.[12]

Although Bartholdi's name would have been known for the work he had done prior to the Franco-Prussian War, he never would have attained the fame that he won had it not been for this event. The woes of his country, and the loss of the city of his birth influenced him greatly. He was, from that time on, fired by a deep feeling of nationalism.[13]

After the war Bartholdi traveled to America, and both the aim and result of this trip are well known. The story of Bartholdi's life for many years after this is the story of the building of the Statue of Liberty, one of Bartholdi's best works and the one by which he wished to be remembered.

Another of his works, "The Lion of Belfort," is also a lasting monument to the fame of Bartholdi. This colossal lion, carved

---

11. Regina Maria Hughes, "The French People give the Statue of Liberty to the Americans," The Statue of Liberty (New York, 1937), Part I, pp. 66,67.
12. Ibid., 69.
13. Ibid., 70.

in the side of a mountain, recalls the gigantic struggle where the French held off the Prussian assault until the end of the Franco-Prussian War.[14]

Frederic Auguste Bartholdi died in Paris on October 4, 1904 of tuberculosis.[15]

Bartholdi's conception of the international memorial was accepted, and in November 1875 the Franco-American Union was formed to make plans, secure funds, and prosecute the program. Edouard de Laboulaye was named President of the Union, and its Committee included the most notable names in France. The finished work of the entire monument was to represent the joint efforts of the two nations. The French people were to build the statue and transport it to the United States. The American people were to build the pedestal on which it would stand. In their first appeal, addressed to the public in 1875, the organizers and promotors of the Union stated:

> America is going to celebrate next year the one hundredth anniversary of her independence. This date marks an epoch in the history of humanity; to the New World, it recalls her work, the establishment of a great Republic, to France, one of the most honorable pages of her history.
>
> In concord with our friends of the United States, we think it is a solemn occasion for France and America to associate in a common manifestation. In spite of the distance of time, the United States likes to recall an ancient fraternity in warfare; always in their homes is the name of France honored. The great event, which ought to be celebrated on the Fourth of July, 1876,

---

14. The Master Plan, op. cit.
15. Hughes, op. cit., 72.

permits us to celebrate with our American brothers the old and strong friendship which has united the two peoples for a long time.

The New World is preparing to give to this fete an extraordinary splendor; some friends of the United States have thought that the genius of France ought to show itself in a brilliant form. A French artist has translated this thought into a project worthy of his purpose and which has put himself in touch with our American friends and prepared all the means of execution.

The point in question is to raise, in remembrance of the glorious anniversary, an exceptional monument, in the middle of the harbor of New York, on an island which belongs to the Union of States, opposite Long Island where was shed the first blood for independence, a colossal statue designed on space, framed on the horizon by the great American cities of New York, Jersey City and Brooklyn, would stand erect. On the threshold of this vast continent, full of a new life, where all the ships of the universe arrive; she will raise from the bosom of the waves, she will reresent "Liberty Enlightening the World." At night a luminous halo will shine afair in the immense sea.

This monument will be executed in common by the two peoples, associated in this fraternal work, as they were formerly in founding Independence.

We shall make a gift of the statue to our friends in America; they will unite with us to provide the cost of the execution and of the erection of the monument which will serve as a pedestal.

We will thus affirm, by an imperishable souvenir the friendship which the bloodshed by our fathers had sealed in days of your between the two nations.

Let us re-unite to celebrate this fete of modern people; it is necessary for us to be harmonious in order to

> give to this manifestation the start that it ought to have, to be worth in the end of the past. Let each bring his mite, the smallest subscriptions will be well received. Let the number of signatures express the sentiments of France.[16]

The French people responded instantaneously, and Bartholdi was able to start work on the statue almost immediately. Public fetes and entertainments were given to help raise funds. Gounod, the famous composer, wrote a song to the statue which he presented at the Paris Opera.

It was soon discovered that the statue would cost a great deal more than had been anticipated. The final cost was approximately $250,000, and it was not until July 1882 that the total was subscribed. The French Government was not asked to aid in the construction of the statue; every penny was contributed by the French people.[17]

Word of the proposed statue had, of course, spread in America even before the Franco-American Union issued its appeal for funds in 1875. The citizens of this country, however, were reluctant to begin constructing the pedestal until some material steps had been taken toward the creation of the statue.

The attitude of the American people may be explained in several ways. In the first place, many doubted the earnestness of the Frenchmen. The story that the people of France intended to make so large a gift as the colossal statue was received at first with incredulity.[18]

---

16. Notice sur L'Union Franco-Americaine. Inauguration De L'Exposition Des Lots de la Loterie Franco Americaine. Discours De M.M. Bozerian et Henri Martin, senateurs (Paris, France, 1875).

17. The Story of the Statue of Liberty (Washington, 1936), p. 1-2.

18. New York Times, Sept. 25, 1876.

However, when it was learned that 200,000 francs had been subscribed by the French people, some credence was given to the reported gift. Even when the right hand of the Statue was sent to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, and later brought to New York, where it was erected on a pedestal in Madison Square, some still doubted that the rest of the Statue would follow.[19] The editor of the New York Times, who was well known for his editorial invective, expressed himself in regard to the arrival of the remaining part of the Statue, thus: "Although the arrival of the arm seemed to be a satisfactory pledge that the rest of the Statue would soon follow it, there were a few profound thinkers who held an opposite theory. They argue that to begin the construction of a woman by making a solitary arm was not the way in which any really able and earnest sculptor would go to work. Had the French sculptor really intended to complete the Statue of 'Liberty' he would have begun at its foundation, modeling first the boot, then the stocking, then the full leg in the stocking."[20] The editor of the New York Daily Tribune apparently was more optimistic. He believed, so he said, that the French people had brought the work to such a stage that its success was assured; and nothing more than recognition of this fact was needed to secure the cooperation of the Americans.[21] It was generally known that the American people were to subscribe funds for the pedestal and the reception of the Statue. However, the people were reluctant to contribute until they were convinced that the Frenchmen fully intended to complete the Statue. Bartholdi was quoted as saying that if the

---

19. Ibid., Sept. 29, 1876.
20. Ibid.
21. New York Daily Tribune, Oct. 13, 1876.

subscription increased rapidly in America, he would push the work vigorously to completion, but if the contributions were slow, he would complete only the head for the Paris Exposition of 1878.[22] Such a report only added to the skepticism of the Americans.

To add to this doubtful state of mind, the dismal report came from France that work upon the Statue had been suspended because of lack of funds. It was then reported that the people of America would have to help complete the Statue while heretofore everyone believed that the Statue was to be a gift to the people of the United States. If the people contributed to the expenses of the construction of the Statue, it would not be a gift. The editor of the New York Times vehemently expressed himself in the following manner:

> If we are to have the Statue, we must subscribe at least 2,000,000 francs, besides finding oil for the torch and a fat woman for the right thumb nail. No true patriot can countenance any such expenditure for bronze females in the present state of finances, and hence, unless the Frenchmen change their minds and pay for the Statue themselves we shall have to do without it.[23]

Bartholdi was reported to have said that two-thirds of the sum required to finance the enterprise had been subscribed in France, and would be devoted to the Statue proper. The rest of the amount was to be raised in America, and would be expended on the inside iron works and on the pedestal.[24] Nevertheless the people still believed that they were expected to help pay for the Statue. As late as 1882 this belief still lingered in the minds of many.[25]

---

22. New York Evening Post, Dec. 4, 1876.
23. New York Times, Sept. 29, 1876.
24. New York Evening Post, Dec. 7, 1876.
25. New York Times, Nov. 27, 1882.

From the outset other sections of the country considered the Statue a project of local concern, since it was to be located on an island in the Harbor of New York. The feeling was that New York could easily provide the required funds for so striking a gift as the highly advertised Statue. That the colossal figure was not given to New York but to the country, and the alliance which it commemorates was not with New York, but with the United Colonies, seems to have been forgotten.

Even after the question of location was settled by the Government, some still believed other sites than Bedloe's Island more desirable, and during the campaigns for funds this became one of the many reasons for refusing to contribute.[26]

Should the Statue be erected, there was a doubt in the minds of some as to how it would look. This doubt was calculated to repel even public spirited capitalists who were on the lookout for safe "aesthetic investments." This uncertainty had effect throughout in delaying funds for the completion of the pedestal. It was said that a number of New York millionaires refused to contribute funds for the "Liberty Pedestal" on the basis of the idea that the Statue was not a work of art.[27] This broad decorative type of work of Bartholdi's was considered an experiment by many. No work of art had been done thus far in the West on such a large scale.[28]

In certain religious circles the Statue was objected to on the

---

26.
27. New York World, May 25, 1885.
28. Ibid., June 24, 1885.
New York Times, Aug. 5, 1884.

basis that it was a survival of paganism.[29] It was reported that some religious organizations disapproved of a christian country being represented figuratively at its chief port of entry by a pagan divinity.[30] An article, in a Catholic periodical, entitled "Our Great Goddess and Her Coming Idol" objected rather strongly to the so-called worship of "Libertas."[31]

With as many misunderstandings dispelled as was possible, patriotic Americans entered upon the enterprise of collecting funds to build the pedestal. Accordingly, in 1876, a Committee was appointed by the famous Union League Club, with John Jay as its chairman, for the purpose of expediting the construction of the pedestal. This Committee was completely unsuccessful in its efforts and at the end of the year had no material accomplishment to report. On January 2, 1877, therefore, the American Committee for construction of the pedestal was formed. At first numbering 114, the Committee grew to a membership of more than 400 prominent men. William M. Evarts was elected Chairman, Henry F. Spaulding, Treasurer, and Richard Butler, Secretary.

It was calculated that $125,000 would cover the cost of constructing the pedestal and receiving the Statue, and an immediate appeal was made for this amount. The coolness with which the appeal was greeted can be explained, in part, by the lack of public information regarding the nature and purpose of the proposed Statue. The publicity attained by the Committee was poor. Another obstacle faced by the

---

29. New York World, May 25, 1885.
30. Augusta, Ga. Chronicle, Oct. 30, 1886.
31. "Our Great Goddess and Her Coming Idol," American Catholic Quarterly Review, V (Philadelphia, 1880), 593.

Committee was the fact that the original estimate of the cost had been entirely too low, and the total would not be less than $250,000.

From 1877-1881 little progress was made. The country at large looked upon the project as a purely local enterprise. The majority of the press was hostile, and the attitude taken by the people was that they should not be called upon to finance the construction of "New York's Lighthouse." This hostility of the press and attitude of the American people may possibly seem to be the results of the French sympathies with the South during the Civil War period or the French intervention in Mexico. But after a careful perusal of available sources it has been discovered that there is little evidence to substantiate such a supposition. This can be seen in the Franco-American relationship during and after the Franco-Prussian War. When this war between France and Prussia broke out, in July 1870, it was officially announced by the United States that she would remain neutral. In the House of Representatives, when this declaration of war was announced, there was applause, apparently in favor of Prussia.[32] The American people still remembered that while the Germans sympathized with the Union and took its bonds during the Civil War, the French people had manifested no sympathy for the Union but had negotiated a loan to the Rebels, and the French Government had sent an expedition into Mexico which had been construed by the people as an act hostile to this country.[33] However, many who had been pro-German in July and August did not hesitate in September to welcome with enthusiasm the

---

32. Washington Daily Globe, July 17, 1870; Philadelphia North American, July 16, 1870.

33. Elizabeth Brett White, American Opinion of France From Lafayette to Poincare (New York, 1927), p. 184.

French Republic and to warn the Prussians that Americans would not sympathize with the continuance of war, nor with a peace whose terms were too harsh. The news of the downfall of Napoleon and the establishment of the Republic was received with instant and warm enthusiasm in this country.[34] "Out of the humiliation of a military defeat France has now wrought a great political victory," said the New York Daily Tribune, "and we congratulate her with all our hearts upon the prospect of happiness and glory which opens before her. . . . We are rejoiced that America has been so prompt and so hearty in extending the hand of fellowship to the New Republic. . . . There is no people in whose welfare we have a warmer interest than in the people of France."[35]

Impetus was given the pedestal fund collection movement in 1882 by the announcement from France that the last franc necessary for construction of the statue had been collected and that the colossal figure would be completed in 1883. By January 1884, the American Committee had collected $125,000, most of which had come from New York and the wealthy residents of that city. Contracts already entered into, however, soon ate up the fund, and by January 1885 the Committee found itself without a cent in its treasury and with very little prospect of obtaining more.[36]

Appeals were made to the people, to the New York Assembly, and to Congress- all equally fruitless. It seemed that the most sincere efforts could not raise the necessary funds. The prevailing sentiment

---

34. Ibid., p. 187.
35. New York Daily Tribune, Sept. 12, 1870.
36. The Story of the Statue of Liberty, op. cit., 4.

seemed to be that if the pedestal was erected it would be through the gifts of one or more rich citizen of New York.[37] Dull business in all branches of trade and industry was another impediment to the success of the fund. There was the universal complaint of hard times and unemployment. On March 12, 1885, treasurer Spaulding reported that $182,000 had been subscribed; that all but $3,000 had been spent; and that unless some unforseen power assisted in raising the $100,000 still needed, the pedestal would have to be abandoned and the generous gift of the people of France returned to its donors.[38]

Just when the outlook seemed darkest to the American Committee, an efficient champion of the cause appeared. Joseph Pulitzer became owner and editor of the New York World in 1883 and immediately undertook to popularize the campaign for funds to construct the pedestal for the Statue of Liberty. He endeavored to "nationalize" the project, pointing out through his newspaper that the statue was a gift to the whole American people and should be so considered.

Despite his ardent championship of the cause, his efforts to arouse public interest and generosity were not too successful for two years. During that time, however, his own prestige grew. He successfully backed the candidacy of Grover Cleveland for President and became famous for his liberal point of view. The World became known as a people's paper.

Meanwhile other cities displayed an interest in securing the statue. Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, and Cleveland offered

---

37. New York World, April 8, 1885.
38. The Story of the Statue of Liberty, op. cit., 5.

to pay all the cost of the erection, if the statue were presented to their particular city. A committee from Boston reportedly approached the French Committee. The Baltimore American printed a story that the money for the pedestal could easily be secured in Baltimore, were the statue erected there.[39] Minneapolis and other cities displayed a similar interest.

Then, on March 16, 1885, the World renewed its pedestal fund campaign in grim earnest. Throughout its columns Pulitzer continued to storm at men of wealth who failed to finance pedestal construction and at the same time criticized the mass of citizens of lesser means who had been content to depend upon the rich to do the job. He assailed the provincial attitude which witheld assistance because the statue was to stand in New York and called upon every citizen of the country to assist in averting the shame of rejecting what he considered the most generous gesture one nation had ever offered to another. School children were appealed to, and their contributions appreciably aided the fund. The campaign took on the character of a popular crusade.[40] Benefit theatrical performances, sporting evens, entertainments, and balls were sponsored. In April, word was received that the statue was being packed for shipment to America, and new impetus was given to the drive. The press of many other cities rallied to the cause. Contributions came from as far away as California, Colorado, Florida, and Louisiana.[41] On May 11, the American Committee, encouraged

---

39.
40. New York Times, Dec. 4, 1884.
41. New York World, March 24, 1885.
Ibid., April 14, 1885.

by the World's success, ordered work resumed on the structure. Thirty-eight of the 46 courses of masonry were yet to be built.

New enthusiasm was generated by the arrival of the statue at Bedloe's Island on June 19, and by August 11, less than five months after it had launched its latest fund drive, the World was able to announce that the pedestal fund had been completed, and the placing of the Statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island was assured.[42]

As soon as Bartholdi's plan had been approved by the men who had sent him to America, he started working on the designs of the statue. By the time the Franco-American Union was formed in 1875, he had already made several small study models.

The most difficult problems were involved in the mechanics of construction. In solving them the sculptor had no guide but his own genius, for in all the known history of man no statue of such colossal proportions had ever been undertaken. A material had to be used which was light, easily worked, of good appearance--and yet which would stand the stress of a long ocean voyage and which would be almost impervious to the effect of the salt-laden air of New York Harbor. Copper was decided upon as the material, to be supported by a framework of iron and steel.

To get the form for the statue, Bartholdi built what is called the study model, which was cast and re-cast, measuring 1.25 meters, or about 4 feet in height. From this model was reproduced a statue having a height of 2.85 meters. By this method another model four

---

42. The Story of the Statue of Liberty, op. cit., 5,6.

times as large as this was obtained, giving the figure a height of 11 meters, or nearly 38 feet. This model was corrected down to the most minute detail. Then the statue was divided into a large number of sections, each of which was to be represented four times its size, and these reproductions, when joined together, was destined for the colossal statue in its completed form.

So gigantic was the completed work to be that only a comparatively small portion could be worked on at a time. Section by section, and course by course, the 38-foot model was enlarged to four times its size. For each course of the enlarged statue model it was necessary to take about 9,000 separate measurements. When a course was finished, the carpenters took its form by means of boards, cut to profile shape, and joined together at right angles, thus forming what looked like pigeon holes.

On these molds, copper sheets, three-thirty seconds of an inch in thickness, were then pressed and hammered into shape. More than 300 separate sheets of copper, each hand-hammered over an individual mold, went into the outside, or envelope, of the statue, to form the figure.

The framework, too, is worthy of attention. It was designed and executed by the great French engineer, Gustave Eiffel, who afterwards constructed the famous tower in Paris which bears his name. Four huge iron posts run from the base of the statue to the top, forming a pylon which bears the weight of the whole structure. Out of this central tower is built a maze of smaller beams, each supporting a series of outer copper sheets. Each sheet is backed by an

iron strap to give it rigidity, and these iron straps are fastened to the supporting framework in such a way that each section is supported independently- sc that no plate of copper hangs from the one above it or bears upon the one below.[43]

In the completed statue the left hand holds close to her heart the Tablet of Law, bearing the date "July 4, 1776." The shackle, which Liberty symbolically has broken, lies in front of her right foot, the heel of which is raised as in walking. The shackle chain disappears beneath the draperies and reappears in front of her left foot, the end link modeled to appear broken.

In 1876, the completed right arm and torch were exhibited at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia and later at Madison Square Garden in New York City. To encourage the subscription of funds in France, the head and shoulders of the statue were placed on public exhibition in Paris. On July 4, 1884, Bartholdi presented the completed statue to Levi P. Morton, the United States Minister to France.[44]

By January 1885, the work of shipping the statue to America was started. Each piece of the statue was classified and marked so that it could be reassembled on Bedloe's Island with accuracy and efficiency. The pieces were packed into 214 specially constructed cases which, when filled, varied in weight from a few hundred pounds to several tons.

---

43. Ibid., 2,3.
44. Statue of Liberty National Monument, op. cit., 5.

The French Government supplied the vessel, the Isere, in which to transport the statue to America. On May 21, 1885, the Isere left Rouen and arrived at Sandy Hook, at the entrance of New York Harbor, on June 17. As the boat came up the Harbor it was escorted by the North Atlantic squadron, the Dispatch, with the Secretary of the Navy on board, leading. The Mayor, with the Pedestal Committee, the French consuls of New York and Chicago, and many guests, went out to meet it, and numbers of excursion boats, crowded with passengers followed. All the vessels in the Harbor were decorated with bunting and with French and American flags. Salutes were fired from the forts at the Narrows,- Fort Columbus, Castle William, and Fort Wood. The Committee and the French representatives sang the "Marseillaise" and "Hail Columbia." Then they crossed to the Battery and paraded through crowded streets, gay with flags, and with roofs and windows filled with onlookers, to the City Hall. Three regiments of the New York State Guards led the procession, and delegations from various organizations were in line. A banquet, in the Governor's Room, in the City Hall, followed, with speeches and compliments of the warmest. Evarts made a felicitous address, and he was followed by General Horace Porter.[45] The Isere was docked at Bedloe's Island June 19, after the title papers to the statue had been transferred to General Stone.

October 28, 1886 was declared the day of inauguration and dedication of the Statue of Liberty. The statue was presented to the United States by William M. Evarts, and was accepted by President

---

45. Pittsburgh Post, June 20, 1885.

Grover Cleveland.[46] Anson Phelps Stokes, who sat on the platform close to the speakers, wrote about the occasion:

> Mr. Evarts had got only part way along in his speech when the applause was mistaken by an eminent Frenchman present as the signal for him to pull the rope which unveiled the statue, upon which all the steamers and steam-tugs which were in attendance about the island started their steam whistles, and the crowds on board them cheered, making a din, which they kept up for a long while. Mr. Evarts, went right on with his speech, and President Cleveland, who presided appeared as if giving strict attention to him, although it was impossible to hear what the author was saying.[47]

On February 22, 1877, Congress, at the suggestion of the President, had authorized ground to be set aside for the erection of the statue in New York Harbor and to provide for its reception and maintenance. The resolution reads:

> Whereas the President has communicated to Congress the information that citizens of the French Republic propose to commemorate the one hundred anniversary of our Independence by erecting at their own cost a colossal bronze statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," upon a pedestal of suitable proportion, to be built by private subscription, upon one of the islands belonging to the United States in the Harbor of New York.
>
> Be It Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, that the President of the United States be and he is hereby authorized and directed to accept the Colossal Statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" when

---

46. The Story of the Statue of Liberty, op. cit., 7,8.

47. Stokes, op. cit., V, 1991, citing Stokes Records, I: Part 2, p. 235.

> presented by citizens of the French Republic, and to designate and set apart for the erection thereof a suitable site upon either Governor's or Bedloe's Island, in the harbor of New York; and upon the completion thereof shall cause the same to be inaugurated with such ceremonies as will serve to testify the gratitude of our people for this expressive and felicitous memorial of the sympathy of our sister republic; and he is hereby authorized to cause suitable regulations to be made for its future maintenance as a beacon, and for the permanent care and preservation thereof as a monument of art, and of the continual good will of the great nation which aided in our struggle for freedom.[48]

General W.T. Sherman was authorized to select the site and, according to the wish of Bartholdi, he chose Bedloe's Island.[49]

General Charles P. Stone, an Army engineer, was appointed engineer in chief by the American Committee. On April 18, 1883, ground was broken for the foundation. This foundation, almost solid concrete, was completed May 17, 1884, and construction of the granite pedestal was immediately undertaken.

Because of the decision to build the pedestal upon the old fort, the design recommended by Bartholdi had to be changed, in the interest of architectural harmony, strength, and economy. Granite from Leete's Island, Connecticut, was selected by Richard M. Hunt, architect of the pedestal, as material for the outer wall, to be backed by a massive shaft of concrete. The cornerstone of the pedestal was laid

---

48. Congressional Record, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1824.

49. Stokes, op. cit., V, 1966, 1991; New York World, Oct. 28, 1886.

with impressive Masonic ceremony on August 5, 1884, by William A. Brodie, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New York State.

Work on the pedestal progressed rapidly until the fall of 1884, when, with only 15 feet of the structure completed, work had to be stopped because the American Committee was reaching the end of its financial resources. With the solving of the financial problem in 1885, work was resumed, the builders then turning their attention to a highly important engineering problem-- how the statue would resist wind pressure.

When the 29-foot level was reached in construction of the pedestal, 4 huge girders were built into the walls so that they formed a square across the inside. Fifty-five feet higher, a few feet from the top of the pedestal, similar girders were placed, and the 2 sets were connected by the iron tie-beams which continued on up and became part of the pedestal, and any force exerted upon it was carried down to the 29-foot level, so that the great weight of the upper 60 feet of the granite and concrete pedestal was added to that of the statue.

The pedestal itself is considered one of the heaviest pieces of masonry ever built. It towers 89 feet above the foundation and is so anchored to it-- and in turn to the rock below the foundation-- that for a wind storm to overturn the statue, it would almost have to invert the whole island. General Stone evolved a method of anchorage which would hold the statue solidly in place, and his careful calculations have been proved by the test of years.

On April 22, 1886, the last stone on the pedestal was swung into place, and the jubilant workmen showered into the mortar a col-

lection of silver coins from their pockets.[50]

After the Franco-American Union publicized their plan, in 1875, of presenting Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty to the people of the United States, and after Bedloe's Island was chosen as the site for the Statue, the military post on the Island was abandoned on April 20, 1877. Brevet-Colonel La Rhett L. Livingston and his garrison, numbering four hundred and thirty-two men, left the Island, and the property was put under the guard of a lieutenant and eight privates from Fort Hamilton.[51] Two years later, in 1879, it was suggested that Bedloe's Island be utilized as a base for a marine hospital. Consequently, there was a debate concerning the wisdom of such a suggestion, and a Congressional Committee was appointed to investigate the matter. This Committee, under the Chairmanship of Representative Henderson, advocated that a marine-hospital be established on the Island "during time of peace."[52]

By 1883 everything was in readiness for constructing the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty. General Stone began the excavations within the eleven-pointed star-shaped fort. He found that the walls of the fort were "dishearteningly stout" and did not hesitate to pay due tribute to the engineering skill of Colonel Williams.[53] Thus the Statue was erected on the firm foundation of the fort and the old mortar battery, which had once filled an important position in the defense plans of the harbor.

50.
51. The Story of the Statue of Liberty, op. cit., 4 ff.
52. New York Daily Tribune, April 21, 1877.
53. Ibid.
Ibid., August 2, 1883.

In 1887 an acre of the north end of the Island was set aside for a lighthouse reservation. The buildings and the land designated for the reservation were placed under the authority of the Lighthouse Board which operated the light in the torch. This action met with the approval of both the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury. By an Executive Order, dated December 30, 1901, however, the President directed that the lighthouse reservation be placed under the control and jurisdiction of the Department of War. This brought the entire Island again under the War Department.[54]

On November 11, 1901, by special order, a board of army officers was appointed to consider and report upon the location and distribution of military posts which were required for the proper accomodation, instruction and training of a garrison, not including coast fortifications, as organized under the act of February 2, 1901.[55] In their report of February 4, 1904, this board recommended that the military reservation on Bedloe's Island be used as a permanent recruiting station.

In 1904, one Company of Signal Corps and a sub-depot for Signal Corps material were established on the Island by the War Department. The Signal Corps Company erected a radio station about 1905.

During the first World War the Island was used chiefly as a Quartermaster's supply depot. Warehouses were erected, which were later remodeled into officer's quarters. Temporary buildings were

---

54. United States Judge Advocate General's Department, (Army) United States Military Reservations National Cemeteries and Military Parks Title Jurisdiction Etc. (Washington, 1916), 295-297.

55. Outline Description of Military Posts and Reservations in the United States and Alaska and of National Cemeteries, October, 1904 (Washington, 1904). Specific Order, No. 261, Headquarters of the Army, 1902.

erected on the parade ground. In 1923, the Military Police of the First Division relieved the Signal Corps, which still retained jurisdiction over the radio station.[56]

On October 15, 1924, the Statue of Liberty was declared, by Presidential Proclamation, a national monument, the bounderies to be set at the outer edge of the walls of old Fort Wood.

The War Department continued to administer the entire Island until August 9, 1933, when again by Presidential Proclamation, the Statue of Liberty National Monument was transfered from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, to be administered by the National Park Service. However, the army retained the rest of the Island as a military post.

On September 7, 1937, jurisdiction of the Island, in its entirety, passed to the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, after another Presidential Proclamation declared the Army Post abandoned.[57]

Lighting the statue was a perplexing problem. However, the original electrical system has been replaced several times by more modern equipment. In 1916, from the Presidential yacht Mayflower, which was anchored close to Bedloe's Island, President Woodrow Wilson placed in operation the first adequate lighting system by pressing a wireless key which transmitted an electrical impulse to turn on the new floodlights. A total of two hundred and forty-six projectors, utilizing 250-watt incandescent lamps, were located in

---

56. Statue of Liberty National Monument, op. cit., 7.
57. Ibid., 7.

the star points of the base of the monument and on roofs of small buildings on the Island. Fifteen 500 candle-power gas-filled electric lamps were installed in the torch.

During 1931 a more modern system was installed, which included the electric transformers, switch panels, automatic clock controls, and a complete new floodlighting system. This installation consisted of 96- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps inclosed in cast bronze floodlight projectors. Groups of 8 units were placed in each of 10 points of the 11-pointed star masonry base. A battery of 16 floodlights was placed in the eleventh point to heighten the nighttime character of the face of the statue. A cluster of 13- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps and one 250-watt incandescent lamp was placed in the torch. This improved system approximately doubled the lighting of the previous installation.

To further intensify the previous lighting, reveal the true third dimensional effect of the statue, eliminate undesirable shadows and, in general, "paint" the statue with light, 16 high intensity 400-watt mercury vapor lamps were added to the floodlight emplacements during 1945. Experiments with the torch revealed that mercury vapor lamps added brightness and a bluish-white color to the flame. The present floodlighting system consists of 96- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps and 16- 400-watt mercury vapor lamps.

In conjunction with the lighting improvement project of 1916, the torch, which was originally copper, was redesigned by using a total of 600 separate pieces of various tinted yellow cathedral glass to enhance and beautify the lighting effects. This work was executed

by Gutzon Borglum, well known for his colossal sculptures of the likenesses of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt on the granite face of the mountains at Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The torch is now lighted by 10- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps, 3- 200-watt incandescent lamps, and 6- 400-watt mercury vapor lamps. The entire lighting is equivalent to 2,500 times the effect of full moonlight.[58]

Although provision was made for an elevator when the pedestal was constructed, the first one was installed in 1908-1909. The existing modern elevator was installed in 1931.[59] The National Park Service plans to complete the installation of an entirely new elevator car during the summer of 1952.

In 1937, it was discovered that certain platforms and stairways in the pedestal of the statue would have to be replaced. At this time also engineers made a thorough inspection of the framework and copper on the statue from the torch to the beams on which the structure rests. The spikes were removed from the crown of the head and rebuilt with new iron frames. Supporting ironwork was replaced where sections of it had rusted, and rivets which had loosened were removed and replaced by new ones. No change was made in the spiral stairway in the statue.[60]

Another recent improvement to the monument was the completion, in the fall of 1949, of the installation of a heating system in the base of the statue. Prior to this improvement, during the winter

---

58. Paul H. Younger, The Lights At The Statue of Liberty (New York, 1945).
59. Letter to author from Otis Elevator Company, April 6, 1950.
60. Statue of Liberty National Monument, op. cit., 8.

the star points of the base of the monument and on roofs of small buildings on the Island. Fifteen 500 candle-power gas-filled electric lamps were installed in the torch.

During 1931 a more modern system was installed, which included the electric transformers, switch panels, automatic clock controls, and a complete new floodlighting system. This installation consisted of 96- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps inclosed in cast bronze floodlight projectors. Groups of 8 units were placed in each of 10 points of the 11-pointed star masonry base. A battery of 16 floodlights was placed in the eleventh point to heighten the nighttime character of the face of the statue. A cluster of 13- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps and one 250-watt incandescent lamp was placed in the torch. This improved system approximately doubled the lighting of the previous installation.

To further intensify the previous lighting, reveal the true third dimensional effect of the statue, eliminate undesirable shadows and, in general, "paint" the statue with light, 16 high intensity 400-watt mercury vapor lamps were added to the floodlight emplacements during 1945. Experiments with the torch revealed that mercury vapor lamps added brightness and a bluish-white color to the flame. The present floodlighting system consists of 96- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps and 16- 400-watt mercury vapor lamps.

In conjunction with the lighting improvement project of 1916, the torch, which was originally copper, was redesigned by using a total of 600 separate pieces of various tinted yellow cathedral glass to enhance and beautify the lighting effects. This work was executed

by Gutzon Borglum, well known for his colossal sculptures of the likenesses of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt on the granite face of the mountains at Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The torch is now lighted by 10- 1,000-watt incandescent lamps, 3- 200-watt incandescent lamps, and 6- 400-watt mercury vapor lamps. The entire lighting is equivalent to 2,500 times the effect of full moonlight.[58]

Although provision was made for an elevator when the pedestal was constructed, the first one was installed in 1908-1909. The existing modern elevator was installed in 1931.[59] The National Park Service plans to complete the installation of an entirely new elevator car during the summer of 1952.

In 1937, it was discovered that certain platforms and stairways in the pedestal of the statue would have to be replaced. At this time also engineers made a thorough inspection of the framework and copper on the statue from the torch to the beams on which the structure rests. The spikes were removed from the crown of the head and rebuilt with new iron frames. Supporting ironwork was replaced where sections of it had rusted, and rivets which had loosened were removed and replaced by new ones. No change was made in the spiral stairway in the statue.[60]

Another recent improvement to the monument was the completion, in the fall of 1949, of the installation of a heating system in the base of the statue. Prior to this improvement, during the winter

---

58. Paul H. Younger, The Lights At The Statue of Liberty (New York, 1945).
59. Letter to author from Otis Elevator Company, April 6, 1950.
60. Statue of Liberty National Monument, op. cit., 8.

months, the huge mass of stone, concrete, and earth (estimated at 48,000 tons) became progressively chilled and was at its coldest during March when the air outside became warmer. The moist air coming off the water became condensed and saturated the walls. Condensation of moisture inside the pedestal, which had caused deterioration of the structure and its fixtures, has been eliminated by the new heating system, which also adds to the comfort of visitors and employees.

Time and the elements of nature have contributed also to improving the physical appearance of the statue. The former brilliant copper exterior has become coated with an attractive patina of light green verdigris which not only protects the metal from the effect of wind and rain but also enhances the beauty and dignity of the statue.

In order that the statue may be presented in its fullest significance, the National Park Service has prepared extensive plans for the development of Bedloe's Island. Part of these improvements include landscaping the whole Island and providing a more attractive approach to the statue. The new boat landing now faces the New Jersey instead of the Manhattan side, so that the boat can circle the Island in order to give the visitor a better view of the statue from the harbor. This will give the statue an appearance of rising from a wooded island, since all the buildings are to be placed in the far background. Upon arriving at Bedloe's Island, the visitor is able now to approach the statue over wide, tree-lined

walks, passing the new administration and refreshment buildings on the way to the old fort sally port.

It is a fitting circumstance that Bedloe's Island, with the rich and significant role it played in the history of New York Harbor, is able to provide a home for the Statue of Liberty. The importance and gradual decrease of Bedloe's Island as a station for defense has been pointed out. And now, due to the presence of the Statue of Liberty, this little Island is serving a much more significant purpose as a national shrine.

The Statue of Liberty National Monument marks the site of no specific event or movement; it has no direct connection with the career of any historic personage; indeed it is only symbolically associated with the life history of the American people. It is not a memorial to any man; it is rather an effort on the part of man himself to commemorate, through his creative intellect and imagination, certain supreme ideals of human relationship. In a most profound sense, the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World is a shrine of American freedom.

Beyond the heavy doors, which is one of the entrances to the base of the Statue, through the high walls of old Fort Wood, and through what was originally one of the Fort's two sally ports, is a bronze tablet on which is inscribed a sonnet which was written in 1883 for the Portfolio of the Art Loan Collection, and it proclaims with deep feeling the symbolic significance of the monument.

The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows the world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient land, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

-- Emma Lazarus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Manuscripts

Mrs. Josiah Simpson, U.S.A. letter collection. New York, September 23, 1851; November 28, 1852. Loaned by Mrs. Charles W. McCutchen.

New York City Conveyances. Hall of Records, New York City. Liber 33.

Otis Elevator Company to author. New York, April 6, 1950.

Richard Bayley to Governor Jay. New York, November 28, 1796. Jay Papers, Box 2 #9. New York Historical Society.

Newspapers and Periodicals

[Anon.] "Our Great Goddess and Her Coming Idol." American Catholic Quarterly Review, V (Philadelphia, 1880), 587-597.

Augusta, Ga. Chronicle. 1886.

Boston Columbian Centinal. 1808.

New York Columbian. 1811-1814.

New York Daily Tribune. 1876-1885.

New York Evening Post. 1848-1876.

New York Gazette or The Weekly Post-Boy. 1753.

New York Times. 1864-1886.

New York World. 1875-1886.

Philadelphia Aurora. 1808.

Philadelphia North American. 1870.

Pittsburgh Post. 1885.

The New York Gazette. 1735.

The New York Journal. 1776.

Washington Daily Globe. 1870.

Published Government Documents

Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. 15 vols. Albany, 1853-1887.

Fernow, B. Documents relating to the History of The Early Colonial Settlements principally on Long Island. 1 vol. Albany, 1883. (Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. vol. XIV - old series; vol. III- new series.)

New York (City) Burgomasters and Schepens. Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1675 Anno Domini. 7 vols. New York, 1897. ed. B. Fernow.

New York (City) Common Council. Manual of the Corporation of The City of New York. 28 vols. New York, 1842-1870.

New York (City) Common Council. Minutes of The Common Council of The City of New York, 1675-1776. 8 vols. New York, 1905.

New York (City) Common Council. Minutes of The Common Council of The City of New York, 1784-1831. 21 vols. New York, 1917-1930.

New York (Colony) Council. Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York. 2 vols. Albany, 1910. ed. Victor Hugo Palsits.

New York (Colony) Laws, Statutes, etc. The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 To The Revolution. 5 vols. Albany, 1894.

New York (State) Governor, 1807-1817. Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins Governor of New York, 1807-1817. Military. 3 vols. New York and Albany, 1898-1902.

New York (State) Governor. State of New York- Messages From The Governors Comprising Executive Communications to the Legislature and Other Papers Relating to Legislation from the Organization of the First Colonial Assembly in 1683 to and Including the Year 1906. 11 vols. Albany, 1909. ed. Charles Z. Lincoln.

New York (State) Laws, Statutes, etc. Laws of the State of New York Comprising the Constitution, and the Acts of the Legislature since the Revolution, from the First to the Twenty-Second Session, Inclusive. 3 vols. Albany, 1800. Printed by Webster.

New York (State) Laws, Statutes, etc. Laws of the State of New York Comprising the Constitution, and the Acts of the Legislature, since the Revolution, from the First to the Twentieth Session, Inclusive. 3 vols. New York, 1797-1798. Printed by Greenleaf.

New York (State) Secretary of State. Calendar of Historical Manuscripts. 2 parts. Albany, 1865-1866. ed. E. B. O'Callaghan.

Notice sur L'Union Franco-Americaine. Inauguration De L'Exposition on Des Lots de la Lotterie Franco-Americaine. Discours De M.M. Bozerian, Henri Martin, senateurs. Paris, France, 1875.

Quartermaster General's Office, War Department. Outline Description of Military Posts and Reservations in the United States and Alaska and of National Cemeteries, October 1904. Washington, 1904.

United States Congress. American State Papers. Documents, Legislative And Executive, of the Congress of The United States. 38 vols. Washington, 1832-1861. Selected and edited under the authority of Congress.

United States Congress. Congressional Record. 44th Congress, 2d Sess., 1877.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The Master Plan. Statue of Liberty National Monument. Washington, 1939.

United States Military Academy, West Point. The Centennial Of The United States Military Academy At West Point, New York, 1802-1902. 2 vols. Washington, 1904. (58th Cong., 2d Sess. House Doc. No. 789).

Books

Bartholdi, Frederic Auguste. The Statue of Liberty Enlightening The World By The Sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi. New York, 1885.

Brett White, Elizabeth. American Opinion of France From Lafayette to Poincare. New York, 1927.

Brodhead, John Romeyn. History of the State of New York. 2 vols. New York, 1859-1871.

Guernsey, R. S. New York City And Vicinity During The War of 1812-15. 2 vols. New York, 1889-1895.

Honeyman, Van Doren A. Joannes Nevius Schepen And His Descendents A.D. 1627-1900. New Jersey, 1900.

Hughes, Regina Maria. "The French People give the Statue of Liberty to the Americans." The Statue of Liberty. 2 parts. The United States Department ofthe Interior, National Park Service. New York, 1937.

Johnston, Henry P., ed. The Correspondence And Public Papers of John Jay, 1763-1826. 4 vols. New York, 1890-1893.

New York (State) Secretary of State. Calendar of New York Colonial Manuscripts, Indorsed Land Papers; In the Office of The Secretary of State of New York. 1648-1803. Albany, 1864.

Office of The Judge Advocate General United States Army. United States Judge Advocate General's Department, (Army) United States Military Reservation National Cemeteries and Military Parks Title Jurisdiction Etc. Washington, 1916.

Schoolcraft, Henry R. Report of The Aboriginal Names And Geographical Terminology of The State of New York. New York, 1845.

The New International Encyclopaedia. 23 vols. New York, 1922.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Statue of Liberty National Monument. Washington, 1940.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The Story of the Statue of Liberty. Washington, 1936.

Younger, Paul H. The Lights At The Statue of Liberty. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. New York, 1945.