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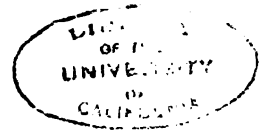
SAINT TAMMANY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BY
EDWIN P. KILROE



NEW YORK
1913

SAINT TAMMANY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BY

EDWIN PATRICK KILROE

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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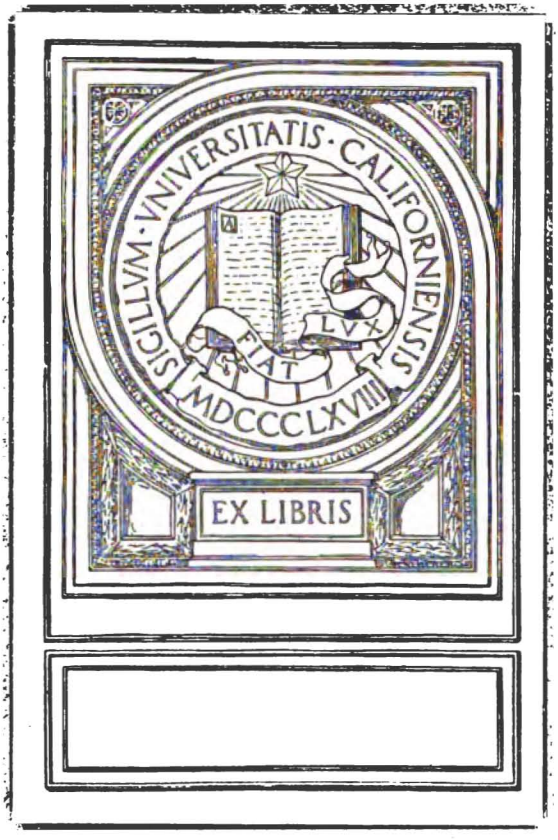
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P. R. S.

PREFACE

THE following treatise is the result of a study undertaken under the direction of the School of Political Science, Columbia University. Its original purpose was the preparation of a monograph on the political significance of Tammany Hall. A brief investigation, however, of the published works on the subject revealed the fact that no authentic exhaustive work had been written or even attempted, including the whole or any considerable part of the field. It became apparent that the subject invited a complete investigation to reveal the true scope of the movement of the early Tammany Societies, the legendary of Saint Tammany, and the origin and development of the Society of Tammany in the City of New York, as the basis for the proper understanding of the growth and influence of the institution and the evolution of the Democratic "machine" in New York County. Such a work has been undertaken and the following chapters are the beginnings of the complete history that is planned.

In the search for original sources of information, the writer found himself in a maze of pertinent and interesting but wholly uncollated data, revealing the necessity for a comprehensive bibliography as a guide to the inquiry. During its preparation the miscellaneous information which is presented in the form of an appendix to this dissertation was secured. The appendix includes a list of orations delivered before Tammany Societies in the United States, with contemporary criticisms wherever found; and it may not be amiss to add that the orations reflect the attitude of the societies upon the social, political and economic problems

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and conditions of their times—an indispensable source of information to the investigator of the movement.

The facts and traditions concerning Saint Tammany, which are here collected for the first time, possess more than an antiquarian interest, for they disclose the character of the fetich to which the movement of the Tammany Societies was dedicated. No pains, therefore, have been spared in presenting the topic.

The amount of information uncovered respecting the several epochs of the history of the Tammany Society of New York City varies greatly. From 1789 to 1800, the important activities are adequately chronicled in contemporary newspapers, and much documentary information is accessible. During the period from 1800 to 1812 the major functions are briefly treated in the news columns, but the sources are not so abundant as in the preceding decade. A mere outline of the workings of the Society from 1812 to 1825 is provided by the press, and an occasional broadside or pamphlet issued by the Society, or published by its political opponents, furnishes additional sidelights on the activities of the period. There is a paucity of information covering the period between 1825 and 1850, broken only by an occasional pamphlet and the passing comment of general works. The daily newspapers of New York City, numerous magazines and periodicals, together with official publications by the Society in the form of broadsides, pamphlets, communications and accounts of its proceedings, furnish abundant material for its history during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In discussing the development of the early Tammany Societies, the article by Francis Von Cabeen, on The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia, published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography in 1902, was of great assistance. The references

pointed out by Mr. Cabeen were of especial value in describing the part played in the movement by the Philadelphia Society.

The author takes pleasure in acknowledging the assistance rendered to him by Mr. Albert Matthews, lexicographer and historical investigator, of Boston, Massachusetts, by furnishing references to invaluable sources. The splendid facilities of the New York Historical Society, New York Public, New York Society, American Antiquarian, Brown University, and Columbia University Libraries, and the Library of Congress, made accessible vast storehouses of information, and the courtesy of their respective librarians is gratefully remembered. Professor Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University, under whose personal supervision this study was commenced, has been unstinting in his suggestions and encouragement. To Professor E. M. Sait, of Columbia University, the writer is indebted for helpful, scholarly criticism. Mr. William A. Hildebrand, formerly assistant librarian at the New York Historical Society, has materially aided in verifying references. The author is especially grateful to Dr. Austin Baxter Keep, of the College of the City of New York, who has read manuscript and proof throughout and whose experience in historical investigation has provided a never failing source of assistance and sympathetic interest. Louis E. Swarts, Esq., of the New York Bar, has aided in the revision and arrangement of the work in the same cordial spirit of coöperation that has characterized his professional relations with the writer during the past seven years.

E. P. K.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, May 1, 1913.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 11

CHAPTER I

SAINT TAMMANY

1. Tamenend: Hiawatha and Tammany in history and literature; authentic history of Tammany—land grants to William Penn; relations with the early settlers..... 15
2. Traditions of Saint Tammany: Residence, death, place of burial; successors; Motto; Tammany and the Walam Olum..... 21
3. Canonization: Correspondence of Dr. Belknap and Hazard; explanations of the anomaly; errors of early commentators; John Leacock and his poem on Saint Tammany; Chief Tammany, patron of a Fishing Club; patron of the Province of Pennsylvania and of the Continental Army; poems to Saint Tammany 29
4. Sources of Legendary: Oration by Mitchill and reports of early missionaries; comments by Heckewelder; Mitchill's letter; errors of Heckewelder; influence of the Iroquois; legends of Tammany confused with those of Hiawatha..... 46

Notes to Chapter I. The Delaware Indians; the Iroquois; Tammany as a proper name; Col. Morgan and the name Tamanend; Teedyuscung; Poem—"Song for St. Tammany's Day"; The Prophet; Iroquois traditions relating to Tammany..... 53

CHAPTER II

THE MOVEMENT OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES PRIOR TO 1789

Celebration of May 1st as St. Tammany's Day; custom inaugurated by Fishing Clubs near Philadelphia; early celebrations; Sons of King Tammany at Philadelphia—toasts; activities at Philadelphia—toasts; officers; the movement outside of Philadelphia: celebrations at Norfolk, Harrisburg, Petersburg and Richmond, Va.—toasts; in New Jersey—constitution; in Georgia—celebrations at Savannah—toasts; in the Carolinas—celebration at Wilmington, N. C.—toasts; character of the celebrations in the

PAGE

South; the Tammany Societies and the Sons of Liberty; Celtic influence on the movement in the South; end of the first phase of the movement 84

Notes to Chapter II. Poem—"Prophecy of King Tammany"; Law of Liberty of the Tammany Societies; Sons of Liberty and the Liberty Pole; St. Tammany's Day unknown in New England.. 111

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

1. The Founding: Statement by Bryce; conditions in New York from 1783-1789; notices of the Society; early celebrations—toasts; meetings in 1789—reorganization—Public Constitution 117

2. Objects: William Mooney's activities; John Pintard and his influence on the Society—correspondence; The Society and the Cincinnati; the anti-Catholic sentiment; patrons; the Bucktail; evolution of the present name 130

Notes to Chapter III. Pintard; the Tammanial laws; William Mooney; the Oneida Indians; William Maclay; toasts of the Tammany Society and the Cincinnati; anti-Catholic sentiment in the Philadelphia and Washington Tammany Societies; toasts to the patrons 150

CHAPTER IV

EARLY ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

1. Reception to the Indians: The Oneida Chiefs; conciliation of the Creeks; the Ottoway Chiefs 167

2. The Tammany Museum: Establishment; room in City Hall; by-laws and regulations; Broadside June 1, 1791; transfer to Baker; later history 173

3. Promotion of Holidays: May 12—ostentatious pageantry, banquets; July 4th celebrations—reading the Declaration of Independence; abandonment of Indian ceremonial; Evacuation Day; celebrations in honor of Columbus 177

4. Patriotic zeal and civic interest: Mourning; work on the harbor fortifications—Governor's Island and Brooklyn 186

5. The Wigwam: Various locations; Tammanial Tontine Association; first Tammany Hall; present hall 189

6. The drift toward politics: Sympathy for the French Revolution—celebrations; the Tammany Society and the Democratic Society; Mrs. Hatton and the opera "Tammany"; Washington's attack on self-created societies; the split in the Tammany Society; alignment with the Anti-Federalists 192

PAGE

Notes to Chapter IV. Col. M'Gillivray; Georgia and the Creek treaty; criticisms of the early anniversaries; the Columbus Monument; address by the Society; excerpt from Washington's message 199

APPENDIX

Tammany Societies in the United States 209
Orations before New York Tammany Society, with criticisms 214
Orations before the Tammany Societies in the United States 241

ABBREVIATIONS USED

B. U.—Brown University Library.
L. C.—Library of Congress.
N. p., n. d.—No place or date of publication.
N. Y. H. S.—New York Historical Society.
N. Y. P. L.—New York Public Library.
*—Indicates earliest date found.
†—Indicates that the oration has not been found.
Figures 2/1—Indicate page and column of newspapers as, the *Diary* May 19, 2/1, 1794, means May 19, page two, first column.

INTRODUCTION

THE Tammany Societies in the United States exercised a powerful influence in shaping the destinies and in crystallizing the principles of our government, and have contributed much to the development of our present extra-constitutional system of party government. The importance of this influence has been inadequately recognized by students of American history. The societies bore the standards of equal rights and popular rule like the powerful Jacobin clubs of the French Revolution, and were the rallying points of Republican activity until the complete annihilation of the Federalist party. Under the favoring leadership of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison the movement flourished, and in its organized activities foreshadowed the establishment of national political machines. With the passing of the Federalists the issues which had stimulated the movement disappeared, and one by one the societies succumbed to the lethargy resulting from the cessation of violent partisan controversy. The New York Tammany Society alone remained, presenting the most curious phenomenon in the history of American politics in its development from a patriotic and fraternal institution to an organized force or machine in party politics; in which position, for three-quarters of a century, it dominated the public life of the American metropolis.

Originally a society of purely social and patriotic motives, the organization was transformed into an agency for the assertion and maintenance of Republican principles; and, under the corrupting influence of partisan greed, degenerated at times into an oppressive vehicle for the acquisition

of political spoils. Following the disclosures of the iniquitous Tweed Ring in 1871, the Society slowly relinquished its hold upon the party machinery, and the evolution of state election laws regulating party control completed the separation. Thus by a singular metamorphosis, the Society, which for so many years had been absolute dictator of Democratic politics in New York City, the arbiter of party regularity, and the distributor of public patronage, was wholly divorced from its partisan control and partially rehabilitated in its original character as a fraternal and patriotic body.

The building known as Tammany Hall is owned and controlled by the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York. The term "Tammany Hall," however, in popular significance is used to designate the dominant faction of the Democratic party of the County of New York. This designation arises from the fact that the assembly room of the Society, ever since the construction of the first Tammany Hall in 1811, has been the meeting place of the controlling committees of the Democratic party. In a similar manner the dominant faction of the local Democracy prior to 1811 acquired the names of "Martling party" and "Tammanial party," because it met in the Society's wigwam at Martling's Long Room; and, in the struggle with De Witt Clinton for supremacy within the party, the faction led by the Society was called "Bucktails," after the well-known Tammanial emblem.

The political organization known as "Tammany Hall" and the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York are, therefore, separate and distinct entities,—the former a body created by statute, a legalized functionary of party government; the latter the shell of an ancient and honorable patriotic organization. The Society and the "Machine," however, so far interlock that it is

customary for leaders of the party to be officers of the Society. Thus the Society is to-day dominated by the political institution which it created and long controlled.

The Society no longer occupies a position of leadership in the celebration of public holidays, so many of which it originated, and to the establishment of which it contributed so prominent a part. The modern Tammany Society, divested of the political machinations which deprived it of its estimable non-partisan character, is entitled by virtue of its ancient traditions and historic public service to become again a leader in the patriotic ceremonial of the City of New York. For this office its membership and plan of organization render it peculiarly fit, and it is the hope of its votaries that this function may again be delegated to the Society.

The Tammany Society has survived over a century and a quarter of storm and stress, during which it has exerted a portentous influence upon the life of the American Commonwealth. Its principles have been deprecated and its motives assailed on the one hand, and, on the other, its glories celebrated and its virtues enlarged by interested partisans. With the prejudice born of opposition, detractors have arisen without its ranks, while its eulogists have taken inspiration from their own devotion to the Order. Unhappily, those whose dispassionate estimation has been furnished to us, with spectatorial indifference, have failed to fathom its anomalies or to search out the hidden funds of information from which alone could accuracy arise. The subject is worthy of a better fate. The history of no other isolated institution is so fraught with epoch-making precedent, nor presents a more useful illustration of the working out of our republican forms,—revealing at once the spreading ulcers of corruption and the healthy growth of the sinews of true democracy.

The Order has participated in numberless movements of social, political and civic import; every epoch, every year, has seen its affirmative acts; and its position has been writ large in infinite bitter controversy. That the record of its achievements and of its activities, both social and pernicious, should form the basis for an impartial judgment of its worth, is the postulate from which a compendious history of the Society should proceed. A study of its forerunners, the ideals to which it aspired, the causes and scope of its organization, together with a description of the early activities of the Society, are the purposes of the present work.

CHAPTER I

SAINT TAMMANY

1. *Tamenend*

THE American Indian or "Amerind"[1] has enriched our history and our literature with two heroic characters, Hiawatha,[2] a chief of the Onondagas, and Tammany, a sachem of the Delawares.[3] Hiawatha conceived and founded the great Iroquois Confederacy,[4] America's first Republic, a potent influence for the promotion of peace and amity among the Indian nations. Notwithstanding the errors of historians and distortions of poets, our history and literature have accorded undying fame to this great lawgiver and reformer of an aboriginal race. The name of Tammany is preserved in history by a series of blunders, while in literature as the patron saint of our country his fame is perpetuated by numerous legends, odes and poems. He is also honored as the patron and guiding spirit of a patriotic and fraternal movement that gave rise to a society which in turn has developed into a powerful and astounding political machine. Both characters are depicted as the incarnation of nobility, sagacity and power, and crowned with magnetic charm, personifying those essential attributes always bestowed by an indulgent posterity when a great historic figure is molded.

Tammany, the tutelary saint of America, as a character stands unique. Much has been written concerning his virtue, prowess and achievements; and about his memory a kind and bounteous tradition has woven numberless romances which rival the tales of Heracles and Theseus, and give

him a place in the Indian lore of America analogous to that held by those demi-gods in ancient Greek mythology. This Nestor[5] of the American Indians, whom tradition is pleased to describe as the embodiment of wisdom and honor, and whose ability, benevolence, nobility and diplomatic *savoir faire* brought to him immortal renown, was a sachem of the Lenni-Lenâpé or Delaware Indians. His origin, his achievements and his death are shrouded in obscurity, while only a short period of his life is actually open to the scrutiny of research. For fifteen years he was in contact with the whites, but during that period he did not appear as a chief of extraordinary accomplishments or importance; nor does he seem to have made a profound impression on the white settlers, for there is no record that they were awed by the force of his genius or charmed by his personality.

The authentic history of Tammany[6] is short and simple, and the events recorded are neither startling nor impressive. His name was first presented in writing, to the civilized world, on June 23, 1683, when he affixed his mark to a deed of that date, granting to William Penn, Proprietor, "all my Lands Lying betwixt Pemmapecka and Nessaminehs Creeks, and all along Nesheminehs Creeks . . . for ye Consideration of so much Wampum, so many Guns, Shoes, Stockings, Looking-glasses, Blanketts and other goods as he, ye s^{d} William Penn shall please to give unto me."[7] On that same day Tammany and Metamequan executed a joint deed and affixed their respective marks thereto, granting to William Penn the identical lands that Tammany had conveyed in the previous deed; and at the same time executed a receipt for the consideration received, with which "we doe hereby hold ourselves fully contented and satisfyed."[8] On June 25, 1683, the name of Tammany appears with four other Indian names in witness to a deed given by Wingebone to William Penn for "Lands Lying

on ye West side of ye Skolkill River begining from ye first Falls of ye same all along upon ye s^d^ River and Backward of ye same, so farr as my right goeth."[9] His name is again presented for our consideration in a letter written by William Penn to the Society of Traders on August 16, 1683.[10] In speaking of the Lenâpé or Delaware Indians, Penn only casually mentions the name of Tammany; his remarks are: "Their language is lofty yet narrow: . . . I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness, in accent or emphasis, than theirs; for instance, *Tamene,* Secane, Menase, Secaterius, are the names of persons."

On June 15, 1692, the name, with those of three other Indians, appears on a quit-claim deed.[11] By this instrument they acknowledged "full Satisfaction for all that Tract of Land formerly belonging to Taminent and others, which wee parted with unto William Penn, Proprietor. . . . Therefore wee Doo hereby acquitt, release & discharg the said Proprietor his Heirs & Success^rs^ from any further claims, dues & demands whatsoever, Concerning the said Lands or any other Tract of Land claimed by us from the beginning of the World to the day of the date hereof." This sweeping conveyance in legal effect wiped out all of Tammany's land claims in Pennsylvania. In this transaction, at least, his native shrewdness does not show to any great advantage, for the white representatives of the Proprietor clearly out-traded him and drove a good bargain.

The name of Tammany next appears in the minutes of a meeting of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, held in Philadelphia on July 6, 1694. The purpose of the Council was to confer with the Delaware Indians concerning a proposition made by the Seneca Nation, to have the Delawares join the Senecas in a war against the French. The minutes of this meeting contain the only record of a speech

made by Tammany that may be considered authentic. During the conference Tammany spoke of the whites as follows: "Wee and the Christians of this River Have allwayes had a free rode way to one another, & tho' sometimes a tree has fallen across the rode yet wee have still removed it again & kept the path clean, and wee design to Continou the old friendshipp that has been between us and you." The council assured the Indians that the English were their friends and would protect them from both the French and the Senecas. "So they all departed verie well satisfied with the Lt. Governor's answer."[12] In this conference Tammany played no important part, the real leader being Hithquoquean, who "in name of the rest of the Delaware Indians took outt and laid down a Belt of Wampum" and acted as spokesman for the tribe.

Again, the names of Tammany and four members of his household—his two sons, his brother and the heir-apparent to the chieftancy of the Delaware Nation—appear in a deed dated July 6, 1697,[13] of which the following excerpt is pertinent:

We Taminy Sachimack and Weheeland my Brother and Weheequeckhon, alias Andrew, who is to be King after my death, Yaqueekhon alias Nicholas, and Quenameckquid, Alias Charles, my Sonns, for the Consideration of Twenty Matchcoats, Twelve White Blankets, Ten Kettles, Twelve Guns, Thirty Yards of Shirting Cloth, one Runlett of Powder, Ten Barrs of Lead, fforty yards of Stroud Waters, Twenty Parrs of Stockins, one Horse, ffifty pounds of Tobacco, Six Dozens of Pipes and Thirty Shillings in Cash . . . Do give, grant, alien, sell, enfeoff and confirm unto the said William Penn, his Heirs and Assigns, All the Lands, Woods, Meadows, Rivers, Rivulets, Mines, Minerals, and Royalties Whatsoever, situated lyeing and being Between the Creek called Pemopeck and the Creek called Neshaminy, in the said Province Extending in Length from the River Delaware, so farr as a horse can Travel

in Two Summer dayes, and to carry its breadth accordingly as the several Courses of the said two Creeks will Admit, And when the said Creek do so branch that the main Branches or bodies thereof cannot be discovered, Then the Tract of Land hereby granted, shall stretch forth upon a direct course on each side and so carry on the ffull Breadth to the extent of the Length thereof.

In the first deed from the Delaware Indians to William Penn, dated July 15, 1682, the conveyance was made by the "said Indyan sachamackers, parties to these presents, as well for and on behalfe of themselves as for and on the behalfe of their Respective Indyans or People for whom they are concerned."[14] This clause would seem to give color to the position taken by Morgan, in his "Ancient Society,"[15] that Indian lands were occupied by the tribe in common. The system of land tenure among the Delawares and the powers and duties of the head of the Nation are not clearly defined by writers and investigators of Indian customs, and the deeds signed by Tammany throw but little light on the question. For in the transfer of lands to William Penn there is no clear evidence of a tribal supervision, nor is there anything to show that the lands were held in trust by the sachem for the use and benefit of the tribesmen. It was not customary for a sachem, however high his rank, to attend any land conferences that did not affect his private possessions. To the first and to many other deeds to William Penn the name of Tammany was not affixed, which leads us to infer that he concerned himself only with his own patrimony; and, inasmuch as he joined with other sachems in transferring land, his power over the land was no greater than theirs. Thus it would seem that land tenure among the Delawares, in so far as it was defined at all, was one of private ownership.

We find the name of Tammany in print in 1698, in an

article by Gabriel Thomas, who arrived in America shortly after the landing of William Penn and spent some fifteen years among the early settlers. On his return to London he published an interesting account of his experiences in America, but his sole allusion to Tammany is found as follows in a discussion of the Delaware Indians:[16] "The names of some of the Indians—Anachkoating, Bussabenating, O'Konycan, Potasko, Quindasnon, Lames, Alpoogan, Kohonk, Hiton, *Temeny.*"

This brief record of Tammany's dealings with the English settlers completes his authentic biography. It discloses merely a series of business transactions, in each of which the Chief was outwitted and outbargained by the business tact and shrewdness of his white neighbors. With the mere reference to his name by Thomas in 1698, the Chief passes from history, and no more is heard of him until 1771, when he is introduced to us in the guise of a Saint, with the first of May set aside as the day sacred to his name. How this remarkable transformation took place, and why Tammany, who appears as a chief of only ordinary attainments, was selected for popular canonization, are questions yet to be answered by the student of American history. Everything written about him subsequent to 1698 is based on conjecture, romance and untrustworthy tradition.

There are no portraits of Tammany in existence[17] and only two writers have transmitted descriptions of his personal appearance. One, ascribed to William Penn, thus depicts the Chief: "He found him an old man, but yet vigorous in mind and body, with high notions of liberty, easily won by the suavity and peaceful address of the Governor."[18] The other is by James Fenimore Cooper, who gives what purports to be a full description of Tammany and reveals him presiding over a Council of the Delawares in the neighborhood of Lake George, New York, in the year 1757.[19]

The description is based on legends and traditions current in 1825, when Cooper wrote, and in reality is but an impersonal idealization of an Indian chief.

2. *Traditions of Saint Tammany.*

Tradition states that Tammany was the first to welcome Penn on his arrival in America, on October 27, 1682, and that he was present, in June, 1683, at the Great Treaty under the Elm at Schakamaxon; history, however, has left no record of the individuals present on these two occasions. The Indians in attendance at the Treaty were the entire tribe of the Susquehannocks and the Unami and Unalachtigo clans of the Delawares.[20] The object of the meeting was to confirm the land grants previously made to William Penn, and to negotiate a treaty of friendship, "to last as long as the sun should shine and the waters run into the rivers."[21] Tammany, it must be remembered, up to this time had made no conveyances to Penn; so his presence was not essential to confirm the land grants.[22]

The residence of Tammany has been assigned to various places. Richard C. Adams[23] fixes it at the present site of Wilmington, Delaware; another writer locates him in 1683 at Perkasie.[24] Others place his wigwam at the present site of Princeton University,[25] an error arising from the fact that there was situated the home of Col. George Morgan,[26] upon whom it is said the western Delawares conferred the sobriquet "Tamanend." Tammany's residence has also been fixed at the present site of Easton, at that of Scranton, and at the Delaware Water Gap, all in the state of Pennsylvania, likewise in the upper Ohio Valley[27] and in northern New York.[19] The most persistent tradition of his residence, however, is that he once settled on the upper Delaware, near the present village of Cochecton, on the Pennsylvania side of the river,

on the fertile bottom lands in what is now Damascus township. In 1775 Joseph Skinner and his eight sons settled at a place called Acklake, now Milanville, Wayne County, Penna., opposite the present town of Cochecton, New York. David Skinner, the eldest son, succeeded his father in the ownership of the family farm, which he called St. Tammany's Flats.[28] Just when this appellation was bestowed on the locality we are not informed, but that it was later than 1772 seems certain, for the canonization of Tammany was not generally recognized until after that date. Daniel Skinner, or "The Admiral," as he was familiarly called, floated rafts from Cochecton to Philadelphia, and on these trips heard of, and perhaps attended, the celebrations which took place in the latter place between 1772 and 1790, on the first day of May. Thus he became acquainted with the name of St. Tammany, learned its significance, and, fascinated by the legends and ceremonies, applied it to his own plantation.[29] This alone gave color to the story that Tammany lived at Damascus, on the flats that bear his name, for there is no authentic information to indicate that he even visited that section of Wayne County. His authentic residence, however, has been located on the lower Delaware and along the fertile banks of the Neshaminy river in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the lands which between 1683 and 1697 he conveyed to William Penn.[30]

Three places, widely separated, claim the grave[31] of Tammany. The view has been advanced that he was buried on the spot where now stands Nassau Hall at Princeton, New Jersey; but, like the tradition of his residence there, this view may be dismissed by recalling the fact that Colonel Morgan, known as "Tamanend," lived and died at Prospect, the present site of Princeton. For the story that Tammany was buried at Muskingum, Ohio, and a huge mound erected over his grave, no confirmation whatever can be found. In

fact, the tale originated with an orator [22] who afterward admitted that it was pure fiction, but its adoption by certain serious, albeit unsophisticated, writers gave the story a wide and unwarranted currency. On the other hand, an elaborate set of circumstances is advanced as evidence of his burial beside a spring near the bank of the Neshaminy creek in New Britain township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.[23] This tradition, as preserved by the Shewell family [24] of that county, relates that about 1740 or 1750 an aged chief, with his followers, was proceeding to attend a conference with the Pennsylvania Proprietaries at Philadelphia. The chief, too infirm to walk, was carried by younger members of the party. They halted near a spring, where the young Indians built a hut for the old man; for they either became tired of their burden or wished to hasten to the conference at an appointed time. When night came on they decamped, leaving the old man under the care of an Indian girl. On awakening the following morning, he became so distressed and enraged at finding himself deserted that he sought death by stabbing himself; but his weakness frustrated this attempt. Persevering in his endeavor to take his own life, he set fire to his bed of leaves and threw himself upon it.[25] The other Indians who, in the absence of their chief, were denied an audience by the Proprietaries, returned to the hut and found the old man, with a hole burned in his side, dead. The incident became known in the neighborhood, and Walter Shewell, a man of prominence in that vicinity, had the body buried near the hut, in the presence of the other Indians. Soon afterward the body of another Indian, presumed to be a son or descendant of the aged chief, was brought to the spring for burial, and laid beside the body of the patriarch. This legend of Tammany's death [26] found favor in the popular imagination, supplied the theme for odes and poems, and its action was repro-

duced as a part of the ceremonial of the Tammany Societies' celebrations. In the New York *Journal and Patriotic Register* for May 19, 1792, we find an account of the celebration of the Tammany Society of Charleston, South Carolina, on May first of that year, in which a pantomime depicting Tammany's tragic end is described as follows:

> At about 4 o'clock they sat down to a plain and plentiful dinner, and after imbibing a suitable quantity of Indian drink proceeded to the solemnity of burning the Old Chief, who being placed in the Wigwam and having sung the death song, fire was set thereto and the whole immediately consumed. A dance, after the Indian manner, concluded the ceremonies of the day.

It is evident that the chief buried was not Tammany; for, if Tammany had been alive as late as 1749, he would scarcely have escaped the attention of the Moravian missionaries who began their work among the Delaware Indians as early as 1742. We have no direct record of the date of Tammany's death, but from collateral facts it would seem that his career as a chieftain ended about 1698, for in that year Owhala, or Ocahle (Owechela),[37] is mentioned in the Maryland Council Records as King of the Delawares. From the same source we learn that on August 29, 1700, in Cecil County, Maryland, Owhala on behalf of the Delaware Nation signed a treaty of friendship with the Maryland Commissioners. Professors A. L. Guss[38] is of the opinion that "Owhala," "Owehala on Christina," and Weheeland, mentioned as Tammany's brother in the deed of July 6, 1697, are the same person; and that Weeheequeckhon, who was to be king after Tammany, was the celebrated Sassoonan or Allummapees. If this be true, it is fair to infer that Weheeland or Owehela, Tammany's brother, acted as regent during the minority of Weheequeckhon. For on July 26, 1701, the Pennsylvania Council sent a message to Menangey, Hithquoquean, and Owe-

hela on Christina, the leaders of the southern Delawares, inviting them to be present at the next meeting of the assembly of the Province to discuss a proposed law prohibiting the sale of rum to Indians. If Tammany were then alive, his name would appear among those invited to attend so important a conference. Mercer,[38] however, is convinced that Tammany was deposed as Chief in 1718, that he was succeeded by Allummapees, and that his deposition was brought about by the powerful influences of the Iroquois, who desired at the head of the Delaware Nation a chief in sympathy with their policies. It is Mercer's theory that Tammany thereafter lived in seclusion until his death in 1750, escaping the attention of the whites, though enjoying a great reputation in his tribe. This view, while agreeable to those interested in the Bucks County legend, is not supported by facts, for Skalitchi was Chief of the Delawares in July, 1709,[39] and was succeeded in 1715 by Allummapees, who "actually shook himself to death with the ague," in October, 1747. Nevertheless, the tradition is still cherished, and the Bucks County Historical Society recently purchased the ground where the supposed Tammany was buried [40] and has selected a monument to be erected over the grave, bearing this inscription:

To the Memory of
the Celebrated Lenâpé Chieftain
Tamenend
once owner of this and all land
between Neshaminy and Pennypack Creeks. These stones are
placed at this spot near which
an aged Indian, called Tammany
by the pioneers of Bucks County
was buried by white men about
the year 1750.[41]

It is said that Tammany adopted the motto "Kwanio Che Keeteru," which has been translated "This is my right; I will defend it."[43] Horatio Hale, however, says the words are not of the Delaware language, but of Iroquois origin, and mean "I am master wherever I am."[44] The phrase is ancient, for in 1747 the Schuylkill Fishing Company presented to the Association Battery a "new thirty-two pounder" cannon, which weighed between two and three tons, and on this gun were stamped the words said to have been the motto of the venerable Chief Tammany.[44] This cannon was used during the Revolutionary War, and on April 23, 1883, the gun was restored to the "State in Schuylkill" on its grounds known as the "Fish House Company." The phrase was later adopted as the motto of the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany in Philadelphia.[45] Other writers have ascribed to Tammany the motto "Unite in peace for happiness and in war for defense."[46] These mottoes were, of course, fictions of the white men, for the use of mottoes is a mark of civilization and culture. The only sign used by the Indians, so far as research shows, was a totemic device, the forerunner of the heraldic symbol of the family. A rude reproduction of the device was painted in a conspicuous place on the Indian hut, an invitation and assurance of brotherly aid and protection to passers-by honoring the same device.[47]

An interesting but vexatious phase of our inquiry concerning Tammany is presented by the Walam Olum, a record purporting to preserve the primitive legends and traditions of the Lenni-Lenâpé. The legends were recorded in pictographs or hieroglyphics to perpetuate the chants by which the tribal legendary had been kept alive before the compilation of the "Walam Olum." The Olum was first procured by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque-Schmaltz in 1820, as a reward for a medical cure. The songs and chants

were secured in 1822, and in 1833 Schmaltz made the translation. Because of his unreliability—he was a discredited scientist, a tramp scholar, doing odd jobs for a living, at times a teacher, a prolific author, and a manufacturer and peddler of a nostrum or patent medicine—doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the work.[48] The Olum is divided into five parts or chapters, and contains one hundred and eighty-four verses, varying in length from one to five lines. As a whole it represents the traditions of the Delawares with reference to the Creation, and the tribal migration from the north or west to the Atlantic coast line.

From the beginning of this migration to the advent of the white man, the nation was ruled by ninety-four chiefs, two of which dynasty, the thirty-first and the seventy-sixth, were named Tamenend. The reference in the Olum to Tamenend, the thirty-first chief, with the translation reads:[49]

Weminitis tamenend sakimanep nekohatami
Eluwiwulit matemenend wemi linapi nitis payat
Wtenk wulitma maskansisil sakimanep w'tamaganat.

All being friendly, the Affable was chief, the first of that name.
He was very good, this Affable, and came as a friend to all the Lenape.
After this good one, Strong-Buffalo was chief and pipe-bearer.

The reference to Tamanend, the seventy-sixth chief, follows:

Lappi tamenend sakimanepit wemi langundit.
Wemi nitis wemi takwicken sakima kichwon.

Again an Affable was chief, and made peace with all,
All were friends, all were united under this great chief.

If the Walam Olum be true, then the Tammany who reigned from 1683 to 1697, the period in which he dealt with Penn and his followers, was the third of his name, two others of that name having held the exalted position of Chief of the Nation before him. If we allow twenty-five years[50] as the average reign of each chief, the first "Affable" or "Tamenend" reigned about 800 years after the migration started, and about 1,500 years before the advent of the whites. By the same method of computation, the second "Affable" or "Tamenend," the seventy-sixth Chief mentioned in the work, reigned about 1,900 years after the start of the migration, and about 450 years before the landing of the whites, or about the middle of the 11th Century. Both chiefs are described as exceptional men and remarkable peacemakers, and both had power to unite the tribes, allay discord, and bring universal peace and happiness to the Nation. Thus it is possible that to these chiefs[51] rightfully belong the glory and fame that attach to the name of Tammany, and perhaps the missionaries and early writers who secured these legends and traditions from the Indians applied them indiscriminately to the only Tammany of whom they knew. On the other hand, if the Walam Olum is rejected as unworthy of credence, this explanation of the source of the unearned attributes with which Tammany is credited falls. For we are inclined to agree with Brinton's view that authentic history tells us nothing about the migrations of the Lenâpé before we find them in the valley of the Delaware. There is no positive evidence that they arrived from the west; still less concerning their earlier wanderings. The true history of the Delaware begins with his association with civilized man.[52]

3. *Canonization.*

In 1698 the name of Tammany as a real person vanishes from our history, to reappear in 1771 in the guise of the Patron Saint of American Liberty. On December 24th of the latter year, a letter was written by William Eddis [53] of Annapolis, in which he described "St. Tamina" as the saint revered by the Americans on that part of the continent, and tells us that the first of May was set apart as sacred to his memory. This is the first extant reference to Tammany as a saint. The development of the Tammany legend between 1698 and 1771 has not been chronicled, but the following paragraph in a letter from Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia to Dr. Jeremy Belknap,[54] dated at Philadelphia, June 14, 1784, gives some idea of the process by which the sanctification of Tammany was evolved:

Tammany was an Indian Sachem, whether real or fictitious I do not know; but the first day of May has long been considered as his day. When I was a boy I used to wear in my hat upon that day a buck's tail, gilded, and a picture of an Indian (Tammany, no doubt), shooting a deer with a bow and arrow. We used to talk of King Tammany then but it seems he has been canonized since the Declaration of Independence, and has now become a Saint. He will make as good an one as any in the Calendar; though I have not heard that he has been approved by his Holiness. However, as he is, I suppose, to be the titular Saint of Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania is one of the United States, Congress ought to have been consulted about it. Should the "balance of Power" between the States be destroyed by this accession of weight to the Pennsylvania Scale, it would be a sad affair. This same saint's day is kept principally by natives of this state; but I apprehend anybody might be admitted who would pay his club towards a good time and liquors to get drunk with.[55]

To this letter Dr. Belknap replied from Dover, N. H., in part as follows:

I thank you for the account of King or Saint Tammany, who is a being of about as much importance to your bucks as St. Patrick is to the Hibernians, or St. Cuffee to the Negroes: *i. e.*, he serves to give them a yearly feast; but I dare say his votaries are not content with such fare as St. Tammany himself lived on.[56]

Inasmuch as Hazard was born in 1744, his recollection does not carry the celebration of Saint Tammany's Day back very far, although these festivities may have been held as early as 1752,[57] when Hazard was but eight years old. He is mistaken, however, about the date of Tammany's canonization, for it is clear from the letter of Eddis that Tammany was on the Calendar of Saints at least five years prior to the Declaration of Independence. Many explanations of the canonization of Tammany have been expressed. Mr. Albert Matthews explains the anomaly in the following words:[58]

Clearly, however, the need was felt for some native Saint as an offset to the foreign saints; and the Canonization of Tammany was doubtless a joke on the part of some facetious American. My guess is that the Canonization took place between 1765 and 1771, or, in other words, was a manifestation of that opposition of the British Government which characterized the stormy decade between the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 and the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775.

Another writer states:

The custom of European nations to adopt some Saint as a patron, a relique of the early Monkish times, perhaps gave to an Indian Chief of the Leni Lenâpé (or Delaware) Tribe, the innocent prefixture, which the Mother Church allows only to those who have passed the ordeal of Canonization. Tammany, an Indian Chief, whose abode was one of the beautiful vallies

which now form the neighborhood of Germantown, had distinguished himself by his urbanity and hospitality, his kindness and affection to the early settlers of this city; and many anecdotes are told of him, which would not dishonor the sanctity of those Saints whose names have a day appropriate, a legitimate place, in the Calendar.[59]

Some writers ascribe to John Trumbull the honor of being the first to enroll Tammany on the roster of saints, to check the Tory influence of societies such as St. George, St. Andrew and St. David, whose members were fervent in their loyalty to the King of Great Britain. We find this theory first enunciated in an anonymous work entitled "A Brief Account of the Origin and Progress of the Tammany Society; Who Saint Tammany was, and why the Society derived their Name from him," published in New York in 1838. A paragraph from this work is perhaps the most convincing example of the inaccuracy and confusion of which writers adopting this view were victims. It reads as follows:

A Mr. Trumbull, I believe, at the time, a gentleman of the bar, in Hartford, Con., author of Mr. Fingal's "American Liberty Triumphant, or the Downfall of British Tyranny, and the death of General Montgomery," who contributed as much by his pen, as most others by the sword, in achieving the independence of his country. He saw the object of those royal associations, and to counteract their pernicious influence, and to form a rallying point for the friends of liberty, proposed to form a national society.[60] What should it be called was the question? As most every christian government in Europe had its national patron saint, they concluded to adopt one, and, as they were striving, or looking forward to found an independent American government, they did not wish to borrow a saint, and as modern saints were not held in high repute, they were induced to fix upon an aborigine, who of course must be a true American, and . . . they fixed upon an Indian Chief of the Delaware tribe.

R. G. Horton, writing some twenty years later, accepts this view and gives it the added weight of positive affirmation. In the following sentence he saddles this palpable error on the subsequent course of historical treatment of the subject: "To John Trumbull, the author of the cleverest imitation of Hudibras which has ever been written, it is said, belongs the distinction of first originating the designation of 'St. Tammany.'"[61]

However, a careful examination of the works of Trumbull and his contemporaries of the Connecticut school of poets, "The Hartford Wits,"[62] fails to reveal a single allusion to Saint Tammany. In fact the name seems to have been wholly unfamiliar to New England.[63] Moreover, although Trumbull was the author of "M'Fingal,"[64] a caustic satire on England's oppressive attitude toward the colonies, he was not the author of "Mr. Fingal's American Liberty Triumphant, or the Downfall of British Tyranny, and the death of General Montgomery,"[65] as our anonymous writer so confidently asserts. Nor did he propose to form a national society to counteract the influence of "those royal associations." For the idea of the formation of a national society came long after the formation of the early societies of Saint Tammany, and is plainly traceable to John Pintard, whose effort is discussed in the next chapters. It is clear that the author of this anonymous pamphlet, who states in his preface that he had "only to observe that the author was born in the year 1769," was writing from memory and had confused (he was then 69 years of age) the works of John Trumbull with those of John Leacock;[66] for Leacock was the author of a comedy published at Philadelphia in 1776, entitled "The fall of British Tyranny; or, American Liberty triumphant. The first campaign, a tragi-comedy of five acts, as lately planned at the Royal Theatrum Pandemonium, at St.

James's. The principal place of action in America."[67] On April 30, 1776, a song taken from this comedy appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*,[68] published at Philadelphia. It contained the first reference to Tammany as America's Patron Saint, and, appearing shortly after the first skirmish of battle with Great Britain, became extravagantly popular with the patriots. It was sung at all celebrations of the Tammany Societies,[69] and to its strains the Sons of Tammany marched to their festivals. After its publication the song is mentioned as a part of the ceremonial of almost every celebration in honor of Saint Tammany, and, because of its significant influence upon his national canonization, it is quoted here in full:

THE FIRST OF MAY, A NEW SONG, IN PRAISE OF ST. TAMMANY, THE AMERICAN SAINT.

(*Tune*, The Hounds are all out, &c.[70])

"Of St. George, or St. Bute, let the poet Laureat sing,
Of Pharaoh or Pluto of old,
While he rhimes forth their praise, in false, flattering lays,
I'll sing of St. Tamm'ny the bold, my brave boys.

"Let Hibernia's sons boast, make Patrick their toast,
And Scots Andrew's fame spread abroad,
Potatoes and oats, and Welch leeks for Welch goats,
Was never St. Tammany's food, my brave boys.

"In freedom's bright cause, Tamm'ny pled with applause,
And reason'd most justly from nature;
For this, this was his song, all, the day long;
Liberty's the right of each creature, brave boys.

"Whilst under an oak his great parliament sat,
His throne was the crotch of the tree;
With Solomon's look, without statutes or book,
He wisely sent forth his decree, my brave boys.

" His subjects stood round, not the least noise or sound,
Whilst freedom blaz'd full in each face:
So plain were the laws, and each pleaded his cause;
That might Bute, North and Mansfield disgrace, my brave boys.

" No duties, nor stamps, their blest liberty cramps,
A king, tho' no tyrant, was he;
He did oft'times declare, nay sometimes wou'd swear,
The least of his subjects were free, my brave boys.

" He, a king of the woods, of the rivers and floods,
Had a right all beasts to control;
Yet, content with a few, to give nature her due:
So gen'rous was Tammany's soul! my brave boys.

" In the morn he arose, and a-hunting he goes,
Bold Nimrod his second was he;
For his breakfast he'd take a large venison steak,
And despis'd your flip-flops and tea, my brave boys.

" While all in a row, with squaw, dog and bow,
Vermilion adorning his face,
With feathery head he rang'd the woods wide:
St. George sure had never such grace, my brave boys.

" His jetty black hair, such as Buckskin saints wear,
Perfumed with bear's grease well smear'd,
Which illum'd the saint's face, and ran down apace,
Like the oil from Aaron's old beard, my brave boys.

" The strong nervous deer, with amazing career,
In swiftness he'd fairly run down;
And, like Sampson, wou'd tear wolf, lion or bear.
Ne'er was such a saint as our own, my brave boys.

" When he'd run down a stag, he behind him wou'd lag;
For so noble a soul had he!
He'd stop, tho' he lost it, tradition reports it,
To give him fresh chance to get free, my brave boys.

" From his quiver he drew forth an arrow so keen;
And seiz'd fast his imperial bow;
It flew straight to the heart, like an Israelite dart;
Could St. Andrew ever do so, my brave boys?

" With a mighty strong arm, and a masculine bow,
His arrow he drew to the head,
And as sure as he shot, it was ever his lot,
His prey it fell instantly dead, my brave boys.

" His table he spread where the vension bled,
Be thankful, he used to say;
He'd laugh and he'd sing, tho' a saint and a king,
And sumptuously dine on his prey, my brave boys.

" Then over the hills, o'er the mountains and rills,
He'd caper, such was his delight;
And ne'er in his days, Indian history says,
Did lack a good supper at night, my brave boys.

" On an old stump he sat, without cap or hat,
When supper was ready to eat,
Snap, his dog, he stood by, and cast a sheep's eye;
For ven'son's the king of all meat, my brave boys.

" Like Isaac of old, and both cast in one mold,
Tho' a wigwam was Tamm'ny's cottage,
He lov'd sav'ry meat, such that patriarch eat,
Of ven'son and squirrel made pottage, brave boys.

" When four score years old, as I've oft'times been told,
To doubt it, sure, would not be right,
With pipe in his jaw, he'd buss his old squaw,
And get a young saint ev'ry night, my brave boys.

" As old age came on, he grew blind, deaf and dumb,
Tho' his sport, 'twere hard to keep from it,
Quite tired of life, bid adieu to his wife,
And blaz'd[71] like the tail of a comet, brave boys.

" What country on earth, then, did ever give birth
To such a magnanimous saint?
His acts far excel all that history tell,
And language too feeble to paint, my brave boys.

" Now, to finish my song, a full flowing bowl
I'll quaff, and sing all the long day,
And with punch and wine paint my cheeks for my saint,
And hail ev'ry First of Sweet May, my brave boys.[72]

Painstaking research has failed to reveal an earlier reference to Saint Tammany, as a national figure, and John Leacock is alone entitled to credit for popularizing the Indian chieftain as America's patron saint.[73]

The influence of Saint Tammany and the activities of his votaries subsequent to 1771 are readily followed, but the changes and events of the seventy-three years immediately preceding that date are veiled in mystery. The arrowheads of history, however, indicate that the transformation of the Delaware chieftain into the patron saint of America had origin in Pennsylvania, and that his canonization was not spontaneous, nor was it due to the genius or facetiousness of any individual.

Although the intolerant attitude of the home government toward the American colonies aided in making St. Tammany a popular figure and gave an added impetus to the early movement of the Tammany Societies, it is evident that their development was not solely a manifestation of hostility to British suppression. Careful research reveals that the canonization of Tammany may be traced to the Schuylkill Fishing Company, a society established in 1732 by Quakers of Philadelphia.[74] According to the tradition of this club, certain Indian chiefs, including Tammany, granted to its members and their successors the right to fish and hunt within defined limits in the waters of the

Schuylkill and the adjacent woods. Each year the sporting season opened on May first, which became a day of celebration and festivity to members of the club. The society adopted Tammany as its Patron and Saint, and May first was assigned as his day. On October 11, 1782, when victory for the American colonists seemed assured, the Club, which had become known as the "Colony in Schuylkill," changed its name to the "State in Schuylkill" and adopted new by-laws, among which we note the following:[74] "10th. There shall be the following meetings of the Governor and Council annually. . . . One on the first of May, to commemorate the day of our illustrious Saint and Patron, St. Tammany."

This custom of adopting patrons is of remote origin, practiced among the guilds and trades of ancient Greece and Rome,[75] and, in the Middle Ages, adopted by governments, which denominated Saints of the Church as their patrons. Later societies also selected saints, from whom their ideals were derived, and to whom their activities were dedicated. The Schuylkill Fishing Company, in conformity with this custom, most naturally selected as its patron saint the Indian chief, who, thirty-five years before the Society was organized, inhabited that region, and who sold to William Penn the very ground on which stood the "State House" of the Society. It also adopted as its motto the words said to have been the favorite maxim of the Chief.[76] Following this society, two other fishing clubs[77] were organized on the banks of the Schuylkill prior to the Revolution, and on every first of May the season was opened with much ceremony. As the clubs grew in importance and prestige, their celebrations gained in social splendor and spread through Philadelphia and its vicinity the fame of the original club's saint and patron. Slowly his name found its way into print. From the

meagre data at hand, it would seem that the appellation "Saint" was not generally accepted at Philadelphia until 1773, for in May, 1772, the name, so far as we can learn, first appeared in print in Philadelphia as "King Tammany," [78] when the "Sons of King Tammany" held their first meeting. However, on June 14, 1772, the name appears in the public press as "King (or Saint) Tammany," [79] and by 1773 his claim to canonization was well established, and his right to a place on the Calendar of Saints publicly recognized. On April 28, 1773, the following notice of a meeting of the Sons of Saint Tammany made its appearance: [80]

> The Natives of this flourishing Province determined to follow so laudable a custom, and for some years past have adopted a great warrior sachem and chief named Tammany, a fast friend to our forefathers, to be the tutelar Saint of this Province, and have hitherto, on the 1st of May, done the accustomed honors to the memory of so great and celebrated a personage.

A few days later, May 1, 1773, Miss Sarah Eve, who resided near Philadelphia, made the following note in her journal: [81] "This morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells, in honor of King Tammany, as he was used to be called, but now, I think, they have got him canonized, for he is now celebrated as St. Tammany."

The invitation of April 28, 1773,[80] indicates clearly that Tammany had been known as "Saint" for some years, despite the apparent lack of recognition in the public press, and that he had been unofficially adopted as the tutelar Saint of the Province of Pennsylvania.

After 1765 Philadelphia was the center of heated discussions of England's tyranny, and when the Revolution broke out the Pennsylvania troops quite naturally adopted their Provincial Saint as Patron and Guide.[82] This example was followed by the Continental Army, and dur-

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ing the War the natal day of Saint Tammany was reverently celebrated both at home and on the field. This observance was continued by the army long after the conclusion of War, until discontinued by order of General Dearborn, and then only as a part of the policy of retrenchment instituted by President Jefferson.[83]

The passing of Tammany as a heathen chief and his accession to the dignity of our Patron Saint are marked by progressive steps. He first appears as the patron of a social club in Philadelphia; in 1773 he is the tutelary Saint of the Province of Pennsylvania, and during the Revolution he is Patron and Guide to the Continental Army. In 1773 his canonization was widely recognized, and by the year 1786 the regard for Saint Tammany was so great that he was well established as our National Saint.[84] Between 1773 and 1789, in the process of evolution from the obscurity of a local patron to the dignity of a national figure, his glory and achievements were celebrated in story and song. The annual celebrations of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia were usually graced by the delivery of an ode or poem dedicated to the memory of the Saint and his day.[85] Three poems delivered on these occasions are repeated here, as typical of the eulogies offered in his honor:

CHARACTER OF ST. TAMMANY.[86]

" When superstition's dark and haughty plan
Fetter'd the genius, and debas'd the man,
Each trifling legend was as truth receiv'd;
The priest invented, and the crowd believ'd.
Nations adorn'd the whim in stone and paint,
And gloried in the fabricated saint.
Some holy guardian, hence, each nation claims,
Gay France her Denis, and grave Spain her James;

Britons two mighty saints at once obey;
'Andrew and George maintain united sway';
O'er humbler lands the same old whim prevails;
Ireland her Patrick boasts, her David, Wales.
We, Pennsylvanians, these old tales reject,
And our own saint think proper to elect;
Immortal Tammany, of Indian Race!
Great in the field, and foremost in the chace!
No puny saint was he, with fasting pale;
He climb'd the mountain, and he swept the vale;
Rush'd through the forest with unequalled might;
Your ancient saints would tremble at the sight:
Caught the swift boar, and swifter deer with ease,
And work'd a thousand miracles like these.
To public views he added private ends,
And lov'd his country most, and next his friends;
With courage long he strove to ward the blow
(Courage we all respect, ev'n in a foe);
And when each effort he in vain had tried,
Kindled the flame[86] in which he bravely died!
To Tammany let well-fill'd horns go round;
His fame let ev'ry honest tongue resound.
With him let ev'ry gen'rous patriot vie,
To live in freedom, or with honour die;
Nor shall I think my labor too severe,
Since ye, wise sachems, kindly deign to hear.

ODE FOR SAINT TAMMANY'S DAY, MAY 1ST, 1785.[87]

(Written by Tenxogrondi, a Delaware Chief.)

"Donna makoo makoonos!
Kuikoo donna makoo;
Wawa nekoonos;
Guahee honigee.

(Full Chorus)

" Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

(Recitative)

" To Schuylkill's fair banks let us cheerfully repair,
For pure is the æther, and fragrant the air;
Soft zephyrs shall fan us, and eke thro' the grove,
The genius of Tammany shield us with love,
No foes shall intrude with inquisitive eye,
Our orgies, our dances, our mysteries to spy.

(Air)

" Adieu to your wives,
Come gird on your knives,
Your tomahawks, arrows and bows!
Your bodies besmear,
With oil of the bear,
And look undismay'd on your foes.

(Recitative)

" Kindle up the council fires,
Lo! our Saint the flame inspires,
Whilst we pass the flowing bowl!
Let the smoky volumes roll,
From the calumet and pipe,
Of sweet Peace the welcome type,
Let our Sachems' healths go round,
Beat with nimble foot the ground;
Till the woods and hills reply,
Vocal mirth and symphony.

(Chorus)

" Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

(Recitative)

" Now the hatchet we'll bury, since war is no more,
And peace with rich plenty revisits our shore;
To hunt the fleet stag o'er the mountains we'll run;
In sports we alone will employ the fell gun;
Our fields shall be clothed with gay heavens again,
And friendship will brighten the blood rusted chain;
But should war call us forth then adieu to our glee,
Each shoulders his rifle and takes to his tree.

(Air)

" Hail, Columbia Tutelar!
Tho' thy ashes distant are—
Hid beneath the mountain side,
Or below the rapid tide:
Still thy warlike shade attends,
Smiling on thy filial friends;
Leads their dances, aids their pleasure,
Joys dispensing, without measure.

(Recitative)

" Now each Sachem join hands round the Liberty Pole,
And briskly again pass the heart cheering bowl;
To Washington's mem'ry, the chief of our train,
The full flowing goblet, repeated we'll drain;
Then next to each chieftain, who fought, and who bled,
Let's sing a Requiem and toast him, tho' dead.

(Air)

" For Tammany's holy,
Let's fire a volley,
That hills, woods, and rocks may reply,
We'll found him in powder,
Still louder and louder,
Till echo shall rend the blue sky.

(Chorus)

" Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

(Recitative)

" In volumes of smoke, and in spires of flame,
Our Tutelar flew to the spheres,
He left us his blessing, his weapons, his fame,
And hearts unacquainted with fears.
The shades of our ancestors cluster around,
To welcome our chief from the wars;
With laurels celestial his temples they bound,
Then thron'd him on high midst the stars.

(Air)

" Sound the horns, ye tuneful choirs,
'Tis our Saint the note inspires;
Brace the drums and make them roll,
Martial music charms the soul;
Soon, responsive to the chorus,
Tammany shall stand before us;
On the mossy velvet green,
Smiling on us, tho' unseen.

(Chorus)

" Charge the bowl again with liquor,
Pass it briskly, pass it quicker;
Sachems, warriors, now advance,
From the ring, begin to dance,
Music summons us to pleasure,
Mark the tune, and time the measure,
Full of mirth, and full of glee,
Thus conclude our jubilee.

(Grand Chorus)

" Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

Exeunt Omnes—Indian file.

To Captains

Karafcuta,
Kill Buck,
Corn Stalk,
Turkey Tail, and
Mymna
} Great Sachems and warriors.

ODE FOR SAINT TAMMANY, THIS DAY, MAY, 1787.[88]

" Tammany. *Balance a straw.*

" Once more on Fair Schuylkill we cheerfully meet,
Our Sachems, our warriors, our brethren to greet;
The Great King above, has allow'd us again
To bury the hatchet, and brighten the chain,
Then your hands all my sons—who for freedom have stood,
Who rescued my land at th' expense of your blood:
Such honors in hist'ry's bright annals shall shine,
And I glory to think such bold heroes are mine.

" First Sachem. *Over the bills, &c.*

" Our hearts and hands are always free,
To brave the storm for Tammany;
When he commands, his sons obey,
Over the hills and far away.

Chorus.

" Over the hills, like wind we fly,
To crush the foe, or bravely die;
Our Saint's commands none disobey,
Over the hills and far away.

De Capo—the chorus, the whole.

" Second Sachem. *Peas upon a trencher.*

" To Columbia's glory,
Recorded well in story,
We'll fill the glass,
And let it pass—
Confusion to each Tory!

Chorus repeated.

" Third Sachem. *Once the Gods of the Greek, &c.*

" Push about the brisk glass, 'twill enliven the soul,
'Tis the wine that absorbs all dull thinking;
Ev'n Cupid himself must give way to the bowl,
For his wounds are all caus'd by good drinking.

Chorus.

" For 'tis wine, generous wine, that all sorrow destroys,
And routs our vexations and care:
The bottle was always a fountain of joy,
That wash'd off the dregs of despair.

Chorus repeated.

" Fourth Sachem. *The Black rogue.*

" Sing guahee honigee—honigee makoonos,
Siskee anarichee, saturana waa;
Oroonyagh makoonos, satira nekoonos,
Sangua taverana kenan anungara.

Chorus.

" Drink round, drink round, each sachem and brother,
Drink round, drink round, and heed what I say!
A day like this, you'll ne'er find another,
So let us be cheerful, brisk, merry and gay.

Chorus repeated.

" Tammany. *Vaudeville—Balance a straw.*

" Farewell ye fair banks, and ye fresh blooming trees,
Soft scenes of rich plenty and sweet smiling ease;
Again I return to the regions above,
And leave you my blessing, my wisdom, my love.

Guard your rights while you live, with your swords and your guns,
And may they descend, unalloy'd to our sons!
While Sol on this day shall propitiously shine
Be Peace, Independence and Liberty—thine.

Four last lines repeated.

4. *Sources of Legendary.*

Most of the legends of this chief and his remarkable performances obtained currency through two sources: (1) an oration delivered by Samuel L. Mitchill before the Tammany Society or Columbian Order in the City of New York on May 12, 1795; and (2) the reports of missionaries among the Delaware Indians, as exemplified by John G. B. Heckewelder, a Moravian.

Mitchill[89] gives in his oration a stirring account of Tammany as warrior, hunter, lawgiver, diplomat, doctor, farmer and peacemaker, and describes in harrowing detail a sanguinary conflict between Tammany and the Evil Spirit, from which the chief at length emerges victorious. Finally, the orator tells us, Tammany, too old to rule, abdicated in favor of a younger man, and some years afterward was laid to rest near Muskingum, Ohio, where a great mound of earth was erected over his grave.

In 1809 William L. Marcy delivered an oration entitled "A traditional account of the life of Tammany, an Indian Chief," before the Tammany Society of Troy, New York.[90] While Marcy states that he derived his informa-

tion "from the uncertain light of tradition, which often bewilders the most inquisitive reseaches, by the apparent inconsistency of facts and seeming irreconciliations of chronology," a glance at the work shows that it is based entirely on Mitchill's oration, although presented from a different point of view.

Subsequent writers dealing with Tammany have fallen into the serious error of assuming that Mitchill intended to give an authentic life of Tammany, and they have freely followed his lead. In a letter dated August 9, 1811, Mitchill, however, made known that the work was a creation of the imagination, and not intended to be taken seriously. This letter, which was addressed to B. F. Thompson, the historian of Long Island, has been preserved, and reads as follows:[91]

New York, Aug. 9, 1811.

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your ingenious and patriotic oration to the Columbian Order, for our last National New Year's Day. I shall preserve it among the mementoes of my valued acquaintance.

If I can find any where a copy of my long talk on the life, exploits, and precepts of Tammany, I will certainly send it to you. The only copy that I have is bound up with various other pamphlets, and very inconvenient to be sent abroad. It is a large octavo volume. The society gave the orator but a few copies; and they were begged away by parents who wished to read to their children, the advice given by Tammany to the tribes of his people. But the printer, who published it, is since dead; and I know not who purchased his stock. I wish, with all my heart, I could get a copy for you.

It was a sportive thing, done during a time when I had inflamed eyes, and could not bear the light; at a period, too, when political fervor was very hot, just when Mr. Jay had succeeded in his election as Governor of the State. I intended

the composition to be a sort of moral romance; yet what was my surprise to find it considered by both political parties a deep Political Allegory! The Democrats on one side and the Federalists on the other, discovered manifold meanings that had never occurred to me, and their respective significations were as opposite as their ways of thinking.

One thing remarkable grew out of my Tammanial address. A copy by some means fell into the hands of the Earl of Buchan. He presented it to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries; and I shortly after received a certificate from Edinburgh, of having been elected a member. So much for our fetich Saint and Sage. It will be gratifying to me to receive your essay on Tobacco; though I am somewhat of a smoker of cigars myself. I am satisfied I shall read it with satisfaction, although Sir J. Sinclair has proved that the moderate use of it does not shorten life an hour. Truly and with much esteem,

Yours,

SAM'L L. MITCHILL.

The influence of the early missionaries and their reports upon the history and traditions of Tammany may be dismissed with the consideration of the works of their leading commentator, Heckewelder. Heckewelder, long a missionary among the Delawares, was strongly prejudiced in their favor, and unconsciously colored many of their traditions. He had only a speaking knowledge of the Delaware mission dialect, and many of his conjectural interpretations of their customs fell wide of the mark.[92] He taught at the Moravian Missions at Friedenhütten and Sheshequin, Pennsylvania, from 1765 to 1771, and then, becoming an Evangelist, went with David Zeisberger among the Delawares in Ohio. Upon his return to Bethlehem, Pa., in 1810, he devoted his time to literary pursuits, and in 1819 published his work on the Delaware Indians. This work

contains the following lofty estimate of the Delaware Sachem:[98]

The name of Tamanend is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the Chiefs and great men which the Lenâpé Nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his history is known. The misfortunes which have befallen some of the most beloved and esteemed personages among the Indians since the Europeans came among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues. No white man who regards their feelings will introduce such subjects in conversation with them.

All we know, therefore, of Tamanend, is that he was an ancient Delaware Chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short, with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the Great and Good Spirit; for he was a stranger to everything that is bad.

When Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton in New Jersey, was about the year 1776, sent by Congress as an agent to the Western Indians, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamanend, in honor and remembrance of their ancient Chief, and as the greatest mark of respect which they could show to that gentleman, who they said had the same address, affability and meekness as their honored chief, and therefore ought to be named after him.

The name of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous. In the Revolutionary War his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a Saint, and he was established under the name of St. Tammany, the Patron Saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars, and his festival celebrated on the first day of May in every year.

Heckewelder was in Ohio at the time "The Prophet,"[94] the Shawanese agitator, was in the zenith of his power. The influence of the Prophet was strong among the Delawares, who were at that time the friends and allies of the Shawanese, and they doubtless related to Heckewelder stories concerning this remarkable contemporary. The inaccuracy of Heckewelder's commentaries is exhibited by his mistake concerning so intimate a fact as the identity of the Prophet,[95] whom the commentator mistook for the Prophet's brother, Tecumseh. That Heckewelder confused the stories related about the Prophet, with legends associated with the name of Tammany, is apparent from his account of an alleged tradition that Tammany had intercourse with the Great Spirit. This was the cardinal pretension of the Prophet, according to so reliable an authority as Thomas Jefferson. We quote from a letter written by Jefferson to John Adams:[96]

Monticello, April 12, 1812.

Dear Sir:

. . . The Wabash Prophet is more rogue than fool, if to be a rogue is not the greatest of all follies.

He rose to notice while I was in the administration, and became, of course, a proper subject for me. The inquiry was made with diligence. His declared object was the reformation of his red brethren, and their return to their pristine manner of living. He pretended to be in *constant communication with the Great Spirit,* that he was instructed by him to make known to the Indians that they were created by him distinct from the whites, of different natures for different purposes, and placed under different circumstances adapted to their Natures and destinies; that they must return from all the ways of the whites, to the habits and opinions of their fore-fathers.

Another influence upon the growth of these traditions may be found in the subserviency of the Delawares to the

Iroquois Confederacy, for it is more than probable that in recognizing the powerful suzerainty of their overlords, the Delawares adopted and perhaps confused with their own the legends and traditions of the Iroquois. At the time William Penn arrived in America, the Delawares were completely under the influence of the Five Nations. At a council held in Philadelphia on July 6, 1694, Hithquoquean, speaking for the Delawares, acknowledged their humiliating subjection in a few words: "We have allways been a peacable people, and resolving to live so, and being but week and verie few in numbers, cannot assist you."[97] At this time the Delawares were rapidly declining in strength and spirit, and doubtless absorbed the traditions and institutions of the Iroquois. It is probable, therefore, that the traditions of the Iroquois came to be considered a part of the history of the Delawares. Thus it is likely that the exploits of the great Hiawatha have been unjustly ascribed to Tammany, and that the missionaries and even the Delawares themselves in later years[98] perpetuated this confusion. The traditions that are credited to Tammany closely correspond with stories of the achievements of Hiawatha. Hiawatha was a warrior, a lawgiver, a reformer and a diplomat, and aimed to bring universal peace and contentment to the American Indian, a purpose credited to both Tamenends in the Walam Olum. By his genius, perseverance and tact, he succeeded in uniting the various Indian tribes that were constantly at war with one another, and in establishing a Confederacy of Nations that was America's first great political organization. His influence shaped the history of the American continent, for the Iroquois Confederacy, the creation of his genius, was the bulwark against which the southward trend of French ambition for a colonial empire was shattered and spent. This made possible the American Union.

In contrast to this remarkable figure, Tammany stands as a mere name, leaving no memorial of epoch-making accomplishment or institution of permanence among his people. Through the arbitrary selection of his name by writers of romance, and through the blunders and confusion of the early missionaries, and perhaps of the Delawares themselves, the glory and the fame of right belonging to the talented Hiawatha have been attributed to Tammany.[99] The real Tammany, it must be concluded, was a chief of ordinary attainments, who made little impression on his white contemporaries, and whose conduct in no wise influenced the history of the land in which he lived. His notable virtues and fancied deeds are wholly incongruous with his recorded characteristics and achievements, and the eager veneration bestowed upon this pagan saint finds no warrant either in historic fact or in relevant legendary to any extent commensurate with the dignity and grandeur of his fame.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1. The word "Amerind" is a composite of the words *American* and *Indian* to denote all the Indians on the American hemisphere as distinguished from the natives of India and elsewhere. It was adapted by the well-known explorer and anthropologist, Major John W. Powell, founder and one-time director of the United States Bureau of Ethnology; other ethnologists have since made use of the word, believing it to be "correct, convenient and comprehensively expressive." See A History of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania (Wilkes-Barre, Penna., 1909), by Oscar Jewell Harvey, I:78.

2. The name of Hiawatha is made famous in our literature by Longfellow in his poem "The Song of Hiawatha." Longfellow based his poem on the distortion of the legend of Hiawatha, by Schoolcraft who, in his usual unreliable way, confused Hiawatha with Manabozho, a fantastic deity of the Ojibways; and thus by an historian's lack of scholarship, and the errors of a poet, "a grave Iroquois lawgiver of the fifteenth century has become in modern literature an Ojibway demigod." The Term Indian Summer (Boston, 1902), by Albert Matthews, p. 46. See Note 4.

3. A biographical sketch of St. Tammany or a monograph on the Tammany Societies would be incomplete without a brief reference to the Delaware Indians and their traditions. The first white settlers in Pennsylvania found the eastern part occupied by the Lenni-Lenâpé or Delaware Indians, the most numerous, powerful and exalted tribe of the eastern Algonquin confederacy and to whom special dignity and authority were assigned. Forty tribes, it is said, respected their command. The Delawares took first place as the "grandfathers" of the Algonquin family, and the associated tribes were called "children," "nephews," and "grandchildren." The proper tribal name of these Indians was and still is Lenâpé; they called

themselves Lenni-Lenâpé, meaning "true or manly men." The phrase, however, has been variously translated as "our men," "males of our kind," "Indian men," "the original or pure Indian," "the Indians of our tribe or nation," "people of the same nation," "men of our nation," "original or pure people," and "original people." As early as 1694, the name "Delaware" was applied to them, and by 1715 the appellation had become firmly affixed. Heckewelder, in his History of the Indian Nations, says that he will remembers when "they [the Lenâpé] thought the whites had given the name 'Delaware' in derision; but they were reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great White Chief, Lord de La Warre. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it a compliment."

The Lenâpé lived on the banks of the Delaware River in detached tribes under different sachems and occupied the entire valley from its source to its mouth, extending westward to the territory of the Susquehannock, and eastward over the entire area of New Jersey to the Hudson River. The "Nation," as the tribe was called, was divided into three clans or totems, each having its totemic symbol or device, through which it claimed a mystic descent: (1) The Minsi, Monsey, Munsee, Montheys, or Minisink, "The people of the stoney country" or "mountaineers," whose totemic sign or device was the wolf. They lived in the mountainous region at the headwaters of the Delaware, above the forks or junction of the Lehigh River. Their hunting ground swept over lands now embraced in three states, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and in the Minisink Plains a short distance above the Delaware Water Gap their principal fire was located. They were the most vigorous and warlike of the Lenâpé and excelled the other totems in numbers. (2) The Unami, Wonamey or Wanamie, "the people down the river," whose totemic sign or device was the turtle or tortoise. They occupied the territory on the right bank of the Delaware, extending southward from the Lehigh Valley. This totem en-

joyed a position of great dignity among the Lenâpé, for they shared with people of the old world the myth that a great tortoise, first of all created beings, bore the earth upon its back. Thus by their totem the Unami had precedence, and in time of peace their sachem or chief, wearing a diamond-marked wampum belt, was chief of the whole tribe. (3) The Unalachtigo, "people who live near the ocean" or "the tide-water people," whose totemic sign or device was the turkey. This tribe had its principal seat on the affluents of the Delaware River near the present site of the City of Wilmington.

This proud and powerful nation once held undisputed sway over the eastern part of the American Continent, but some time prior to 1694 they were conquered by the Iroquois Confederacy, or Five Nations, and reduced to a humiliating condition of political vassalage known as "women." In this state of subjection they occupied the unenviable position of non-combatants, were denied the privileges of bearing arms and engaging in warfare, and were under the constant supervision of the Five Nations, who looked upon them with the utmost contempt. Although the exact date of their subjugation is unknown, various dates ranging from 1609 to 1725 have been suggested; the minutes of a meeting of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, held on July 6, 1694, clearly indicate, however, that at that time the Delawares were under the domination of the Iroquois. The startling success of the Five Nations in their bitter struggle with the Delawares is readily traceable to the introduction of firearms among the Iroquois tribes, who dealt with the followers of Champlain and with the Dutch settlers in the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys.

In 1683 the tribe was already on the decline, its number in Pennsylvania being estimated at two thousand; the encroachment of the whites gradually forced the Delawares westward, first to the Wyoming valley, then to western Pennsylvania, and later to Ohio. From Ohio some migrated to Canada, while the main body removed to Indiana, thence to Missouri and later to Kansas; and in 1866 the remnant settled in Indian Territory, where they now share a reservation

with the Cherokee Nation. Here the tribal bonds are slowly dissolving and the tribe is gradually losing its identity.

See: Harvey as cited, I:78 *et seq.* The Lenâpé and their Legends; with the complete Text and Symbols of the Walam Olum (Phila., 1885), by Daniel G. Brinton; The Indians of New Jersey; Their Origin and Development (Paterson, N. J., 1894), by William Nelson; A History of the Delaware Indians (Printed by Congress, 1906), by Richard C. Adams; Report on Indians, taxed, and Indians not taxed, in the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890 (Government Printing Office, 1894); Pennsylvania Colonial Records: I:447, II:469, 510, 546, 557, 559, 599, 603, vi:697, vii:47.66; Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, XI:230, 299, 300; The Disease of the Scythians (Morbus Feminarum) and Certain Analogous Conditions (New York, 1882), by William A. Hammond; an Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States (Phila., 1819), by John G. B. Heckewelder.

4. The Iroquois, "an island in the great ocean of the Algonquin tribes," occupied central and western New York. The confederacy was made up of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas and Cayugas, and was organized about the middle of the 15th century. The founder of the league was Hi-a-watha (Da-ga-no-we-da), chief of the Onondaga Nation, "who was the incarnation of wisdom" and "whose power was equal to his intelligence." He long beheld with grief the evils that befell the Indian tribes through continual wars and accordingly elaborated a scheme for a vast confederation of Indian nations to insure universal peace. With a view to the realization of this ideal, he invited the chiefs and wise men of the five tribes to a peace conference on the northern shore of Lake Onondaga to discuss the terms and conditions of the compact that was to control their future destinies. After days of debate and deliberation, the confederacy of the Five Nations was formed and its first council-fire kindled. The federation was remarkable in construction and ideals and included in its scope the establishment of peace and

amity among all tribes of men. To quote the historian Lossing: "The Iroquois Confederacy was a marvel, all things considered . . . and a practical example of an almost pure democracy most remarkably developed." In 1729 the Tuscaroras, who had migrated northward from the Carolinas, were admitted as the sixth member of the league. Spurred on by a thirst for military glory and conquest, the Iroquois subdued all the Indian tribes from the Hudson to the Mississippi and from the great lakes to the Carolinas, enjoying at the time of the discovery of America a complete hegemony over this vast empire.

See: Harvey as cited, I:107 *et seq.;* League of the Iroquois (Rochester, N. Y., 1851), by Lewis H. Morgan; Iroquois Book of Rites (Phila., 1883), by Horatio Hale; Our Barbarian Brethren, by Benson J. Lossing in Harper's Magazine, XL:804; Francis W. Halsey in the New York *Times Saturday Review,* June 7, 1902; History of the Five Indian Nations (London, 1755), by Cadwallader Colden.

5. Tammany has been referred to in several works as America's untutored Crichton (History of Tammany Hall, by Harmon C. Westervelt, MS. in New York Public Library. The significance of this comparison, however, is not easy to divine, for the Crichton referred to undoubtedly was James Crichton, a Scotch scholar, linguist and poet, so skilled in dialectic and so amiable in character, that he became famed throughout Europe as the Admirable Crichton. He was the son of Robert Crichton, Lord Advocate of Scotland under Mary and James VI., and was born at Eliock, Dumfriesshire, in 1560. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from St. Salvator's College, St. Andrew's, in 1574, and the degree of Master of Arts in 1575. So talented was he, and so wonderful was his memory, that he attracted attention wherever he appeared by the extent and charm of his erudition. In his travels on the Continent he met the Prince of Mantua, Vincenzo di Gorgaza, to whom he became companion and preceptor. On July 3, 1582, when only 22 years of age, he died at the hands of his pupil, the Prince, in a street brawl. The brilliance and popularity

of the youthful scholar became his undoing, for the Prince, inflamed by jealousy, plotted Crichton's destruction and, disguised as a brigand, stabbed him to death. The alleged parallel between this intellectual prodigy and our aboriginal hero is not to be found in the reputed attributes of the two characters.

See: Life of Crichton, by P. F. Tytler.

Discovery of a Most Exquisite Jewel, by Sir Thomas Urquhart.

The death of the Admirable Crichton, by Andrew Lang, *Morning Post,* London, February 25, 1910.

Crichton, A Novel, by W. Harrison Ainsworth.

Notices of Sir Robert Crichton of Cluny and his son James, by John Stuart, Pro. Soc. of Antiquaries, of Scotland, Vol. II (1885), pp. 103-118.

Mr. Douglas Crichton in Pro. Soc. of Antiquaries, of Scotland, 1909.

6. Much difficulty is experienced in fixing the orthography of Indian names. Since the Indians themselves had little or no written language, accuracy in repetition was not assured by a fixed spelling, and the early settlers, who first transposed the names into their respective languages, were not endowed with those qualities incident to careful scholarship, which alone could have produced reasonably accurate interpretation of the Indian words. Moreover, it must be remembered that many times the same name comes to us through the media of different languages. Thus we may have an Indian name as it impressed the Dutch, the French, the Swedish, and the English settlers. And there is small wonder that we often fail to recognize a name in its various guises as the same appellation. The confusion is further heightened by the fact that Indian sachems frequently changed their names to fit especial occasions and by the carelessness of early writers in failing to recognize this custom.

The name Tammany has appeared in various forms: in the body of the deed dated June 23, 1683 (see note 7), it takes the form "Tamanen," while the mark affixed to the

indenture is described as that of "Tammanens." In the joint deed given by Tammany and Metamequan on the same day, the name is spelled "Tamanen" and the description of the mark is "Tamnen." And William Penn in his own handwriting made the following endorsement on the back of the instrument: "Metamequam's and *Tamanan's* conveyance to Proprietor and Governor" (Penna. Archives, First Series, I:65). On August 16, 1683, William Penn spelled the name "Tamene" (Works of Wm. Penn, London, 1782, IV:305). This despite the different interpretation of the name in the body of the joint deed of June 23, 1683, and his own use of the word as "Tamanan," in the endorsement on its back. In the deed dated June 15, 1692, the name is spelled "Taminent" (see note 11), while at a Council held in Philadelphia on July 6, 1694, the name is recorded in the minutes as "Tamanee" (see note 12). In the body of the deed dated July 5, 1697, the name appears as "Taminy" (see note 13). Francis von A. Cabeen, in his article on the "Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia" (Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXV:436), in speaking of this deed says: "He [Tammany] is described in the deed . . . as the great sachem *Tamaniens*." This is obviously an error on the part of Cabeen, for in none of the deeds signed by Tammany does his name appear in the form "Tamaniens."

In 1698 Gabriel Thomas wrote the name as "Temeny," and on December 24, 1771, the name appears as "Tamina" (see note 16). Since 1772 the name has been variously written as "Tamine" (History of Philadelphia, by Scharf and Westcott, Vol. I:38), "Taimenend," "Tamend," "Teamonand" (MS. correspondence of Colonel George Morgan in the Library of Congress), "Tamanend," "Tamenund," "Temania" (Mrs. Sarah D. Mowry: Proceedings of the Delaware County, Penna., Historical Society, I:77-80, "Tamenend," "Tamanend," History of the Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations (Phila., 1819), by John G. B. Heckewelder, p. 300, "Temend" and "Tamany" (The Lenâpé and their Legends, by D. G. Brinton, pp. 41, 117, 251), "Tamenay" (The Last of

the Mohicans, Boston, 1876, by James Fenimore Cooper, p. 350), and finally we have it in its present form, "Tammany."

Heckewelder spells the name "Tamanend" and gives its significance as "Affable." John D. Prince, Professor of Semitic Languages, at Columbia University, however, differs from Heckewelder, and in a letter to the author, dated August 10, 1910, says: "Tammany was in its original form *Tamenend* or *Tamenund,* the vowels being rather indeterminate in Delaware, and consequently *a, e,* or *u,* being practically equivalent to a short *u*-pronunciation. The meaning is given by Heckewelder as 'affable,' but I fail to see how this can be so, as he evidently connects the word with the Delaware word for Beaver, 'tamakwi,' and translates it 'beaver-like,' and construes this to mean 'affable.' There is an Algonquin stem which appears in the Natick (Mass.) kindred dialect to Delaware, as *tummuhouau* 'he is worthy, deserving,' the same stem appearing in the word *kut-tamhouan-ganooash* 'your deserts' and also in the form *at-tumunnum* 'he receives, deserves it.' I believe that the Delaware *Tamenend, Tamenund, Temenend* is a participial form ending in *-nt,* the regular ending in Delaware, from the stem *tame* 'deserve' or 'receive,' and that the name means 'the deserving' or 'worthy one,' a very appropriate designation for an Indian chief of the importance of the original Tammany."

Tammany as a Proper Name.

I. As a Gens or Family Name.

Directory of the City of New York:
1801-1802: John Tameney.
1850-1851: John Taminey; Francis Tammany.
1852-1853: Francis Tammony.
1854-1855: Michael Tamany.
1866: Ferdinand Tamhayne; Patrick Tamney.
1903: Peter F. Tamoney.
1865-1913: Tammany.

The pension rolls of the United States show the names:

(1) Joseph Tammany, born in Tyrone, Ireland, November 1, 1839, now residing in South Norwalk, Conn. Query: How did "Tammany" become a family name in Ireland as early as 1839?

(2) James Tammany, born at Harrisburg, Penna., August 11, 1844, now residing at Cleveland, Minn.

II. As a Place Name.

Tamenend, Schuyler County, Penna.

Tamanend, Rush Township, Schuylkill County, Penna.

Tammanytown, Juniata County, Penna.

Tammany, Mecklenburg, Penna.

Tammany Hill, Newport, Rhode Island.

Mount Tammany, Williamsport, Maryland.

Mount Tammany, New Jersey (opposite Delaware Water Gap).

St. Tammany Parish, Covington County, Louisiana.

St. Tammany, Louisiana ("The origin of the name there is due to the fact that a great number of Indians lived in the Parish at the time it was organized."—New Orleans *Democrat*, August, 1910. We venture to say, however, that the origin may be traced to the migration of a band of Delaware Indians to upper Louisiana, now Missouri, in 1697, or to the suggestion of John Pintard, who, prior to the Louisiana purchase, visited that region and made an extended report to Thomas Jefferson).

St. Tammany Flats, St. Tammany School, Damascus Township, Wayne County, Penna.

Fort Saint Tammany, an early fort, St. Mary's, Camden County, Georgia.

Tammany Street (later changed to Buttonwood), Philadelphia, Penna.

"There are no forts, places, towns, etc., under this name in this department."—Department of the Interior, U. S., November 30, 1910; War Department, U. S., November 28, 1910.

"The frontier forts of Pennsylvania and the Colonial Records do not mention a fort named Tammany."—Letter dated December 5, 1910, from T. L. Montgomery, Pennsylvania State Librarian.

"The records of this office do not show that there are at this time or ever have been any post offices or stations of the name of Tammany. There is, however, a post office named Saint Tammany in St. Tammany Parish, La."—Letter dated December 3, 1910, from U. S. Postmaster-General.

III. As the Title of Publications.

St. Tammany Farmer, a newspaper published, 1913, at Covington, Parish of St. Tammany, La.

St. Tammany Magazine, New York City, 1821-1823.

Tammany Times, a weekly paper, New York City, 1893 to date.

Father Tammany's Almanack, Phila., 1786-1812.

New St. Tammany's Almanac, Phila., 1819-1824.

IV. As the Name of Clubs, Corporations and Associations.

St. Tammany Fire Company, Philadelphia, Penna., 1784.

St. Tammany Fishing Club, Philadelphia, Penna.

St. Tammany Water Works, New Orleans, La., 1887.

St. Tammany Club (May Party Club, Jersey City, N. J.), *Evening Journal*, May, 1908.

St. Tammany Lodge, No. 83, Order of Freemasons, Acklake (now Milanville), Wayne Co., Penna., June 24, 1800-August 2, 1828.

St. Tammany Circuit, Methodist-Episcopal Church, Acklake, Galilee and Conklin Hill, Wayne Co., Penna., 1800.

St. Tammany Lodge, No. 2139, Knights of Honor, Callicoon, New York, April 3, 1880.

St. Tammany Chapter No. 492, Order of the Eastern Star, Callicoon, New York, organized 1910, installed November 9, 1911.

Tammany Club, Boston, Mass., 1910.

Tammanee Social Club (colored), Jersey City, N. J., 1912.

Tammany Publishing Co., New York City, 1913.

V. As the Name of Vessels, Inns, Hotels and Places of Amusement.

Brig King Tammany, July 5, 1786.

Ship St. Tammany, James River, Va., May 5, 1779.

St. Tammany's Wigwam, inn kept by George Sorell, 1786, Philadelphia, Penna.

Sign of St. Tammany, inn kept by John Barker, 1785, Philadelphia, Penna.

Tammany Theatre (The Alhambra Palace), Irving Place and 14th Street, New York City.

Tammany Hotel, 133 Eighth Avenue, New York City; Tammany Hotel, part of Tammany Hall prior to 1865.

Tamney House, New Paltz, N. Y., 1912.

Tammany Hall, New York City, 1815 to date.

VI. As the Name of a Race Horse.

Tammany, a race horse, owned by Marcus Daly, 1892.

VII. References to Tammany as a Proper Name.

Brackenridge, H. M., "Views of Louisiana" (Baltimore, 1817), p. 28.

Buck, Wm. J., "Tammany," Doylestown (Penna.) *Democrat,* May 6, 1856.

Cabeen, Francis von A. The Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia, Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXV:453, *et seq.*

Curtis, Charles T., "St. Tammany at Cochecton," *Sullivan County Democrat,* Cochecton, New York, February 25, 1913.

Freeman's *Journal,* Philadelphia, September 29, 3/1, 1784.

Goodrich, Phineas G. "History of Wayne County, Penna." (Honesdale, Penna., 1880).

Jersey City (N. J.) *Evening Journal,* May, 1908.

Kilroe, R. Anna J., "Tamanend or St. Tammany in Wayne

County; A Myth of our County History," *Wayne Independent,* Honesdale, Penna., November 22, 1911.

Louisiana Statutes, April 14, 1811. Act establishing Parish of St. Tammany; March 25, 1813. Act establishing a seat of Justice in Parish of St. Tammany.

Massachusetts Centinel, July 5, 1786.

Mathews, Alfred. "History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties, Penna." (Phila., 1886), p. 4.

Mercer, Henry G. "The Grave of Tamanend." Magazine of American History, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, March, 1893, pp. 255-261; Bucks County (Penna.) Historical Society papers, II., 58-66.

Mowry, Mrs. Sarah D. "Temanend, Chief of the Lenni-Lenâpés." Bucks County (Penna.) Historical Society papers, II:558-594; "The Patron Saint of the American Revolution." Proceedings of the Delaware County (Penna.) Historical Society, I:77-80.

New Jersey Gazette, May 5, 1779.

New Orleans *Democrat,* Aug., 1910.

New York City Directory, 1801-1913.

New York City Telephone Directory, 1894-1913.

New York *Herald,* July 3, 18/1, 1892.

Penna. Law Reports, 158:545.

Philadelphia City Directory, 1785.

Quinlan, James E., "History of Sullivan County, New York" (Liberty, N. Y., 1873), pp. 104, 183, 205.

Scharf, Thomas J., "History of Delaware" (Phila., 1888), I:21.

Sullivan County Democrat (Callicoon, New York), November 4, 1911.

United States Supreme Court Reports, 120:64.

Watts (Penna.) Law Reports, 9:353.

Wayne Independent (Honesdale, Penna.), Sept. 18, 1912.

Westcott Thompson and Thomas J. Scharf, "History of Philadelphia" (Phila., 1884), I:38.

7. Pennsylvania Archives (First Series), I:62.

8. *Ibid.,* p. 64.

9. *Ibid.,* p. 65.

10. Select Works of Wm. Penn (London, 1782), IV:305.
11. Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, I:116.
12. Pennsylvania Colonial Records, I:447.
13. Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, I:124. This deed was dated July 5, 1697, and was acknowledged on July 6, 1697. Cabeen (as cited, p. 435), says: "In this deed he was designated as the Great Sachem Taminent . . . We see that between the first record that we have of him in 1683 and the last in 1697, he must have impressed himself strongly upon not only the community, but also upon the officials of the provincial government, for in the last account he is described in the deed, which of course was written by the English, as the Great Sachem Tamaniens, and no other Indian is so described; so to have acquired the right to such a title he must have had a large part of the attributes described to him." Cabeen, however, cites no authority for this statement and perhaps bases it on the erroneous idea that "sachimack" implies a higher title than "sachem." "Sachimack," a form peculiar to the Delaware Indians, is one of the various forms in which the word "sachem" is found in the early writings. In fact, the form appears in the first deed from the Delaware Indians to William Penn, dated July 15, 1682 (Penna. Archives, First Series, I:47). Cabeen's statement that "no other Indian is so described" is true if it applies only to the deed of July 5, 1697; if, however, the statement means that Tammany was the only Indian ever described as "sachimack," and that the term means Great Sachem, he falls into serious error; for it is a well-established fact that the form "Sachimack" was frequently used by the English in Pennsylvania until the year 1700, and that after that date the form "Sachem" is commonly found. The latter form was also in use between 1690 and 1694. (Penna. Archives, I:46-49, 65-66, 92, 95, 133, 134; Penna. Colonial Records, I:334, 448, 453.) It is not unlikely, however, that Cabeen relies on the following sentence from Sherman Day (Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania, p. 299, note 5): "In 1697, he by the name of Great Sachem Taminent with his brother and sons signed

another deed for lands between Pemmopeck and Neshaminy Creeks"; or he may have given credence to Wm. J. Buck, who in an article in the Doylestown, Pa., *Democrat*, May 6, 1856, entitled "Tammany," states, "From the purchase of 1697, as just mentioned, the conveyance is endorsed from the Great Sachem Taminent, by which it is evident that he was superior to any of the others." Both statements are palpably untrue; for in none of the deeds to William Penn, either in the body of the instrument or in the endorsement on it, is Tammany described as Great Sachem; in the deed of June 15, 1692, he affixed his mark as King "Taminent." The deed bears the endorsement "Indians conveyance of all the Land between Nashaminah & Poquessing (Penna. Archives, First Series, I:116). In the deed of July 5, 1697, Tammany affixed his mark as King *Tamany* and the instrument is endorsed: "Deed, Tamany and his Brother and Sons to Governor Penn, for Lands between Pemmapeck & Neshamineh" (Penna. Archives, First Series, I:125.

14. Penna. Archives, First Series, I:47.

15. Ancient Society (New York, 1878), by Lewis H. Morgan, p. 530.

16. A historical and geographical account of the Province and County of Pennsylvania and of West New Jersey in America (London, 1698), by Gabriel Thomas, p. 15.

17. A portrait of Tammany was conspicuously displayed by the Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany of Philadelphia at all its later celebrations. On May 1, 1783, "the portraiture of our true old saint with this well known motto 'Kawanio chee Keteru'" was displayed at the head of the banquet cabin; and at the celebration of May 1, 1785, "the flag of the United States ornamented with a fine figure of St. Tammany drawn by Mr. Wright was displayed in the centre," and at the reception tendered to Cornplanter, April, 1786, "On the arrival of the Chief at the Wigwam, a salute of cannon was given by the Sachems and the Colours of the State and Saint Tammany with the Dutch and French standards, and the Buck Flag, were immediately displayed . . . the Indian Chief

. . . pointing to the portrait of St. Tammany on the Colors." A few weeks later at the annual celebration held on May 1, 1786, " The standard of St. Tammany was displayed, supported on the right by the flag of France, and on the left by that of the United States of Holland. At the same time the Buck flag was displayed at the council chambers." The Buck's flag was the flag of a volunteer military company that usually attended the feasts of the Sons of St. Tammany. This display of the portrait of St. Tammany on the National and on the Society's colors may have given rise to the tradition that during the Revolution the Pennsylvania troops carried a flag that bore the portrait of St. Tammany. In 1821 a bust of Saint Tammany was adopted for the figure-head of the ship-of-the-line Delaware that plied on the upper Susquehanna River. See Freeman's *Journal,* May 3, 1783; May 2, 1785; *Independent,* April 22, 1786; *Penna. Evening Herald,* May 6, 1786; *Wyoming Herald* (Wilkes-Barre, Penna.), February 9, 1821.

18. A Brief Account of the Origin and Progress of the Tammany Society (New York, 1838), p. 1. While this statement is attributed to Penn, a careful examination of Penn's accessible works fails to locate the quotation.

19. " The Last of the Mohicans," by J. Fenimore Cooper (New York, 1850), II. Chap. 28: " I am Tamanend of many days," says the chief in the story, to emphasize the author's idea of the great age of Tammany, and the phrase has been copied by subsequent writers as part of an authentic soliloquy.

20. Harvey as cited, I:40, 113.

21. Penna. Colonial and Federal, I:286. Voltaire said of this treaty that it " was the only treaty ever made without an oath and the only one kept inviolate." Sherman Day, as cited, pp. 299-300.

22. At this meeting Tammany is said to have given Wm. Penn a wampum belt of peace, which is still preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (Harvey as cited, I:113.) And to commemorate the event Penn is said to have placed three white balls on his coat of arms to represent the three

dumplings which Tammany cooked for him under the Great Elm at the conclusion of the Conference (The Grave of Tamanend, by Henry C. Mercer, Bucks County, Penna., Historical Society Papers, II:63).

23. Letter to the author, dated March 10, 1909, in which Mr. Adams writes: "There is very little outside of Heckewelder's reports that I have found in print regarding 'Tamanend.' Our people, the Delaware Indians, however, have many traditions regarding him. He was sachem of the Delawares and is supposed to have lived about the place where Wilmington now stands early in the sixteenth century. He was highly reverenced by the Delawares and others who knew him. He is credited with having saved Manhattan and New York City from the English invasion by his warning the New York Indians who were camping on the upper end of Long Island at the time the attack was made. Although he took no part in this attack, his warning to the New York Indians was sufficient to keep them from aiding the English, and for that reason it is claimed that the 'Tamanend Society' was organized after that. It was the great Delaware Chief 'Tamenend,' who made the famous treaty with William Penn in 1662, famous in the school books of our childhood, as the only Indian Treaty which was never sworn to, and the only one which was never broken. In the rotunda of the National Capitol may be seen the historical fresco representing this notable event.

"I have a large number of manuscripts unpublished relating to tales and legends in regard to this chief."

The only recorded incident to which Mr. Adams could possibly refer, is that discussed in the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, July 6, 1694 (see page 17). This, it will be remembered, was a proposed attack on the French by the Senecas, in which the Delawares were invited to participate, and not an attack by the English as suggested in the excerpt quoted. Mr. Adams, a lineal descendant of the famous Captain White Eyes, is the author of a history of the Delaware Indians.

24. "William Penn visited King Tammany at Perkasie."—

Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, VIII:206. A History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company of the State in Schuylkill (Phila., 1889).

25. A Brief Account of the Origin and Progress of the Tammany Society (New York, 1838), p. 3. The History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order (New York, 1867), by R. G. Horton, Chap. I, p. 10. History of Tammany Hall (New York, 1901), by Gustavus Myers, p. 2. History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order (New York, 1901), by E. V. Blake, p. 12.

26. Col. George Morgan was appointed Indian agent for the Middle Department by the Indian Commissioners and detailed to Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, prior to April 10, 1776. H. Giles Morgan, Jr., a lineal descendant, in a letter to the author dated January 29, 1910, says, "Before setting out to his new field of usefulness, however, he was the recipient of a very pretty compliment from the Eastern tribe of the Delaware Indians. At his splendid estate 'Prospect,' the site of which is now occupied by the official residence of the President of Princeton College, the Delawares gathered and solemnly conferred upon him the name of Tamenand or Tamene, signifying the 'affable' . . . The Indians stated that they had conferred it upon Col. George Morgan because he was the first man they had found worthy to bear it."

There is no authentic date to show when and why such an honor was bestowed upon Morgan. The earliest reference to this designation is a communication by him entitled "The United American States to their Brethren, the Delawares in Council," dated at Fort Pitt, March 6, 1777, in which Morgan signs himself "Taimenend." He requests the Delawares to see the Windots and the Mingos and induce them to come to him for a conference, adding: "To assist you in this good Work I send you thousand white & ten thousand black Wampum." On June 9, 1778, the Delaware Council at Coochocking addressed a message to Morgan as "Brother Tamenend"; while a letter from Captain John Kilbuck, dated at Carlisle, Penna., April 27, 1779, contains the salutation to

"Brother Tamend" and extends the writer's "Compliments to you my Brother tamenend." A chief called Kaylalemont, on August 3, 1783, wrote from Pittsburgh to "Teamonand," addressing him as "Brother" and complaining that the government had failed to pay the rewards and bounties promised by the Colonel. These references, taken from the Morgan Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, permit of some doubt as to whether the sobriquet was conferred upon Colonel Morgan or merely assumed by him.

The custom of conferring the names of their great men upon their influential white neighbors was not an unusual characteristic of Indian diplomacy. Governor Colden of New York was thus honored by the Five Nations. Although the wily redskins desired him to believe this a mark of respect, the Governor "suspected they did it for rum for their bellies." In February, 1790, the Oneidas conferred upon the Grand Sachem of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order of New York, the title "Odgaht-Seghte," brone by their first sachem. In August of the same year, the Creeks also honored the Grand Sachem of the same Society with the name "Tulma Mica," "Chief of the White Town."

The *Weekly Museum,* February 20, 3/2, 1790; New York *Journal,* August 10, 1790; Journals of Continental Congress (Ford), April 10, 1776, IV:268; Penna. Archives, VII. (June 9, July 19, 1778), 587, 652, 714; Publications of the La. Hist. Society, Vol. V (1911), pp. 54-56.

27. An oration on the three hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the discovery of America, delivered before the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, in the County of Rensselaer, and State of New York, with a traditional account of the life of Tammany, an Indian Chief (Troy, New York, 1809), by Wm. L. Marcy.

28. A lodge of Free Masons established there in 1800 was called St. Tammany Lodge No. 83. In the same year the Methodist Episcopal Church established a circuit, embracing Acklake, Galilee and Conklin Hill, Wayne County, Penna., known as St. Tammany's circuit. On April 3, 1880, St. Tam-

many Lodge No. 2139 of the Knights of Honor was organized at Callicoon, on the New York side of the Delaware River, directly opposite St. Tammany's Flats; and on November 10, 1911, St. Tammany Chapter No. 492, Order of the Eastern Star, was installed in the same town. The old homestead of Daniel Skinner is still called St. Tammany's Flats.

29. The traditions of the locality would indicate, however, that Skinner received his information from a band of friendly Indians of the Munsey clan who, at the time, wandered up and down the upper Delaware under the leadership of Chief Minatto. St. Tammany at Cochecton, by Charles T. Curtis, *Sullivan County Democrat* (Cochecton, New York), February 25, 1913.

30. "There is some tradition existing that King Tamanend once had his cabin and residence on the meadow near the Ridge road, situated under a great elm tree on Francis' farm." Register of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1831). Edited by Samuel Hazard, VII:349; Annals of Philadelphia (Phila., 1850), by John F. Watson, II:172.

31. References to the Grave of Tammany:

Blake, E. Vale. "History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order" (New York, 1901), p. 12.

Buck, W. J. "Tammany." Doylestown (Penna.) *Democrat,* May 6, 1856.

Davis, W. H. "History of Bucks County, Penna." (Doylestown, Penna., 1876), p. 83.

Day, Sherman. "Penna. Historical Collection" (Phila., 1843), p. 163.

Home, Rufus. "The Story of Tammany," Harper's Magazine (April, 1872), XLIV:685.

Horton, R. G. "History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order" (New York, 1867), Chapter I, p. 10.

Marcy, Wm. L. "An oration on the Three hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the discovery of America, delivered before the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, in the County of Rensselaer, and State of New York, with a tra-

ditional account of the life of Tammany, an Indian Chief" (Troy, New York, 1809).

Mercer, Henry C. "The Grave of Tamanend," Mag. of Am. History, XXIX (March, 1893), p. 255; Bucks County (Penna.) Historical Society Papers, II:58.

Meyers, Gustavus. "The History of Tammany Hall" (New York, 1901), p. 2.

Mitchill, S. L. "The Life, Exploits, and Precepts of Tammany, the Famous Indian Chief" (New York, 1795).

Mowry, Mrs. Sarah D. "Temanend, Chief of the Lenni-Lenâpés," Bucks County (Penna.) Historical Society Papers, II:588-594. "The Patron Saint of the American Revolution," Proceedings of the Delaware County (Penna.) Historical Society, I:77-80.

New York *Evening Mail,* September 28, 1911.

New York *Evening World,* September 28, 1911.

Register of Pennsylvania (Edited by Samuel Hazard, Phila., May 28, 1831), VII:349.

Rogers, Jno. P. "The Traditions of Tammany, the Hero of the Hill." Doylestown (Penna.), *Democrat,* July 18, 1871.

32. The Life, Exploits and Precepts of Tammany, the Famous Indian Chief (New York, 1795), by Samuel L. Mitchill. See note 90.

33. The Grave of Tamanend, by Henry C. Mercer, Mag. of Am. History, XXIX (March, 1893), p. 255. Bucks County (Penna.) Historical Society Papers, II:58.

34. "Temanend, Chief of the Lenni-Lenâpés," by Mrs. Sarah D. Mowry. Bucks County (Penna.), Historical Society Papers, II:588-594; "The Patron Saint of the American Revolution," by Mrs. Sarah D. Mowry. Proceedings of the Delaware County (Penna.) Historical Society, I:77-80; Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1843), pp. 163, 299, 300.

35. Sherman Day, as cited, pp. 299-300, says: "Such was his chagrin at being thus deserted by his followers, and his mortification at not being able to attend the treaty, that he attempted to set fire to his wigwam but, frustrated in that

attempt, he sent his faithful daughter to the spring for some water and, during her absence, plunged his knife into his own heart and expired."

36. It is probable that the story of Tammany's death is borrowed bodily from the facts surrounding the death of Teedyuscung, a later Delaware Chief. Teedyuscung, the son of "Old Captain Harris," was born near Trenton, N. J., in 1706, and in 1730 migrated to Pennsylvania, where he came into close contact with the Christian missionaries, who referred to him as "Honest John." He embraced the Christian faith and was given the name "Gideon." The event is recorded by Bishop Cammerhoft in his diary in the following unique way: "1750, March 12th. Today I baptized Tatiuskundt, the chief among sinners." The death of Sassoonan or Allummapees at Shamokin, Pa., in October, 1747, left the Eastern Delawares without a chief; Teedyuscung, who was "counselor" to his clan, gradually usurped the power and prestige of "King," and in 1755 assumed the leadership of the Nation. He was renowned for his diplomacy, oratory and martial prowess, but was an inveterate drinker, being able to "drink a gallon of rum a day without being drunk." His offensive vanity, intemperance and uncontrollable passions caused him serious embarrassment and lessened his influence both with his own people and with the whites. Through his own carelessness, while in a drunken stupor, he was burned to death in his log house in the village of Wyoming, Penna., on April 19, 1763. The death of Teedyuscung marked the passing of the Delaware chiefs in the East. See Harvey as cited, I:308. The Indians of New Jersey: their Origin and Development (Paterson, N. J., 1894), by William Nelson, p. 94.

37. The Wilderness Trail (New York, 1911), by Charles A. Hanna, I:100; Archives of Maryland; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1696-97-98; 427-429; 1698-1731, 104, 106.

38. Hanna as cited, I:98. An Indian Chief named Wequeala, living near Freehold, N. J., was hanged at Perth Amboy, June 30, 1727, for the murder of Captain John Leonard

of that town. An interesting inquiry is suggested by the question: Is "Wequeala" another form of spelling for "Owechela," who, as already indicated, has been identified by Professor Gus, as Weheeland, the brother of Tammany?

American Weekly Mercury, Phila., July 6, 1727; Nelson, as cited, p. 148.

39. Hanna as cited, I:101; Pennsylvania Colonial Records, VII:726.

40. "Negotiations have been closed for the purchase of the site of the grave of Tamanend or Tammany, the chief of the Lenni-Lenâpé Indians in New Britain township." New York *Evening World,* September 28, 1911; "A half century ago stones marking the graves were removed and built into the wall of a barn. These stones will probably form part of a monument to be erected over the grave." New York *Evening Mail,* September 28, 1911.

41. The erection of the monument was delayed several years because of the difficulty in securing control of the spot from the owner of the land. A recent change in ownership, however, has obviated this difficulty. Letter dated January 24, 1911, from Warren S. Ely, Librarian and Curator of the Bucks County (Penna.) Historical Society.

42. "Kawanio Che Keeteru, a true relation of a bloody battle fought between George and Lewis in the year 1755." Printed in the year MDCCLVI. By Nicholas Scull. The words "are very expressive of a Hero relying on God to bless his endeavors in protecting what he has put under his care. To form some idea of its significance you may imagine a man with his wife and children about him, with an air of resolution calling out to his Enemy, *all these God has given me, and I will defend them.*" Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, VIII:213.

43. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXV:437. American Antiquarian, January, 1886.

44. Penna Mag. of History and Biography, VIII:199.

45. *Independent* (Phila.), May 3, 1783.

46. These words were first used by W. L. Marcy in a speech

before the Tammany Society of Troy, October 12, 1809, and have been copied by subsequent writers. See note 27.

47. The Indians also tattooed the device on their bodies. The Lenâpé and their Legends (Phila., 1885), by Daniel G. Brinton. The Indians of New Jersey (Paterson, N. J., 1894), by William Nelson.

48. In 1885 Dr. Daniel G. Brinton accurately reproduced for the first time both the figures and the text and published them under the title, " The Lenâpé and their Legends with the complete text and symbols of the Walam Olum, a new translation, and an inquiry into its authenticity." Brinton gave the text careful study and discusses at length its history as outlined by Schmaltz, and concludes that it was not a forgery but a " genuine native production, which was repeated orally to some one indifferently conversant with the Delaware language, who wrote it down to the best of his ability."

49. The Lenâpé and their Legends (Phila., 1885), by D. G. Brinton, pp. 196, 197, 210, 211.

50. This period was arbitrarily selected by Nelson in his Indians of New Jersey, and has been adopted by the author as representing the average reign of the Delaware Chiefs in the last two centuries.

51. It is to be observed that of the eighty-four chiefs named (10 of the 94 that ruled are not named) in the Walam Olum, Tamenend is the only name that recurs. In no other instance has a chief received the name of a predecessor, nor does this practice appear in the history of any other tribe of American Indians.

52. Brinton as cited, p. 165.

53. Letters from America: Historical and descriptive; comprising occurrences from 1769-1777 inclusive (London, 1792), p. 114. This letter is quoted in full in Chapter II, page 85.

54. Ebenezer Hazard was born in Philadelphia, January 15, 1744, and was graduated from Princeton in 1762. He was a renowned classical scholar, an antiquary and a patriot. The Continental Congress appointed him first postmaster of New

York City, and on January 28, 1782, he became Postmaster-General. He was a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a trustee of the Wall Street (Presbyterian) Church, a member of the New York Society Library, and one of the founders of the North American Insurance Company. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., was born in Boston, June 4, 1744, and died June 4, 1798. He was graduated from Harvard in 1762 and became the first president of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791.

55. Belknap papers, Part I, p. 335.

56. Belknap papers, Part I, p. 363.

57. In 1789 the date of the celebration was changed from the first of May old style to May 12 new style, indicating that the celebration may have been as early as 1752, when the change in computing time took place. See Chap. III, page 125.

58. Letter dated December 3, 1909, to Sir James Murray.

59. *Aurora,* Philadelphia, May 14, 1808.

60. The anonymous author evidently had in mind the objections raised against the Order of the Cincinnati at the time it was established, in 1783, and confused them with the events that led to the establishment of the Tammany Societies at least a dozen years before that date; Trumbull played no part in the formation of these societies and had nothing to do with the selection of their patron.

61. The History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order (New York, 1867), Chapter II, p. 1. Harmon C. Westervelt, writing a few years later (History of Tammany Hall, 1789-1832, manuscript in the New York Public Library), makes the bold assertion: "The Saintship having been conferred on the Society by John Trumbull."

62. John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight and Joel Barlow were known as the "Hartford Wits."

63. See Chapter II, Note 50.

64. "M'Fingal a modern epic poem," was not published until late in the year 1775, at least four years after the canonization of Tammany.

65. The anonymous author has composed in a single title

the titles of three works written by different authors, namely: (1) "M'Fingal a modern epic poem," written by John Trumbull and published at Philadelphia in 1775; (2) "The death of General Montgomery, in storming the City of Quebec, a tragedy, with an Ode, in honor of the Pennsylvania Militia . . . who sustained the campaign, in the depth of winter, January, 1777, and repulsed the British forces from the banks of the Delaware. By the author of a dramatic piece, on the Battle of Bunker Hill [anon.] To which are added Elegiac pieces, commemorative of distinguished characters. By different gentlemen—Philadelphia," written by Hugh Henry Breckenridge, and published at Philadelphia in 1777; and (3) "The Fall of British Tyranny or American Liberty Triumphant," written by John Leacock, and published at Philadelphia in 1776.

66. John Leacock was born in 1729 and dwelt, during an active and public-spirited career, in the city of Philadelphia. He devoted much of his time to the cultivation of the grape and to the scientific study and development of the vine. For this purpose he maintained a vineyard near Philadelphia and conducted a lottery to secure funds for the furtherance of the enterprise. He was an accomplished vocalist and was socially prominent, his activities including membership in the Schuylkill Fishing Company and in the Sons of St. Tammany, for whom he sang at their celebrations. His intense patriotism found expression in various songs and dramas, devoted to Revolutionary topics, which attracted much attention. From 1785 to the time of his death, November 16, 1802, he was coroner of the city of Philadelphia. He was buried in the graveyard of Christ Church.

67. In the early Colonial days the drama was frequently used as a vehicle for expressing political sentiments, and during the Revolution the dramatic form was continuously applied to political pamphleteering; it is needless to add that most of the works of this character were published anonymously. Breckenridge and Leacock both followed the customs of the day, and "The Fall of British Tyranny" was

sent to the press with the author's name lacking. Seilhamer (History of the American Theatre, Phila., 1888, by George O. Seilhamer, II:12) comments on this fact in the following words: "It may be added, however, that it was probably because it was dramatic in form, and, to some extent, in quality that the paternity of the piece was never acknowledged by its author."

68. The poem was printed with this explanation:

"The following humorous song, was solely intended for the American tragi-comedy entitled 'The Fall of British Tyranny, or American Liberty Triumphant' of five acts, which is now in the press and will be published speedily. Having been favored with a sight of the manuscript and thinking it will suit extremely well for the first of May, the printer has prevailed upon the author to let him insert it in the *Evening Post,* on the eve of that day, for the entertainment of his jovial readers and Sons of American Liberty."

69. Freeman's *Journal,* May 3, 1783; May 5, 1784; May 2, 1785; New York *Journal,* May 19, 1792.

70. In the comedy the song is introduced in the following dialogue between two shepherds, Dick and Rogers, on a plain near Lexington:

"*Dick*—Roger, methinks I hear the sound of melody warbling through the grove. Let's sit a while, and partake of it unseen.

"*Roger*—With all my heart. . . . This is the first of May; our shepherds and nymphs are celebrating our glorious St. Tammany's day; we'll hear the song out and then join in the frolick, and chorus it o'er and o'er again. This day shall be devoted to joy and festivity." The Fall of British Tyranny, p. 35.

71. See note 36.

72. Leacock later wrote the following version of this poem, which he sang at the celebration of the Society on May 1, 1783:

"SONG FOR ST. TAMMANY'S DAY.

The Old Song.

I

"Of Andrew, of Patrick, of David, and George,
What mighty achievements we hear!
Whilst no one relates great Tammany's feats,
Although more heroic by far, my brave boys,
Although more heroic by far.

II

"These heroes fought only as fancy inspir'd,
As by their own stories we find;
Whilst Tammany, he fought only to free,
From cruel oppression mankind, my brave boys,
From cruel oppression mankind.

III

"When our Country was young and our numbers were few,
To our fathers his friendship was shown:
(For he e'er would oppose whom he took for his foes)
And made their misfortunes his own, my brave boys,
And he made our misfortunes his own.

IV

"At length growing old and quite worn out with years,
As history doth truly proclaim,
His wigwam was fired, he nobly expired,
And flew to the skies in a flame, my brave boys,
And flew to the skies in a flame."

Freeman's *Journal*, May 7, 1783; May 2, 1785; *Massachusetts Centinel*, May 18, 1785.

73. "A Hudibrastic poem, parts of which would probably shock the fastidious ears of the present generation, was published at a very early period, in which their patron saint is

extolled as far superior to all the renowned worthies of the old world." Horton as cited, Chapter I, p. 10.

74. This is the oldest social club in existence. History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company of the State in Schuylkill (Phila., 1889).

75. The influence of wealth in Imperial Rome (New York, 1911), by Wm. S. Davis, p. 229.

76. This was prior to 1747, when the Club presented to the Association Battery the gun with the words "Kawanio Che Keeteru" stamped on it. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, VIII:199.

77. The Mount Regale Fishing Co., in existence in 1763, and the St. David Fishing Co. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVII:88.

78. *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* May 4, 1772 (VI:63/2); May 11, 1772 (VI:67/2).

79. *Pennsylvania Chronicle,* June 15, 1772 (VI:85/1). Mr. Albert Matthews first called my attention to this reference.

80. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXV:446.

81. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, V:29, 30.

82. Mrs. Sarah D. Mowry as cited, p. 592; The Tammany Societies of Rhode Island (Providence, R. I., 1897), by Marcus W. Jernegan, p. 10, note 4. Adams, in the letter cited (note 23), says: In the Revolutionary War the troops of the State of New York adopted the name of this Chief as their patron Saint, calling him "Tammany." This, indeed, is an error. Adams evidently intended to associate the story with the Pennsylvania troops. The New York *Evening World* in an editorial on September 28, 1911, stated: "There were apocryphal histories of Tammany even a hundred years ago, and these represented him as a friend of Washington and a veteran of the Revolution," and the Editor then facetiously remarked: "On this basis it ought to be easy to figure out pension claims for his descendants today."

83. Savannah *Republican* in the Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVI:458.

84. *Independent Gazetteer* (Phila.), May 6, 1786.

85. Many of these poems are quoted in full by Cabeen in Pa. Mag. of History and Biography, XXV, p. 433, *et seq.*

86. The poem was written by William Pritchard, a member of the Society and a well-known book-seller and owner of a circulating library at Philadelphia. The poem achieved great popularity and was widely reprinted in the journals of the day. It first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald,* May 6, 1786, and later in the *Massachusetts Centinel,* May 17, 1886; American Museum, Vol. V, January 1789, p. 104; Columbian Muse, pp. 223-224; Cabinet of Apollo.

87. The author is unknown; it is printed in Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVI:336; *Massachusetts Centinel,* June 18, 1785.

88. Printed in *Massachusetts Centinel,* May 24, 1788; Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVI:459. The author is unknown.

89. The Life, Exploits, and Precepts of Tammany, the Famous Indian Chief (New York, 1795), by Samuel Latham Mitchill.

90. An oration of the Three Hundred and Eighteenth Anniversary of the Discovery of America. Delivered before the Tammany Society or Columbian Order in the County of Rensselaer and State of New York, with a traditional account of the Life of Tammany, an Indian.

91. Wallabout Prison Ship Series. Henry R. Stiles, M.D. (N. Y., 1865), p. 182.

92. Prof. Guss says Heckewelder "was so prejudiced in their favor that he could 'Delawareize' almost any word"; and Dr. Trumbull adds: "Heckewelder's guesses are absolutely worthless." Harvey as cited, I:42; Brinton as cited, p. 17; Nelson as cited, p. 94.

93. History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations (Phila., 1819), by John G. B. Heckewelder, p. 300.

94. His real name was Tensquataway, The Open Door. He was a man of extraordinary cunning and a powerful agent in arousing the superstitious feelings of the Northwestern Indians, and, between 1805 and 1811, enlisted them in "the de-

liverance of the red man from the oncoming whites." He declared with much solemnity that he had received power from the Great Spirit to cure all diseases, to confound his enemies, and to stay the arm of death in sickness or on the battlefield. He exacted an oath of fealty from his followers, pledged upon a string of sacred white beads which he wore around his neck. Carrying with him the life-sized image of a corpse, made of light material, to mystify his recruits, he visited the wigwams to extol the potency of his mysteries. Fear and woe followed in his wake. Harvey as cited, I:383.

95. A narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohigan Indians (Cleveland, Ohio, 1907), p. 505.

96. The writings of Thos. Jefferson (Monticello Edition), Vol. XIII, p. 141; New York *Sunday Times,* November 5, 1911.

97. Pennsylvania Colonial Records, I:447.

98. It is difficult to trace the origin of tradition respecting the Indians, and often fact and fiction cannot readily be differentiated. Prior to 1800, few Indians could write, and their manners, customs, traditions and legends have been reported and described to us solely by their white contemporaries. These accounts are, at best, colored by prejudice, and it is impossible to judge how much may be the product of the narrator's imagination and how much was actually recounted to him by the Indians themselves. Without a literature of their own, it is even possible that the Indians acquired many of their so-called traditions through legendary recounted to them by the whites and later repeated by the Indians as their own. In this form they may have acquired at the hands of later writers the dignity of true Indian traditions. See Term Indian Summer, by Albert Matthews, p. 45.

99. It would seem that the later-day Iroquois themselves erroneously attributed to Tammany the achievements of Hiawatha. A tradition prevails among the Onondagas that, while a band of that tribe was camping in central New York, the "Great God Tammany" appeared in their midst in the

dead of night and left with them a red stone, promising them that, if they would place it in their "Long House" and hold their council meetings around it, he would make them a great nation. The Onondagas adopted this advice, and as they grew in martial power they left a red stone on the scene of each victory in order that the world might mark their successes, and passed on exultingly to the next conquest. From this practice it is said that the Oneida nation, a member of the confederacy, acquired the appellation "People of the Stone."

The existence among the Iroquois of the tradition that Tammany rather than Hiawatha was their great organizer is further evidenced by the remarks of Cornplanter, the Seneca Chief, at the reception tendered him in April, 1786, by the Sons of Saint Tammany at Philadelphia. In acknowledging the courtesies extended to him he said: "This great gathering of our brothers is to commemorate the memory of our great-grand-father. It is a day of pleasure (pointing to St. Tammany Colours)," and later during the festivities the chief said: "We have been refreshing ourselves with wine [therefore] it is fit that our old friend who has gone before us [pointing to the portrait of St. Tammany on the colors] shall have a glass, and if we pour it on the ground, the ground will suck it in and he will get it." Thereupon he walked with one of the St. Tammany sachems around the council fire, pouring out a libation of wine. "The People of the Stone," in *The Spirit of the Missions,* New York, LXXVI (No. 12, December, 1911), pp. 986-992; *Independent,* April 22, 1786.

CHAPTER II

The Movement of the Tammany Societies in the United States prior to 1789

The history of the movement of the Tammany Societies in the United States exhibits two distinct phases. The first phase prior to 1789 shows the movement as social in character, but gradually assuming greater and greater public and patriotic significance. With the establishment of the Tammany Society in the City of New York, the movement assumed a different aspect. The reconstruction of the New York Tammany Society in 1789 inaugurated the second phase of the movement, when its political character gradually became paramount and assumed, between 1803 and 1820, such proportions that its influence determined the political complexion of national administrations.

The celebration of May 1st as "St. Tammany's Day" led to the establishment of the Tammany Societies in the American Colonies. As outlined in the previous chapter, the origin of this custom is traceable to the practice of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, a social club of Philadelphia, organized in 1732. This club inaugurated the sporting season on the first day of May of each year with festive social functions; and these celebrations, gradually attracting public notice, inspired emulation. Two other societies were formed shortly afterward, their members disporting themselves along the banks of the river, closely following the forms and ceremonies of the original club. Thus May first, the opening of the sporting season in what was then the American metropolis, became a holiday recognized and observed throughout southeastern Pennsylvania and the colonies immediately adjoining on the south.

When, however, the opposition to British oppression began to manifest itself—upon the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765, and between that date and the convening of the first Continental Congress, in 1774—the Tammany Societies in the middle Atlantic colonies became leaders of revolutionary sentiment. They thus gradually changed from purely social to fraternal and patriotic bodies; for at this time Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Tammany Socities, was a hot bed of American patriotism and of the political unrest that led to American Independence.

The first celebrations of "St. Tammany's Day" were festivals of the common people, who went through their antics and concluded by "taking up a collection." Although the object of these contributions does not appear; yet, since charity was a feature of the early Tammany Societies, we may infer that the proceeds were used for such purposes. No accurate record of the beginning of these celebrations is available, while the earliest account is given in the following letter written by William Eddis at Annapolis on December 24, 1771:[1]

There are few places where young people are more frequently gratified with opportunities of associating together than in this country. Besides our regular assemblies, every mark of attention is paid to the Patron Saint of each parent dominion; and St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David are celebrated with every partial mark of national attachment. General invitations are given, and the appearance is always numerous and splendid.

The Americans on this part of the continent have likewise a Saint, whose history, like those of the above venerable characters, is lost in fable and uncertainty. The first of May is, however, set apart to the memory of Saint Tamina, on which occasion the natives wear a piece of buck's tail in their hats, or in some conspicuous situation. During the course of the evening, and generally in the midst of a dance, the com-

pany are interrupted by the sudden intrusion of a number of persons habited like Indians, who rush violently into the room, singing the war song, giving the whoop, and dancing in the stile of those people; after which ceremony a collection is made, and they retire well satisfied with their reception and entertainment.

Inasmuch as this letter was written from Annapolis, the writer probably had in mind a celebration that took place in that city, showing that the spirit of celebration had spread southward from Philadelphia. There is evidence that the custom became deeply rooted and survived at Annapolis for a long time, for in 1841 Ridgely,[2] in his history of Annapolis, writes thus vividly of these celebrations:

1771—In this year, and for many years later, there existed in this city, a society called "The Saint Tamina Society" who set apart the first day of May in memory of "St. Tamina," whose history, like those of other venerable saints, is lost in fable and uncertainty. It is usual on the morning of this day, for the members of the society to erect in some public situation in the city, a "May-pole" and to decorate it in a most tasteful manner, with wild flowers gathered from the adjacent woods, and forming themselves in a ring around it, hand in hand, perform the Indian war dance, with many other customs which they had seen exhibited by the children of the forest. It was also usual on this day for such of the citizens, who chose to enter into amusement, to wear a piece of buck's tail in their hats, or in some conspicuous part of their dress. General invitations were given, and a large company usually assembled during the course of the evening, and when engaged in the midst of a dance, the company were interrupted by the sudden intrusion of a number of the members of "St. Tamina's Society," habited like Indians, who rushing violently into the room, singing the war songs, and giving the whoop, commenced dancing in the style of that people. After which ceremony, they made a collection and retired well satisfied with their reception and entertainment. This custom of celebrat-

ing the day was continued down, within the recollection of many of the present inhabitants of this city.

While Ridgely bases his account on the letter of Eddis, he adds considerable enlightening details of the celebration and shows that the festivity was of moment in the affairs of the city, and had won for itself a place in public esteem.

It will be observed that at this period the movement was in the first stages of its evolution; that, at its best, it was a loose, chaotic gathering held together for the day only by a spirit of hilarity and pleasure, lacking the solidarity that comes from permanent organization, definite in purpose and character. The celebrations at this period were analogous to our present Hallowe'en festivities and the parade of the New Year's "Mummers" in Philadelphia.[3]

In 1772, however, the Tammany movement began to assume a greater dignity. The day was celebrated by the better class of citizens, and permanent societies were formed for social and charitable purposes. Mob characteristics were gradually outgrown, and the movement began to assert itself as a force worthy of recognition. The first permanent society of the movement, so far as known, was established in Philadelphia on May first, 1772, and was called "The Sons of King Tammany."[4] The first meeting was held at the house of Mr. Byrn, and the purposes of the gathering were the promotion of charity and patriotism. The Pennsylvania *Chronicle* described the meeting and outlined its purposes in the following words:[5]

On Friday, the first instant, a number of Americans, Sons of King Tammany, met at the house of Mr. James Byrn, to celebrate the memory of that truly noble Chieftain whose friendship was most affectionately manifested to the worthy founder and first settlement of this province, after dinner the circulating glass was crowned with wishes, loyal and patriotic, and the day was concluded with much cheerfulness and har-

mony. It is hoped from this small beginning, a society may be formed of great utility to the distressed; as this meeting was more for the purpose of promoting Charity and Benevolence, than Mirth and Festivity.

The sentiments of the members and the character and objects of a society are faithfully reflected in the toasts drunk at its public banquets, and for that reason the toasts offered at various celebrations of the Tammany societies are quoted at length. These toasts connote the course of the movement, and best epitomize the functions of the societies, their viewpoint and their ideals. At the first meeting of "The Sons of King Tammany" (May 1, 1772) the following toasts were drunk:[5]

1. The King and Royal Family (George III of England).
2. The Proprietors of Pennsylvania (Thos. Penn & John Penn).
3. The Governor of Pennsylvania (Richard Penn).
4. Prosperity of Pennsylvania.
5. The Navy and Army of Great Britain.
6. The Proud and immortal memory of King Tammany.
7. Speedy relief to the injured Queen of Denmark.
8. Unanimity between Great Britain and her Colonies.
9. Speedy repeal of oppression and unconstitutional acts.
10. May the Americans surely understand and faithfully defend their constitutional rights.
11. More spirit to the Councils of Great Britain.
12. The Great Philosopher, Dr. Franklin.
13. His Excellency, Governor Franklin, and prosperity to the Province of New Jersey.
14. His Excellency, Governor Tryon, and prosperity to the Province of New York.
15. The Honorable James Hamilton, Esq., late Governor of Pennsylvania.
16. The Chief Justice of Pennsylvania.
17. The Speaker[6] of the Honorable House of Assembly of Pennsylvania—The kind genius that presides over American

freedom forbade it and the Sons of King Tammany appeared as averse to drink it as they would have been to swallow the five mile stone.

18. The Recorder of the City of Philadelphia.

19. The pious and immortal memory of General Wolfe.

20. The Pennsylvania Farmer (John Dickinson).

21. May the Sons of King Tammany, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick and St. David love each other as brethren of one common ancestor and unite in their hearty endeavors to preserve constitutional American liberties.

The first eight toasts, it will be observed. were purely conventional and were generally offered at all banquets of the day. Toasts 9, 10 and 21, however, were a radical step in offerings to Bacchus; and their rebellious character reflects the determined attitude of the colonists toward the mother country.

By the 28th of April, 1773, the Society in Philadelphia had changed its name to "Sons of Saint Tammany," and was thus referred to in the public prints in the notice for the annual meeting of that year.[7] Invitations to attend this gathering were extended to one hundred and twenty-one of the most influential men in the province, including the Governor, scholars, members of bench and bar, and men of letters. That those who attended the banquet were imbued with a keen sense of human sympathy is evinced by the following excerpt from the Pennsylvania *Chronicle* of May 3, 1773:

A considerable number of the most indigent of the confined debtors, deeply impressed with the warmest sense of gratitude, beg leave in this manner to return their sincere and hearty thanks to the very respectable Society of the Sons of St. Tammany who were assembled the first instant at Mr. Byrn's Tavern to celebrate the day, for the plentiful gift of victuals and beer, which they were pleased to send, and which was faithfully distributed among them.

This charitable impulse, it would seem, was common to the societies of the day for, in the same column in which appeared the article just noted, there was a word of thanks from the imprisoned debtors to the Sons of St. George.

From 1773 to 1778 the Society was more or less inactive, and, as the controversy with Great Britain developed, the lines became sharply drawn and many deserted the ranks. During this period the only signs of life shown by the Society, discoverable from contemporary publications, were occasional poems or odes dedicated to its patron. In 1779, however, the Society was revived for a short time in consequence of the following notice in the Pennsylvania *Packet* of May 1st:

> The sons of St. Tammany and their adopted brethren of St. Patrick and St. George are desired to meet this day being the first of May, at the Theatre in South Wark at two o'clock. Dinner on the table at three. N. B. The dining at the late Proprietors being inconvenient the theatre is preferred to any other place.

No other reference is found for this year or for the succeeding year, but the members appear to have been active under the name of the Constitutional Society,[8] which in 1779 designated two persons to deliver orations on the Fourth of July, one to speak on Independence and the other to offer a eulogy in memory of those who fell in the Revolution.[9]

During the years 1780, 1781 and 1782, interest in the Society suffered an eclipse, for the public mind was filled with the economic depression caused in part by the worthlessness of the paper money in circulation, while social activities were centered in attentions to our French allies.[10] In 1781 members of the Society were keenly interested in the agitation against the paper currency, and under the name of "Society of Gentlemen"[11] threatened to publish the

names of those who advocated the payment of debts in that medium. In October of this year, forty-two chiefs and warriors of the Seneca Indians visited Philadelphia[12] and were entertained by the Society, in spite of the fact that it was at this time apparently inactive. During the year 1782, while the country was waiting for peace, its inactivity appears to have continued, although on December 11, 1782, Freneau published "The Prophecy of King Tammany,"[13] severely censuring Congress for its inexplicable delays. When hostilities ceased, on April 19, 1783, the Society resumed its activities, and a great celebration was held on the first of May on the banks of the Schuylkill River, "the treat of the day being prepared in a proper cabin set up for the purpose at the head of which was the portraiture of our beloved old saint with his well known motto 'Kawanio Chee Keeteru.' Above was an elegant design of the siege of Yorktown in front of which were his excellency General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau."[14] The following toasts were offered at the feast:

1. St. Tammany and the Constitution of Pennsylvania. Kawanio Chee Keeteru.

2. The United States. May the thirteen stars shine with underived lustre, and the thirteen stripes be a terror to tyrants forever.

3. Louis the XVI, the defender of the rights of mankind, and the French nation. May the lily and the laurel flourish together as long as the stars shine.

4. The States of Holland.

5. General Washington and the Army. May justice, gratitude and respect amply repay their services and sufferings.

6. The officers, soldiers and seamen of the army and navy of France, who have fought in the cause of America. May their blood which has been spilt and intermingled with ours be a lasting cement of mutual interest.

7. May the enemies of America never be restored to her confidence.

8. The immortal memory of those worthies who have fallen by the savage hand of Britain; whether in the field, in the jails, on the ocean, or on board their infectious and loathsome prison ships. Can the tears of repenting Britons wash from their flag the stain of such precious blood?

9. Freedom to those, in every part of the world, who dare contend for it.

10. The friends of liberty in Ireland. May the harp be tuned to independence and be touched by skillful hands.

11. The yeomanry of the land. May those who have been Whigs in the worst of times duly respect themselves.

12. Free commerce with the world.

13. Virtue, Liberty and Independence. May America be an asylum to the oppressed of all countries throughout all ages.

At the giving of each toast the cannon fired, and the whole company wave three cheers, but when General Washington and the Army was named they swelled spontaneously to thirteen, and upon naming "The Friends of Liberty in Ireland" and the "tuning of the harp to independence" the sons of St. Tammany anticipating the day in which the brave sons of St. Patrick shall be free and happy as ourselves burst into thirteen shouts of joy, and the band struck up "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning."

The name of the Philadelphia Society again had undergone a change, for at this meeting it was called the "Constitutional Sons of St. Tammany." There were about two hundred and fifty members present, and a reorganization was effected. Thirteen Sachems were elected, and these in turn chose a Chief and a Secretary. Old customs were revived and the calumet or pipe of peace was smoked.

On May 1, 1784, the Society held its celebration at Mr. Pole's seat on the Schuylkill River. Sachems and officers were elected,[15] the council fire rekindled, and the cere-

monies further enlivened by a calabash-dance. The fête concluded with the smoking of the calumet and a serenade to General Washington, who, at that time, was visiting Philadelphia.[16] As in the celebration of 1783, the state flag of Pennsylvania was draped on one side with the flag of France and on the other with the flag of the Netherlands. A list of the toasts offered and of the musical selections rendered at this banquet follows:

1. St. Tammany and the day.—Music, St. Tammany.

2. The United States—May the benign influence of the thirteen stars be shed in every quarter of the World.—Music, Yankee Doodle.

3. Louis XVI, the defender of the rights of mankind. May his people be as happy as he is great and good.—Music, Brogolio's March.

4. The United Netherlands.—Music, Washington's March.

5. George Washington.—Music, Clinton's retreat.

6. The Citizen Soldiers of America, and the Army and Navy of France.—Music, Capture of Cornwallis.

7. The Militia of Pennsylvania.—Music, Lovan's Cotillion.

8. Our friends who have fallen in the war, may they live forever in the hearts of a free and grateful people. Music, Rosalind's Castle.

9. The best Whigs in the worst of times.—Music, Sweet Hope.

10. Encreasing lustre to the stars of America, and unfading bloom to the lilies of France.—Music, Stoney Point and Brogolio's March.

11. May the people of Ireland enjoy the freedom of Americans.—Music, St. Patrick's Day in the Morning.

12. Free trade in American bottoms and peace with all the world.—Music, Washington's resignation.

13. The land we live in, and our free constitution. 'Kawanio Chee Keeteru (i. e., These God has given us, and we will defend them.)—Music, Liberty Hall."

On May 1, 1785, the Society celebrated at Beveridge's seat, and for the first time the flag of the United States was displayed, "ornamented with a fine figure of St. Tammany drawn by Mr. Wright."[17] The flags of France and Holland were also in evidence as in previous years. Sachems and officers were elected as before. Prior to this meeting, members of the Society had organized under the name of "Friends of the Constitution,"[18] opposing the proposed changes in the constitution and advocating its preservation intact. The appearance of the national ensign at the festivities was therefore significant, for, under the influence of Washington, state loyalty began to diminish in favor of patriotic fervor toward the Federal Union.

In 1786 the Society entertained Cornplanter (Captain O'Beal), the Seneca Chief who at that time was conducting negotiations with the Federal government. The chief was taken to the Wigwam, where the "Colours of the State and of St. Tammany[19] with the Dutch and French standards and the buck flag[20] were immediately displayed." A banquet was held, and a war, a peace and a mirth dance were given in rapid succession.

These activities of the Society aroused the resentment of some of the residents of Philadelphia, and soon after Cornplanter's visit a letter reflecting their sentiments was published in a local newspaper. This letter purported to emanate from Cornplanter, but it probably was written by a member of the Society of Friends who vehemently deprecated the indulgences of the Sons of St. Tammany. The letter, dated May 6, 1786, reads as follows:[21]

New York, May 6, 1786.

Renowned Kinsman:

After an agreeable journey, we arrived in this city a few days ago, where we have been kindly received and hospitably

entertained by the *Wisemen* who compose the perpetual council fire of the New Nations of our brothers of this Island.

You know, kinsman, how much pains our white brothers have taken to cause us to renounce our independent and happy mode of life and to exchange it for what they call the pleasures of civilization and religion; but they now think differently, both of their own and of our manner of living from what they did when the great King over the water put dust in their eyes and kept them in darkness. They now begin to see in what the fine dignity and happiness of man consists, and that labour, trade, and the mechanic arts, are only fit for women and children; and as for the old stories they used to tell us about religion, nobody believes in them now but a few old women. As a proof of this preference of our manners and principles to their own, a large body of the Citizens of Philadelphia, assembled on the first of May on the banks of the Schuylkill every year, and then in the dress of Sachems celebrate the name, character and death of Old King Tammany, in eating, drinking, smoking, dancing and singing around a fire. This entertainment ends as all such entertainments do with us, in drunkenness and disorder, which are afterwards printed in their newspaper in the most agreeable colours as constituting the utmost festivity and joy. But the principal end of this annual feast is to destroy the force of the Christian religion. For this religion you know forbids self murder and drunkenness. Now by honoring and celebrating the name of Tammany who killed himself [22] by burning his cabin in a drunken frolic, they take away all infamy from these crimes and even place them among the number of virtues. Two or three priests generally attend at this feast with the ensigns of their professions, that is, with large white wigs and black coats; and as the people here are more disposed to follow the example than the precepts of their priests, the example of these holy Sachems, has had a great effect in undeceiving the people as to their notions about religion and in introducing among them our maxims respecting murder and drunkenness. Let us hold fast renowned Kinsman, the customs and tradi-

tions of our fathers and disdain to copy anything from a people who are every day advancing to our state of simple manners and national sobriety. Farewell.

CORNPLANTER.

It is evident that the Society at this time encountered opposition from the strict religionists who were shocked by the social extravagances and convivial indulgences of the admirers of the aboriginal chief. Notwithstanding, however, the disfavor with which the Society was regarded in some quarters, on May 1st of this year (1786),[23] it held another brilliant anniversary celebration. The standard of Saint Tammany was displayed, the buck flag hoisted to its place, and artillery discharged, while sachems and officers were elected and donned their gorgets and other insignia of office.

On the Chief's breast was his gorget with the following inscription, surrounded with 13 stars: "St. Tammany the Grand Sachem, or the Chief to whom all our nation looks up"[24] A banquet was served and the following toasts were offered:

1. St. Tammany and the day.
2. The Great Council fire of the United States—May the thirteen fires glow in one blended blaze and illumine the Eagle in his flight to the Stars.
3. Penna., and the illustrious President of the State—May wisdom ever preside in our councils.
4. Louis the Sixteenth.
5. Our Great Grand Sachem, George Washington, Esq.
6. Our allies and Friends—May the lilies of France forever bloom—the Lion of the Netherlands rejoice in his strength and the Irish Harp ever be in Union with the Thirteen stars.
7. Our Brother Iontonkque or the Cornplanter. May we ever remember that he visited our wigwam and spoke a good talk for our great grand fathers.
8. The Friendly Indian Nations—Our warriors and young men who fought, bled and give good council for our nation.

9. Our Mothers, Wives, Sisters and Daughters.

10. The Merchants, Farmers and Mechanics of Penna.—May the manufactures of our own country ever have the preference of foreign ones.

11. The University of Pennsylvania, and all Seminaries of learning.

12. May the Whigs of America ever be united as a band of brothers.

13. May the enemies of America never eat the bread of it, drink the drink of it, or kiss the pretty girls of it.

This was the last large celebration of the Philadelphia Society. About this time factions[25] crept in, the Society slowly became disintegrated and its activities ceased. Some of its members, however, clung together and held informal dinners from time to time,[26] and later many of the more active ones became associated with the Democratic Society, which in 1793 established a branch at Philadelphia. This organization early in its career became involved in the Whiskey Rebellion and under the scathing denunciation of President Washington[27] ignominiously dropped from view and was succeeded in 1795 by a branch of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order of New York.[28] Thus ended the most important organization in the early history of the movement.

The Philadelphia Society was the parent stem of the Tammany societies in the United States. From Philadelphia the movement spread southward and also found its way across the Delaware into New Jersey. As early as May 19, 1774, there was a Tammany Society in Norfolk, Va.[29] Whether the activities of this society attained any degree of continuity or enjoyed any considerable influence is extremely doubtful. We find, however, the record of a celebration in honor of Saint Tammany held at Norfolk on May 1, 1789; but it was apparently the recognition of a

fête day by the military organization of the town rather than a ceremony conducted under the auspices of a Tammany Society. The following newspaper reference describes the festivity:[30]

Norfolk [Va.], May 6, 1789. Friday last being the anniversary of St. Tammany, was noticed here by the Gentlemen Volunteers, who paraded and went through their exercises with the usual military paraphernalia, which always carries a pleasing effect. In their evening march through the Town, three gentlemen of character in this Borough preceded the company in the dress and resemblance of Indian Chiefs; and after spending the day, with the utmost festivity and good humour, they proceeded in form to the Theatre and saw the comedy of the Miser, with the Agreeable Surprize.

The movement apparently flourished in Virginia, and in 1785 the city of Richmond maintained a branch organization. The celebration of that year was made notable by the presence of General Washington, who briefly recorded the occasion in his diary as follows:[31] "May 2, 1785. Received and accepted an invitation to dine with the Sons of Saint Tammany, at Mr. Anderson's Tavern, and accordingly did so, at three o'clock."

The Society again celebrated the Saint's day on May 1, 1786, with appropriate ceremonies. A contemporary newspaper provides us with the following description of the event:[32]

Richmond, Va., May 4th, 1786. Monday last, the 1st instant, the Sons of St. Tammany, in memory of the anniversary of their American Saint, gave a very sumptuous entertainment at the Capitol in this City to which were invited a number of gentlemen of different nations, who participated with them on the occasion when the following toasts were drank and the day spent in the utmost good humor.

1. The Sons of St. Tammany—May the gallant spirit of

their sire animate their bosoms and fire them with the love of Liberty and Independence.

2. Congress—May their wisdom and integrity forever cement the union and secure the blessings of freedom.

3. Our illustrious Commander-in-Chief—May he be as happy as he is beloved.

4. The Legislative, Executive and judiciary of Virginia. May the execution of this important trust reflect splendor on their public characters, and the love of their countrymen attend them in retirement.

5. Our Ambassadors abroad—May the Republican zeal direct their political talents and their hearts remain true amidst the machinations of Courts.

6. The Sons of St. Patrick—May the torch of friendship lighted between them and the Sons of St. Tammany continue blazing to eternity.

7. Agriculture and Commerce—May they go hand in hand to bless our country and meet that encouragement they merit.

8. The Seminaries of Learning—While they advance Science may they diffuse the spirit of virtue.

9. The Worthy Sons of all Saints.

10. May the Hatchet of American politics never be turned against herself.

11. May the Sons of St. Tammany always be disposed to exchange the bow and tomahawk for the peaceful calumet.

12. (Missing.)

13. May the great spirit encircle the whole world in the belt of friendship.

Contemporary publications contain no references to the Society's functions, if indeed any were conducted, between 1786 and 1792. On May first of the latter year, however, the Sons of Saint Tammany, in the Columbian Order,[23] held a pretentious reception and banquet at Bloody Run Spring, near Richmond. Covers were spread for upwards of one hundred and fifty persons and an elegant repast, partaken of by the Governor, members of the council, and other

prominent citizens, was served. The organization which sponsored this ceremony was evidently a branch of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order of New York.

The spirit of the celebration spread to other cities in Virginia, and on May 1, 1788, the following event is chronicled: [84]

Harrisburg [Va.], May 1. Yesterday evening being St. Tammany's eve, Col. Bell, at the head of a few militia and principal inhabitants of the town, hoisted a liberty pole, with a flag, thirteen stars and the New Constitution in large letters on it; the militia, with some of the principal farmers at their head, with farming utensils on their shoulders, drums and other music playing, fired thirteen rounds; after which they went to the house of Mr. Brewer Reves, and spent the evening in the greatest mirth and good humour imaginable.

On the same day a more elaborate celebration was held in another part of the State. Whether this festivity was instituted by a permanent society does not appear, for the only record we have is found in the following newspaper account: [85]

Petersburg [Va.], May 9. Thursday last, being the anniversary of the American Tutelar Saint, the same was celebrated by the militia of this town, who paraded and marched to an ancient spring, where an entertainment was provided; at which the following toasts were drank attended with a discharge of cannon, etc.

1. St. Tammany.
2. The virtuous sons and daughters of St. Tammany wherever dispersed.
3. The United States.
4. George Washington.
5. To the memory of those heroes who fell in defence of American Liberty.
6. The surviving heroes who were engaged in the same noble cause.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

7. The King of France and other allies of the United States.
8. The Marquis de la Fayette.
9. May a firm and impartial federal government be established.
10. True patriotism.
11. Universal benevolence.
12. May the agriculture, commerce and manufactures of America flourish forever.
13. The militia of the United States.

In 1779, we find the first notice of a Tammany celebration in New Jersey. The movement, however, met with serious hardships in this State, for it must be remembered that at the time New Jersey was filled with loyalists and that peace with Great Britain had not yet been established. Because of the strength of the Tory sentiment even the press was loth to give publicity to the affairs of the Society; and on April 28, 1779, one newspaper rejected a notice with the following apology: [86]

We are sorry we cannot oblige Z, it being inconsistent with our plan to admit pieces under the title prefixed to his performance. His correspondence in another line would be very acceptable. The piece for the celebration of the festival of St. Tammany, although far from being destitute of merit in its way, may not be much relished by our moral readers.

The celebration, however, found its way into print and was briefly described in the columns of another paper as follows: [87] "Chatam, May 4. Saturday last being the anniversary of St. Tammany, the titular St. of America, the same was celebrated at New-Ark by a number of Gentlemen of the Army (i. e. American Army)."

About this time the New Jersey Society of the Sons of St. Tammany No. 1 perfected their organization. William De Hart, an officer in the Army and later a prominent attorney of Morristown, N. J., was elected President, and Ebe-

nezer Elmer, an army surgeon and a practicing physician of repute, was chosen secretary. One of the certificates of membership issued at this time has been preserved.[38] Singularly, the date 1780 printed on the original was stricken out and the date 1779 written over it, at the time the certificate was issued, leading to the conjecture that the organization was perfected earlier than at first contemplated by the promoters. This is the earliest certificate of membership in a Tammany Society that has been brought to light, and because it is characteristic of the formality and seriousness of these organizations, it is presented herein in full:

ST. TAMMANY SOCIETY No. 1.

This is to certify, That Mr. Jesse Baldwin is a member of the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany. In witness of which I have hereunto affixed my hand and the Public Seal, at the Jersey Camp the first day of May in the year 1779.

WM. D. HART,
President.

Attest EBEN. ELMER
Secretary

(Seal)

The seal affixed to this certificate bears an artistic device representing the Indians and whites in peace and amity about the council fire; and on the rim of the seal appears the inscription "St. Tammany Exegi monumentum aere perennius."[39] The use of this quotation from Horace shows that the scholarly gentlemen believed that the institution which they founded would prove a monument of lasting fame.

On May first, 1782, a constitution was adopted defining the social and charitable purposes of the Society. Since this is the oldest written constitution of a Tammany Society that the present investigation has brought to light, it is deemed of sufficient importance to be quoted in full:[40]

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW JERSEY SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF ST. TAMMANY No. 1.

I.—That we will meet annually on the first day of May for the celebration of our Saint at such place as shall be notified by the President in the public prints: Provided however that if any of the days appointed for the convening of the Society should happen to be the Sabbath it will be postponed until the monday following.

II.—That on the first day of May annually the members of the Society shall meet to choose a President Vice President, & thirteen members for the council three of whom shall be a quorum, to meet at such times & places as the President shall direct to transact the business of the Society as invested in them by these articles.

III.—That the President & Council on the 2nd of May annually shall elect a Secretary & Treasurer for the society.

IV.—That the Council shall have the power of admitting new members, constituting them sons of St. Tamminy & issuing certificates to them under the seal of the society & sign of the President attested by the Secretary; Provided that no person be admitted as a member but such as is of good report.

V.—That any member who shall behave in a disorderly & disgraceful manner shall be suspended or expelled by a majority of members at their annual meeting.

VI.—That every person at his admittance pay into the Treasury the sum of four dollars; and that every member pay therein annually the sum of one Dollar.

VII.—That the Council shall have the ordering and disposal of the public money with rendering a satisfactory account to the society annually on the last of May; Provided also that all charitable donations shall first extend to the poor of the society.

VIII.—That the Treasurer on the first of May annually shall lay his accounts properly adjusted before the Council for liquidation.

IX.—That any article of the Constitution shall be subject to alteration or addition for two years by a majority of voices

at the annual meeting on the 1st of May; but after that time they will not be subject to any alteration but shall be subject to addition.

X.—That every person at his admittance into the Society subscribe to the above articles.

Signed the 1st day of May, 1782.

J. N. CUMMING, President
EBEN ELMER, Secretary
VINER VAN ZANDT, Counsel
W. HELMS, Counsel
LR. HALSEY, Counsel

NATH'L BOWMAN	SAM'EL SEELEY
BEN. OSMUN	JOHN HOPPER
DERICK LANE	SAM. READING
A. WEYMON	SAM. CONN
JOHN PINTARD	WM. ANDERSON
MOS. G. ELMER	JACOB HARRIS
SAM'L M. SHUTE	JOHN REUCASTLE
FRANCIS LUSE	ABSALOM MARTIN
G. MEAD	JONA FORMAN
JOHN BISHOP	JOS. BRECK
A. BROOKS	PETER FAULKNER
NATHAN WILKISON	JOHN BLAIR
JACOB FLYER	WM. TUTTLE
JERE'H BALLARD	JONA. HOLMES
JNO. HOLMES	EDMUND D. THOMAS
ABR. STOUT	JOHN PECK
WM. PIATT	WM. KERSEY

Since this Society was designated as "No. 1," it is to be inferred that the organization of a series of branches or chapters was purposed. However, no further reference to the Society or to any branches that may have been formed has been found. This may be explained by the fact that John Pintard,[41] whose name appears among the signatures to this Constitution, and who later founded the So-

ciety of Tammany or Columbian Order in New York, returned to that city in 1783 and engaged in business there. Pintard was undoubtedly the prime mover in the project, for with his departure the New Jersey Society speedily passed out of existence.

The movement was taken up in Georgia, but its annals are brief, and it is difficult to state what degree of permanency characterized the meetings there. The Savannah *Republican*[42] says: "The first fort built at St. Mary's, Camden County, and perhaps the first in the State was called Fort St. Tammany. A gentleman now residing in this city was present while a boy at a celebration by the officers and soldiers at the fort on Saint Tammany's Day. The May pole used on the occasion was a tree with its branches and bark removed; and around that the soldiers danced and celebrated the day." The event described no doubt happened during the Revolution, and the celebrations may have been revived annually. Of this, however, no record remains. The first authentic account of a Tammany celebration in Georgia is taken from the columns of the Massachusetts *Centinel* and reads:[43]

Savannah [Georgia], May 4 [1786]. On May 1st. inst. a number of gentlemen from the Northern States met at the hotel in this town, to celebrate the anniversary of St. Tammany, their tutelary saint, where an elegant dinner was provided, and the day spent in the true spirit of brotherly conviviality.

At the table the following toasts in the ancient and expressive stile of their patron were drank, viz:

1. St. Tammany, and liberty of conscience.
2. Uncle Hancock, and the great council.
3. Our great brother, the King of France, and all his children.
4. All our brothers beyond the great water.
5. Our messengers to all the nations.

6. Brother Washington, our head Warrior.
7. Our old good brother Franklin.
8. The ladies that love us, and the children they bear us.
9. Fat bucks and full ears of corn in their season forever.
10. A clean calumet, and sweet tobacco to all that smoke with us.
11. A fair trade for good things with all nations.
12. Wise laws in full force throughout America.
13. The true faith to our tawny brothers, and sound morals and moderation to all christians.

The inference that the celebration was for the day only and not the act of a fixed society, is supported by the following criticism: "Should the people of Georgia, according to the customs of the nations of Europe and the example of their northern brethren, feel the propriety of a patronage of this kind, they will no doubt canonize this good, jolly old saint and pay respect to this day." [44]

Although it has been stated that the Tammany Society of Georgia became a great political factor in the affairs of the state,[45] no other record of the movement in that commonwealth can be found.

The Carolinas were also invaded, but what may have been the number of societies or the extent of their activities we are unable to tell. The only available record is the following extract which appeared in a New York newspaper in 1788:

Wilmington [N. C.], May 7. Thursday last, the first day of May, being St. Tammany's day, the tutelary Saint of America, the Federal Club met at Mr. Patrick Brannan's agreeable to rule, where an elegant and sumptuous dinner was provided for the occasion. They enjoyed the day in the greatest good humour, and cheerfulness and amity crowned the festive evening.

The following toasts were given by their worthy and re-

spectable President, H. Maclaine, Esq., which were drank with sincere energy by the Sons of St. Tammany.

1. United States.
2. St. Tammany and friends of America.
3. General Washington.
4. Doctor Franklin.
5. Unanimity and steadiness of the counsels of the United States.
6. The friends of Liberty.
7. North Carolina.
8. Governor Johnson.
9. May industry and integrity characterize the inhabitants of North Carolina.
10. Wilmington and trade of Cape Fear.
11. Our great men good and good men, great.
12. Injuries in dust. Friendships in marble.
13. The Federal Club.

An itinerant gentleman who participated in the above agreeable entertainment, observes that it was with the most pleasing satisfaction, he saw so numerous a company, composed of men from all nations (the majority of whom were adopted sons of our rural saint) unite to celebrate the first of May in this land of liberty, and after truly enjoying the day, separating with spirits highly exhilirated in the greatest unanimity and good humor, not the least bit of discord appeared through the whole.[40]

The celebrations held in southern cities seem to have been instituted in the main by northern travellers, and careful research does not disclose the existence of permanent organizations in the south, except in Virginia. It is probable, therefore, that the northern devotees of Saint Tammany, from whose enthusiasm the southern celebrations doubtless emanated, continued the annual celebrations during their sojourn, but did not perfect an organization of such a character as to continue the interest from year to year. It seems also that the groups of northern people, as soon as the day

passed, disbanded,—a conclusion borne out by the meager data available. The toasts offered at the banquets in the southern celebrations bear a striking similarity to those offered in the north, indicating that the participants were in close accord, and perhaps in regular communication with their northern brethren.

It has been stated that the Tammany societies sprang from the patriotic bands or organizations variously known as the "Liberty Boys," "Sons of Liberty," "Friends of Liberty," and "True Sons of Liberty." The phrase "Sons of Liberty" was first used by Colonel Isaac Barre in February, 1765, in the House of Commons, in a debate on the stamp bill for the American Colonies.[47] The speech was reported in the New London *Gazette* by Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut, who sat in the gallery of the house during its delivery. The account was copied by other newspapers, and the phrase was soon on the lips of every lover of liberty in the colonies. Patriots banded together under this name, and notices, bulletins and orders issued by them were posted on a tree selected for the purpose, known as "The Liberty Tree." Sometimes a tall pole was used, and in New York the rallying point was known as the "Liberty Pole," erected in the Fields or Common, the present City Hall Park. At such places assembled those who were interested in the welfare of the colonies to read the bulletins, to discuss the latest public events, to listen to public harangues, and to sing patriotic songs.

While there is a great similarity in the development of the movements, neither in their origin nor in their objects were they identical. The Tammany societies were not only patriotic, but also had a social and charitable feature; while the "Sons of Liberty" were actuated only by motives of patriotism. It can scarcely be said that the Tammany societies in the middle and southern colonies were analogous to

the "Sons of Liberty" in New York and New England, or that the May Day celebration took the place of the "Liberty Pole" and the "Liberty Tree."[48] The "Sons of Liberty," it must be observed, continued their activities up to and including the early years of the Revolution, while during the first years of the Revolution the Tammany societies were inactive and did not renew their activities or their festivals until victory was assured.

It is peculiar that the celebration of Saint Tammany's Day was apparently unobserved in New England,[49] and that the first phase of the movement did not extend thither. Although the "Sons of Liberty" were strongest in New England, the Puritan stock did not seem to take kindly to the activities of the Sons of St. Tammany.[50]

The movement of the Tammany Societies was radical in character and was supported by that same element in the community with the courage and with all the daring and chivalric tendencies of radicals. The toasts offered at the various banquets reveal the character and sentiments of these men. The frequent mention of the Sons of Erin and their cause may be taken as an indication that the movement was under Celtic influence. This fraternal attitude toward Ireland and her sons is the more astonishing when we consider that these sentiments were reversed in the second phase of the movement; for the New York Tammany Society in the beginning discriminated sharply against the admission of Irish Catholics into its fold.

During the stormy period of 1765 to 1783, when the quarrel with the mother country was engendered, the issues framed and the crisis determined by a resort to arms, the movement expanded, flourished and declined, not to be reawakened and rehabilitated until after Independence had been achieved. When the treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed the societies entered upon a brief but flourishing

career, which lasted until the confederated states assumed the work of political reconstruction in 1787. The momentous political controversy over the adoption of the Constitution overshadowed in interest and importance the activities of the societies whose patriotic purposes had been fulfilled; and by the time the new government was organized, early in 1789, they had slowly disintegrated, thus ending the first phase of the movement. Even the parent stem, the Sons of Tammany in Philadelphia, having succumbed to the political activities of the times, had ceased to perform its functions. When the seat of the National Government was transferred from Philadelphia to New York, the light of the movement of the Tammany Societies, already dimmed, was snuffed out, to be relighted upon the organization of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in New York, and to burn with renewed lustre through the second and important phase of the movement.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

1. Eddis as cited, pp. 114-115.

2. Annals of Annapolis (Baltimore, 1841), by David Ridgely.

3. "This was exactly parallel to the celebration of Pope night on Nov. 5th." Albert Matthews in a letter to the author dated Jan. 15, 1910.

4. *Penna. Chronicle,* May 4, 1772 (VI:63/2).

5. *Penna. Chronicle,* May 11, 1772 (VI:67/2).

6. James Galloway, a much-hated loyalist who deserted the Whigs.

7. This notice is set forth in full in: Penna. Magazine of History and Biography, XXV:446; History of Philadelphia (Phila., 1884), by Westcott & Scharf.

8. *Penna. Packet,* Feb. 22, 1780.

9. U. S. Magazine, 1779, p. 99.

10. On May 4, 1781, a reception was held on board the French frigate Herminius, which was an innovation in social circles in America. Freeman's *Journal,* May 16, 1781; May 15, 1782.

11. Freeman's *Journal,* May 9, 1781.

12. Freeman's *Journal,* Oct. 3, 1781. The Senecas were also entertained by the French Embassy.

13. This poem was first published in Freeman's *Journal,* December 11, 1782, of which paper Freneau was at that time editor; the poem later appeared with minor changes in "Poems by Philip Freneau," Philadelphia, 1809; third edition, Vol. I, pp. 269-271. (The frontispiece of this work is an engraving of King Tammany by Joh: Eckstein.) The original version reads:

THE PROPHECY OF KING TAMMANY.

"The Indian Chief, who, fam'd of yore,
Saw Europe's sons advent'ring here,
Look'd sorrowing to the crowded shore,
And sighing dropt a tear;

He saw them half his world explore,
He saw them draw the shining blade,
He saw their hostile ranks display'd,
And cannons blazing thro' that shade
Where only peace was known before.

"Ah, what unequal arms! he cry'd,
How art thou fall'n my country's pride,
The rural, sylvan reign!
Far from our pleasing shores to go
To western rivers, winding slow,
Is this the boon the Gods bestow?
What have we done, great patrons, say,
That strangers seize our woods away,
And drive us naked from our native plain!

"Rage and revenge inspire my soul,
And passion burns without control;
Hence, strangers, to your native shore!
Far from our Indian shades retire,
Remove these *gods* that vomit fire,
And stain with blood these ravag'd glades no more.

"In vain I weep, in vain I sigh,
These strangers all our arms defy,
As they advance our chieftains die!—
What can their hosts oppose?
The bow has lost its wonted spring,
The arrow faulters on the wing,
Nor carries ruin from the string
To end their being and our woes.

"Yes, yes,—I see our nation bends:
The Gods no longer are our friends,
But why these weak complaints and sighs?
Are there not gardens in the west,
Where all our far fam'd Sachems rest?
I'll go, an unexpected guest,
And the dark horrors of the way despise.

"Ev'n now the thundering peals draw nigh,
'Tis theirs to triumph, ours to die!
But mark me, Christian, ere I go—
Thou too shalt have thy share of woe,
The time rolls on, not moving slow,
When hostile squadrons for your blood shall come,
And ravage all your shore!
Your warriors and your children slay,
And some in dismal dungeons lay,
Or lead them captive far away
To climes unknown, thro' seas untry'd before.

"When struggling long, at last with pain
You break a cruel tyrant's chain,
That never shall be join'd again,
When half your foes are homeward fled,
And hosts on hosts in triumph led,
And hundreds maim'd and thousands dead,
A timid race shall then succeed,
Shall slight the virtues of the firmer race,
That brought your tyrant to disgrace,
Shall give your honours to an odious train,
Who shunn'd all conflicts on the main
And dar'd no battles on the plain,
Whose little souls sunk in the gloomy day
When virtue only could support the fray
And sunshine friends kept off—or run away.

"So spoke the chief, and rais'd his funeral pyre—
Around him soon the crackling flames ascend;
He smil'd amid the fervours of the fire
To think his troubles were so near their end,
Till the freed soul, her debt to nature paid,
Rose from the ashes that her prison made,
And sought the world unknown, and dark oblivion's shade."

14. Freeman's *Journal,* May 7, 1783.

15. At all the celebrations of the Society, the sachems were invested with supreme authority for the day; and at the

beginning of the festivities they proclaimed the Law of Liberty, which commanded "every man to do as he pleases, provided always nevertheless that he shall leave every other man to do so too; by which means it is confidently expected that peace and good order will be preserved; but if any man shall presume to do otherwise he shall be heartily laughed at for his folly."

Freeman's *Journal,* May 7, 1783; May 5, 1784; May 2, 1785; *Penna. Evening Herald,* May 6, 1786; *Penna. Packet,* May 6, 1784; May 5, 1785.

Mercury, Philadelphia, May 6, 1785.

16. Freeman's *Journal,* May 5, 1784; Penna. *Packet,* May 6, 1784.

17. *Penna. Packet,* May 5, 1785; Freeman's *Journal,* May 2, 1785; *Penna. Mercury,* May 6, 1785; *Independent Gazetteer,* May 7, 1785; Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia (Phila., 1893), May 2, 1785, p. 73.

18. Freeman's *Journal,* June 16, 1784.

19. *Independent,* April 22, 1786.

20. The flag of the Buck tails, a volunteer Company; Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Phila., 1836), by John F. Watson, III:229.

21. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXV:446.

22. See note 36, Chapter I.

23. The invitations for this festivity bore the following: "A buck's tail and the ticket in your hat, a knife and fork in your pocket." See facsimile in Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVII, No. 3.

24. *Penna. Evening Herald,* May 6, 1786.

25. *Independent,* May 6, 1786.

26. *Independent Gazetteer,* May 3, 1788.

27. See page 183.

28. Freeman's *Journal,* April 10, 1805.

29. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), May, 1774; Letter from Marcus W. Jernegan, dated Nov. 9, 1910.

30. New York *Daily Gazette,* May 22, 1789.

31. Washington after the Revolution (Phila., 1898), by W. S. Baker, p. 30.

32. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVI:456; *Penna. Packet,* June 5, 1786.

33. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 19, 3/1, 1792.

34. *Penna. Mercury,* May 24, 1788; *Penna. Packet,* May 24, 1788; Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVII:35.

35. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 22, 1788.

36. *New Jersey Gazette,* April 28, 1779.

37. *New Jersey Journal,* May 4, 1779.

38. The certificate is preserved in the New Jersey Historical Society, at Newark, N. J.

39. From the first verse of the thirteenth ode of Horace's Third Book of Odes: "I have built a monument more lasting than bronze."

40. Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVI:210. The orginal manuscript is in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. No constitution of the Philadelphia Tammany Society has been found, nor is it known that the Society had a written constitution.

41. See Chapter III, page 132.

42. Quoted in Penna. Mag. of History and Biography, XXVI:458. No date is given.

43. *Massachusetts Centinel,* July 1, 1786.

44. *Penna. Packet,* June 17, 1786.

45. History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order (New York, 1901), by E. V. Blake, p. 21.

46. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 22, 1788.

47. Harvey, as cited, I:534, 563, 585; John Wilkes was the original "Son of Liberty and Champion of the Rights of the People."

48. When the Stamp Act was repealed, March 18, 1766, Nicholas Ray, a representative of the "Sons of Liberty" in London, wrote: "Permit me therefore to recommend twenty of the principal of you to meet once a month under the name

of the Liberty Club and forever on March 18 or 1st of May give notice to the whole body to commemorate your deliverance spending the day in festivity and joy." To this the "Sons of Liberty" replied that they had had the matter under consideration but postponed it until a future day. See Harvey as cited, I: 584 *et seq.*

49. Tammany Hill near Newport, R. I., is a corruption from Wanomitonimo Hill, which was abbreviated to Tonomy and then corrupted to Tominy and later to Tammany. Letter from Albert Matthews to Sir Jas. Murray, Dec. 6, 1909.

50. In a letter dated May 21, 1909, Albert Matthews wrote to Prof. Kittredge of Harvard: "Can you give me any references to the celebration of May Day in this country before 1771? Of course, we all remember Thomas Morton's May pole at Merry Mount. The celebration of St. Tammany was apparently unknown in New England. Would not May Day have been more likely to have been observed in Maryland and Pennsylvania than in New England?"

CHAPTER III

Origin of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York

1. *The Founding*

The Right Honorable James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," [1] explains the origin of the New York Tammany Society as follows:

It is as old as the Federal Government, having been established under the name of the Columbian Society in 1789, just a fortnight after Washington's Inauguration, by an Irish American called William Mooney, and its purposes were at first social and charitable rather than political. In 1805 it entitled itself the Tammany Society, adopted, as is said, the name of the Indian chief called Tamanend or Tammany, and clothed itself with a mock Indian character. There were thirteen Tribes with Twelve " Sachems " under a " Sagamore " or Master of Ceremonies, and a " Wiskinkie " or Door-keeper. By degrees, and as the story goes, under the malignant influences of Aaron Burr, it took a strongly political tinge as its numbers increased.

Mr. Bryce has relied upon the authority of Hammond [2] for his data relating to the establishment of the Tammany Society, and has not departed from the beaten paths followed by most writers on the subject. He has thus failed to avoid the pitfalls of error that proved a snare to the feet of his predecessors, and has therefore, contributed nothing to the history of the establishment of the Tammany Society, other than that weight which repetition gives to misinformation and mistake. He accepts the year 1789 as the date of the establishment of the Society of Tammany in

New York; and, although the exact time of the foundation is not known, an examination of contemporary New York newspapers clearly indicates the existence of the Society at least three years before that date.

During the occupation of New York by the British, from September, 1776, to November 25, 1783, the city was a hot bed of Toryism; for office holders, property owners and business men—the conservative class—remained loyal to the Crown, while the Revolutionary Party, made up for the most part from the lower classes, was hopelessly in the minority. It is therefore scarcely probable that a Tammany society existed in New York earlier than the year 1784, for it took the city some time to accustom itself to the exhilarating spirit of freedom infused into it by British evacuation. Then, too, a readjustment of property rights, made necessary by the new state constitution and by the acts of confiscation directed against Tory property holders, engaged the attention of residents for some time, so that little or no attention was paid to patriotic and civic celebrations. Hence we may infer that a Tammany society was not formed prior to 1785. The first plans of the society were probably formulated late in 1785, or early in 1786. The Tammany Society in Philadelphia was at that period in the zenith of its prosperity, and the spirit of its celebrations was contagious. At the dinner of the Marine Society, held at the Coffee House in New York, on January 25, 1786, the following toast was offered:[3] "St. Tammany and the New Constellation."

The other toasts proposed at this banquet bear a striking resemblance to those drunk at the St. Tammany Day banquets in Philadelphia and elsewhere. This was probably due to the influence of John Pintard,[4] who four years before had been prominently associated with the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany in New Jersey. Soon after the

British evacuation, however, he came to New York, and in 1784 became a member of the Marine Society.

The Society of Tammany has preserved the cornerstone of the first Tammany Hall, erected in 1811 at Park Row and Frankfort Street, where the *Sun* building now stands. The stone bears this inscription:[5] "Tammany Society or Columbian Order. Founded by William Mooney in 1786. Organized under a Constitution and Laws in 1789. Wm. Mooney 1st Grand Sachem. New York May 12th 1789."

The name Tammany Society or Columbian Order was not adopted until 1791, as our further discussion of the topic in this chapter will demonstrate; but the inscription, although written a quarter of a century later, may be accepted as evidence of the founding. It finds corroboration in the following excerpt from the New York *Daily Advertiser* of July 15, 1805:

> In answer to your inquiries when and how it happened that the reading of the Declaration of Independence made a part of the ceremonial in observing the 4th of July, if my memory serves me, it was as follows: About the year 1786 a Society was formed in this City. There was a tradition that a Sagamore of some note had once lived on the banks of the Schuylkill, whose name was Tammany; him the Society took as their patron or Saint. They had understood that his birthday came on the first of May; this, therefore, was their great Anniversary, but always observed according to the old style on the 12th instead of the first of the month.

From this item, and from contemporary reports of the activities of the Society immediately following 1786, that year should be accepted as the starting point of the organization. The seed must have been sown certainly as early as that year, for the plant appears in full bloom by the year following.

If the Society held a celebration in 1786, the event was of little or no consequence, for no account of it is found in the newspaper columns of that year. It gathered sufficient strength, however, to attract attention to its meeting in May, 1787; and the existence of a Tammany society in New York at this time is conclusively brought to light by the following notice that appeared in the New York *Daily Advertiser,* April 30, 1787:

The members of St. Tammany's Society in the City of New York are requested to meet at their wigwam, held at Mr. Talmage Hall's, No. 49 Cortlandt Street, on Tuesday, the first day of May next, at sun, to celebrate the annual meeting. By order of the Sachem.

Putticatwamina, Sec'ry.

This notice was followed the next day by a news item that appeared in one of the daily papers;[6] the item read:

The St. Tammany Society in this City will celebrate this day, it being the Anniversary of their Saint.

We are informed that a number of other gentlemen likewise intend to observe the day, in honor of

Immortal Tammany! of Indian Race,
Great in the field, and foremost in the chase!

The celebration appears to have been a great success, for it was elaborately described in the journals of the day. The following presents an interesting picture of the occasion:[7]

Tuesday last being St. Tammany's Day, (the Tutelar Saint of America,) the St. Tammany Society of this City held their Anniversary Meeting at the Wigwam at Hall's.

At eight o'clock P. M. the Society sat down to an elegant supper, provided by Mr. Hall, after which the following toasts were drank, viz.:

1st. The Day, and all who honor it.

2nd. The Land of Liberty.

3rd. Congress and their Allies.

4th. The State of New York, and all who wish it prosperity.

5th. His Excellency, the truly great and virtuous George Washington, Esq.

6th. Louis XVI, King of France, his amiable Queen and Royal Family.

7th. Perpetual Unanimity and prosperity to the Sons of Tammany throughout the world.

8th. The noble patriots who fell in the cause of American Liberty.

9th. May the war hatchet be buried and the pipe of peace be smoked, till time shall be no more.

10th. May the industry of the Beaver, the frugality of the Ant, and the constancy of the Dove be perpetual characteristics of the Sons of St. Tammany.

11th. The daughters of St. Tammany and their papooses.

12th. May the American chain never be tarnished by the rust of discord.

13th. May honor, virtue, a true sense of liberty, and a detestation of slavery be the characteristics of Americans, and all their adopted brethren.

The evening being spent with that cordiality, good humour and love that always prevails when the Sons of St. Tammany meet, after drinking the above toasts and singing some excellent songs in honor of their Tutelar Saint, and smoking the pipe of peace, every man departed to his own wigwam and hunting ground.

In hopes the ensuing year to spend,
In peace and love with every friend.

A correspondent observes that the establishing of St. Tammany Society does honor to the promoters and makes not the least doubt but it will be the most respectable Society in this city in the course of a little time.

From these newspaper accounts the origin of the Society should be traced to the year 1786. From the fact, however, that we find no record of the celebration in that

year, it may be inferred that the Society was organized later than May first, while the unmistakable evidence of an organization perfected to a degree as early as April, 1787, would inevitably lead to the conclusion that the Society had its origin at least late in 1786.[8] In 1787 it had a meeting room or "Wigwam," notices of its annual meeting were published broadcast, and the celebration of May first was looked upon as an "Anniversary." The observation of the newspaper correspondent that the Society "does honor to the promoters," and his prediction for its success and respectability, indicate that it was yet in its infancy and that the celebration of May 1, 1787, was its initial function. Subsequent events bear ample testimony to the trustworthiness of the correspondent as a prophet, for the Society was destined soon to become the most respectable and most powerful organization in the city, a commanding position long enjoyed.

For the year 1788 no notice of the activity of the Society is found in local newspapers or elsewhere. This may be due either to the fact that the Society was dormant, or to the fact that events of greater importance overshadowed its functions. For during the period from January, 1788, to July 26th of the same year, New York City, as in fact the whole State, was engaged in the bitter controversy over ratification of the proposed Constitution for the United States; and the election of delegates to the Convention and the acrimonious debates that preceded and followed the election absorbed the attention of the public to the exclusion of other interests. With the ratification of the Constitution and the adoption of the Federal form of government, the social and political life of Philadelphia and New York took on a new aspect. When the seat of Government was changed from Philadelphia to New York, it brought about a change of the political and social center, and Philadelphia,

theretofore the first city in the land, met with eclipse in social and political splendor.

The New York Tammany Society in the meantime continued its organization, for in the *Daily Advertiser* of May 5, 1789, there appeared a letter on some timely subject, signed "Tammany," thus indicating that the influence of the Society was felt in the community. On May 12th of the same year and, in fact, in the same paper, the following notice was inserted:

ST. TAMMANY'S SOCIETY.

The Sons of St. Tammany intend celebrating their Anniversary Festival, on Tuesday, the 1st of May, Old Stile, (corresponding with 12th inst.) at the place appointed. Those brethren who are not supplied with Tickets, are requested to call on the Stewards for them immediately, or at Aorson's Tavern, on This Evening, the 8th inst., where they will attend. Those strangers who are now in this city, and who are Members of this Society in any other state, are invited to join on the occasion.

Dinner on the table at 3 o'clock.

By order of the Grand Sachem.

William Tapp, Sec'ry pro tem.

The festivity is graphically described two days later, in the following article:

Last Tuesday, being the 12th inst., (or the first of May, old stile) was the Anniversary of St. Tammany, the Tutelar Saint of America. On this occasion marquee, etc., were erected upon the banks of the Hudson, about two miles from the city, for the reception of the brethren of that Society, and an elegant entertainment provided, which was served up precisely at 3 o'clock.

After dinner the following patriotic toasts were drank, under thirteen discharges, to each toast, from a Maroon Battery:

1. The United States and the new Era.

2. The Illustrious Washington, in the triple capacity of Citizen, Soldier and Statesman.

3. The Vice-President and Congress of the United States.

4. Wisdom, Justice and Fortitude to the three branches of the Federal Legislature.

5. The Governor of the State of New York.

6. A grateful remembrance of those, who like Heroes fought, and gloriously fell in support of American freedom.

7. His Most Christian Majesty and all our allies.

8. May Honor, Virtue and Patriotism be the distinguishing Characteristics of the Sons of St. Tammany.

9. The Sons and Daughters of St. Tammany throughout the World.

10. May the industry of the Beaver, the Frugality of the Ant, and the constancy of the Dove perpetually distinguish the Sons of St. Tammany.

11. May the American Chain never be tarnished by the Rust of Discord.

12. May we continue to smoke the Calumet of Peace with all Mankind. (At this toast the calumet was smoked by each member in turn, in token of indissoluble friendship and peace.)

13. The day, and all who honor it.

The number which attended at this festival was very respectable, and affords, to the first Institutors of that Society, a happy presage of its growing importance and respectability.

The afternoon was spent in the utmost harmony and the genuine spirit of conviviality and fraternal affection presided to the last.

After singing numbers of Songs adapted to the occasion, and smoking the Calumet of Peace, each member retired to his own Wigwam and Hunting Ground, in hopes of meeting on the next anniversary, in the same brotherly and affectionate manner, to commemorate the glorious deeds and achievements of their renowned Patron.

The ceremonial of the festival was borrowed from the Philadelphia Society of the Sons of St. Tammany and is

tersely explained in the following excerpt from an early New York newspaper: [10]

The Society was divided into as many Tribes as there were States, each tribe distinguished by the name of a State. The members were divided or classed into sachems, warriors, hunters, &c. In their processions they always walked in Indian or single file, and many of them completely dressed like Indians, with their faces painted or smeared, and they were decorated with bows, arrows, tomahawks, and long calumets or smoking pipes, &c., for a covering a cap or bladder nicely fitted on the head, so as to make it a proper depilous Indian skull. Those of them who appeared in a hat, jacket and breeches, and left their faces white, wore buck's tail in their hats. Their place of meeting was called the Wigwam. In short, they affected to be Indians throughout. Besides being called the Sons of Tammany or St. Tammany, they also took the Appellation of the Columbian Order.

In this year we note a change in the date of the celebration from May 1st to May 12th. No explanation is offered for the change, although it may indicate the existence of a tradition that the celebration of St. Tammany's Day antedated 1752, when the change from Old Style to New Style in reckoning time was inaugurated.

The Tammany Society that held the celebration on May twelfth, 1789, was unquestionably a continuation of the Society that held a celebration on May first, 1787. Both functions were conducted under the same auspices, and in all probability the same person or persons instituted both events, since there is a striking similarity in the order of arrangement. It seems evident that the toasts were drafted by the same pen, for they evince the same sentiment, and the tenth toast drunk in 1789 is identical with the tenth toast drunk at the celebration in 1787. The true relationship, however, between the two events can only be completely

explained by the early records of the Society itself, if indeed they have been preserved.[11]

Elaborate preparation for the anniversary of May 12, 1789, had been made; the event iself attracted a large number of persons; and there is every indication that the Society at this time was well established and was growing in numbers, in importance, and in reputation.

Encouraged, no doubt, by the success attained at the recent celebration, the Society on two successive days, May 14th and 15th,[12] caused to be printed a notice for a meeting to be held on May 15, 1789. The first notice read:

The members of the Society of St. Tammany will please to recollect, that a full meeting is requested Tomorrow Evening, at the usual Place, to transact some Business of importance.

By order of the Grand Sachem

William Tapp, Sec. pro tem.

This notice is of considerable moment, since it demonstrates that the Society had a regular meeting place, designated in the notice merely as "the usual place," and a set of officers, showing that it was already well established, with a perfected organization. The custom of the Philadelphia Tammany Society was to elect officers at the time of its festivity, to wit, May 1st. This practice, however, does not seem to have been followed by the New York Society; at least the published accounts of its celebrations are silent on the point. It is likely, however, that this meeting was called for the purpose of electing officers, for soon after the meeting the New York Directory and Register[13] for the year 1789 made its appearance in print, with the following reference to the Tammany Society:

ST. TAMMANY'S SOCIETY

or

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF LIBERTY.

This being a national society consists of Americans born, who fill all offices, and adopted Americans, who are eligible to the honorary posts of warrior and hunter.

It is founded on the true principles of patriotism, and has for its motives charity and brotherly love. Its officers consist of one Grand Sachem, twelve Sachems, one treasurer, one door-keeper,—it is divided into thirteen tribes, which severally represent a state; each tribe is governed by a Sachem, the honorary posts in which are one warrior and one hunter.

Officers for the present year.

William Mooney, Grand Sachem.

Sachems.

White Matlack	James Tylee
Oliver Glean	John Campbell
Philip Hone	Gabriel Furman
John Burger	Abel Hardenbrook
Jonathan Pierce	Cortlandt Van Buren
Thomas Greenleaf	Joseph Gadwin

Thomas Ash, Treasurer Anthony Ernest, Secretary

Gardner Baker, Door-keeper.

Thenceforth during the year regular meetings were held, at intervals varying from one week to one month, at which the policies and purposes of the order became crystallized and its ritual elaborated.[14] It is probable, also, that much attention was given to the preparation of a constitution, for some time during the same year there appeared in print the "Public Constitution" of the Society.[15] This is the oldest constitution extant, and, inasmuch as it was prob-

ably the first one adopted by the Society, it is deemed of sufficient importance to be set forth in full in this treatise:

ST. TAMMANY SOCIETY CONSTITUTION.

Public.

First.

This institution shall be called and known by the name of Saint Tammany's Society or Columbian Order.

Second.

It shall connect in the indissoluble bonds of patriotic Friendship, American Brethren, of known attachment to the Political Rights of human Nature, and the Liberties of this country.

Third.

The constitution of this society shall consist of two Parts, viz., The external or public, and the internal or private. The latter shall ever be subordinate to the former admitting no construction contradicting either to the Letter or Spirit of the external, or calculated farther to infringe the equal Privileges of the Sons of St. Tammany, than is necessary to preserve peace, good Order, and Government.

Fourth.

Every Member, upon Initiation, shall come under an honorary Obligation to maintain the Reputation, Constitution and Harmony—and to preserve inviolably the Arcana of this Society.

Fifth.

This Society shall be govered by Thirteen Sachems, annually chosen by Ballott, who shall form a council, and be invested with certain exclusive Judiciary Powers.

Sixth.

The President of this Society shall be known (and addressed) by the name of Grand Sachem, and be vested with certain exclusive Executive Powers.

Seventh.

There shall be a Treasurer, annually chosen, who shall preside over its Funds as by Law directed.

Eighth.

There shall be a Secretary annually chosen, who shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings and Laws, as by Law directed.

Ninth.

No person shall be eligible to the office of Sachem, unless a native of this Country, nor to the office of Grand Sachem above one year in three, nor to any two offices at one time.

Tenth.

This Society shall be divided into thirteen distinct Tribes, with one of the Sachems presiding over each, who may have separate meetings, as by Law directed.

Eleventh.

The Tribes, in their separate Capacity, shall have Power to elect their own Officers, who shall not exceed Three in Number, and be entitled to receive the honorary Titles of Okemaw, Alank or Mackawalaw, at the discretion of the Grand Sachem.

Twelfth.

The number of States in the American Union, shall be the number constituting a quorum in all meetings of the Sons of Saint Tammany.

Thirteenth.

When alteration of, or Amendments to this constitution have been constitutionally recommended, and discussed by the Society, at three Meetings, they shall be finally submitted to the Judgment of the Tribes, the consent of Nine Tribes being necessary either for the adoption of the same, or to render void any part of this Constitution.

At some time subsequent to April 6, 1791,[16] the exact date not known, both public and private constitutions appeared in print.[17] In the private constitution the time of the stated meetings of the Society was fixed, the powers and duties of the officers were defined, penalties determined and fines limited to one hundred cents or less; the initiation fee was not to "exceed eight hundred cents, nor be less than two hundred"; and every member was obliged to pay a "quarterage" of twenty-four cents.

With the election of officers, in the Spring of 1790, the Society was thoroughly and permanently organized, and has since continued its respectable and dignified career, adjusting its customs and ceremonies to conform to the changes, taste, and fashion of each decade, but clinging tenaciously to the ancient traditions that inspired its foundation.

2. *Objects.*

Commentators[18] on the origin and early history of the Society state with confidence and complacency that William Mooney was the founder, and that in establishing this patriotic organization he aimed to counteract the pernicious tendencies of the Order of the Cincinnati. Some even go so far as to say that in organizing the Society Mooney served as a tool for Aaron Burr, who, actuated by selfish and sordid motives, used the Society to secure his own political preferment. Nothing could be more remote from the truth, nor can the name of Burr be associated with the origin of the Society in any way.

No list of the members who attended the meetings in 1786, 1787, 1788, or even in 1789, is extant. The only name that has been preserved is that of William Tapp, the Secretary *pro tem.* in 1789, of whom little or nothing is known. In the first issue of the New York Directory in 1786 he is described as "acomptant," with a residence on

George Street; his name also appears on the membership list of the Order of the Cincinnati, indicating that he was a veteran officer of the Revolution. In 1789, while he was acting as Secretary of the Tammany Society, he kept a boarding house at No. 1 Mill Street, now Stone Street, and in 1790 was located at No. 7 King Street.[19]

The name most prominently associated with the Society in its early years is that of William Mooney, a merchant of the middle class, with a place of business in Nassau Street. We notice his name in print for the first time in the New York Directory for 1786, in which he is described as "William Mooney, Upholsterer, 14 Nassau Street." The advertisements of his business appear in the daily newspaper columns [20] of that year as a paper hanger, upholsterer and furniture dealer. He is again called to our attention through the conspicuous part he played in the great Constitutional Parade [21] in New York City on July 23, 1788. The various trades furnished floats for the occasion and Mooney, representing the upholsterers, was shown on a float in the act of preparing the Presidential chair. Nothing further is known of his career, except that he was a veteran officer of the Revolution, until his name appears as the Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society in 1789. After this date he occupied positions of prominence in the Society continuously for upwards of thirty years, as Grand Sachem, Sachem, or chairman of important committees.[22] Added prominence is given to his name by the fact that many charters and dispensations granted to allied bodies or chapters of the Tammany Society, throughout the United States, bore his signature, while some of the copies of the Tammanial laws and rituals forwarded to these bodies were in his own handwriting.[23] Through his connection with the Society he secured a lucrative position in the municipal administration as superintendent of the almshouse, from which post he

was removed on September 18, 1809,[24] for malfeasance in office. The investigation into his official conduct revealed gross irregularities, misappropriation of funds, and the perversion of the perquisites of his office to luxurious and intemperate indulgence.[25] Nevertheless he continued to enjoy the confidence of the Society and retained a leading position in its activities. At the celebration of the 42d anniversary of the Society, held on May 12, 1831, the orator[26] of the day delivered a glowing eulogy " to this venerable man." Myers in his " History of Tammany Hall " gives November of that same year as the time of his death, although we find no contemporary record to fix the date of his demise. Mooney was an original member of the veteran corps of artillery of the State of New York, founded November 25, 1790, by virtue of the prerogative of Governor George Clinton. The corps was composed of officers and soldiers who served with honor in the war of the Revolution.

The conspicuous character of the official acts of William Mooney during his long and active career in the Society, coupled with his election as Grand Sachem at the time of the reconstruction of the Society in 1789, when its affairs emerged into the light of formal public recognition, gave rise to the notion that he founded the organization; and a hostile press contemptuously referred to him as " Old Father Mooney." [27] The inscription on the corner-stone which attributed this honor to him was done under his direction, as chairman[28] of the committee on arrangements, while his vainglorious and unscrupulous character justifies the belief that he arrogated to himself the credit of founding the Society.[29]

The guiding influence in the establishment of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in New York is readily traceable to John Pintard, merchant, philanthropist and scholar, to whom reference has already been made in this

work. Soon after the Treaty of Peace in 1783, he came to New York to engage in business with an uncle, and at once likewise plunged into society, politics, and particularly into all the humanitarian and civic movements of the day. In 1788 and 1789 he was an assistant alderman, and in 1790 was elected to the state legislature. The scope of his activity was so broad that he became a member of every society and a participant in every movement of importance in New York, at this period still the State capital. In 1786 he arranged the banquet of the Marine Society and probably drafted the toasts which were the first recorded expression of approval for the movement of the Tammany societies in New York. These toasts doubtless furnished the inspiration, or at least voiced the sentiment, which led to the formation of the Tammany Society soon afterward.

The Society kept pace with the impetus given to New York City by the removal thither of the seat of the National Government, and this increase in numbers and prestige necessitated the Society's reconstruction in 1789. Although Pintard was not elected Grand Sachem after the reorganization, his genius and imagination are plainly traceable in the ambitious scope and elaborate ceremonial adopted. It is a singular circumstance that Pintard never occupied the presidency or other chief executive office in any of the societies in which his influence predominated. This, however, may be accounted for by his excessive modesty, an obstacle to his success as a public speaker. In the responsible position of secretary, however, the formal activities and detailed arrangements usually fell under his influence. It is said that he drafted the by-laws for every society of importance in New York City in his day, and the first Constitution of the Tammany Society bears every evidence of his style.

The ostensible objects of the Society are briefly stated in the second paragraph of the Public Constitution as follows:

It shall connect in the indissoluble Bonds of patriotic Friendship, American Brethren, of known attachment to the political Rights of human Nature, and the Liberties of this country.

Pintard, however, indulged hopes for the organization of a great national society, to include among its other functions the preservation of American relics and historical data, as a stimulus to continued patriotism and national pride. In formulating his plans and for the purpose of promoting interest in them he sought the advice and co-operation of scholarly gentlemen in other cities, and for a period of a year and a half he exchanged views with the eminent scholar, Dr. Jeremy Belknap of Boston. This interesting correspondence gives us a clear conception of Pintard's relation to the Society and discloses the purpose with which at this period it was most seriously concerned.

In August, 1789, Pintard visited Belknap and evidently disclosed his scheme of such a society, for at once Belknap dispatched the following anxious inquiry to his friend Hazard:[30]

Boston, August 10, 1789.

This day a Mr. Pintard called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form a Society of Antiquaries, etc. He seems to have a literary taste, is very loquacious and unreserved. Do give me his character.

Previous to this, however, Pintard had discussed his plans with Hazard, who heartily endorsed the scheme, for he replied to Belknap's inquiry from New York, September 5, 1789, as follows:[31] "Mr. Pintard has mentioned to me his thoughts about an American Antiquarian Society. The idea pleases me much. We shall have the plan upon paper one of these days, and you will doubtless be made acquainted

with it." The idea was not permitted to languish. Pintard persistently expounded his purposes and developed his plans; and in 1790 we again find Belknap writing to his friend Hazard urging co-operation as follows: [32]

Boston, August 27, 1790.

When Mr. Pintard was here he strongly urged the forming a society of American Antiquarians. Several other gentlemen have occasionally spoken to me on the same subject. Yesterday, I was in company where it was again mentioned, and it was wished that a beginning could be made.

To this note Hazard penned the following brief reply from New York, October 3, 1790: "I like Pintard's idea of a Society of American Antiquarians; but where will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure? Where will jarring interests suffer the museum to be kept?" [33]

Pintard, in the meantime, had succeeded in impressing upon the Society of Tammany his project for the establishment of a historical museum. Late in 1790 he explained the scope of this special feature and commented interestingly on the general purposes of the Society in the following letter to Belknap: [34]

New York, October 11, 1790.

Dear Sir:

I am exceedingly indebted to you for your present of the Indian Bible, which came safe to hand. I shall deposit it with your permission and in your name in the American Museum, laterly instituted by the St. Tammany's Society in this city for the express purpose of collecting and preserving everything relating to the natural or political history of America. A small fund is appropriated to that purpose, and should the Society exist, this branch of it may arrive to something useful.

I have not time to explain the principles of this Society, of

which I am a member, further than that it is a political institution founded on a strong republican basis, whose democratic principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy of our city.

Following the suggestion of Pintard, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the venerable dean of all such organizations, was formed in Boston, at the house of William Tudor, January 24, 1791, and Dr. Belknap was elected its first president. Pintard, however, still clung to his idea of a national patriotic society, hoping that the Tammany Society would one day carry out his dreams. Soon after the founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society he wrote to its president, proposing coöperation with the Tammany Society. In this significant communication, quoted below in part, Pintard expatiates on the progress of the museum, explains the Columbian feature of the Society, and furnishes us with the latest item of first-hand information on its character and functions at this period.

April 6, 1791.

I wish to hear whether your Antiquarian Society is commencing, or its prospects. An account will be given in some future magazine of our Tammany Society.[85] (We have lately uncanonized him.) This being a strong national society, I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes a small progress, with a small fund, and may possibly succeed. We have got a tolerable collection of Pamphlets, mostly modern, with some History, of which I will also send you some day an abstract. If your society succeeds, we will open a regular correspondence and interchange communications, duplicates, etc. If my plan once strikes root, it will thrive. . . .

Our society proposes celebrating the completion of the third century of the discovery of America, on the 12th of October, 1792, with some peculiar mark of respect to the memory of Columbus, who is our patron. We think besides a procession

and oration—for we have annual orations—of erecting a column to his memory. I wish to know, if possible, the dimensions and cast of your monument on Beacon Hill, to guide our calculations.

In response to Pintard's communications the Massachusetts Historical Society "voted that the corresponding secretary open a correspondence with the St. Tammany Society of New York," [36] and pursuant thereto a letter was dispatched to "John Pintard, Esq., Secretary of the Tammany Society in New York," to solicit a friendly intercourse, exchanges and coöperation. At the same time four members of the "Apollo," the official magazine of the historical society, were forwarded. In his reply, Pintard expressed his desire to assist in promoting the objects of the institution and gave assurance of his sympathy.

It is to be regretted that Pintard, in his busy life,[37] did not find time to write the account of the Society to which he refers. On May 13, 1790, in a letter to Baron Steuben, President of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, he stated that the Tammany Society was "established on National Principles." [38] Unfortunately this letter is not now accessible, and the excerpts quoted in this monograph are the only available expositions by Pintard of the principles of the Tammany Society.

Enough, however, is outlined to indicate that Pintard dominated the Society in its formative period.[39] Although he filled the subordinate office of Sagamore or Master of Ceremonies, his activity in the management and direction of the affairs of the Society was so great that he was responsible for the recognition it received and the dignity accorded it at the hands of contemporaries. Under his influence it expanded its functions and acquired character and solidarity.

Upon the objects of the Society the periodicals of the

day dilated in broad platitudes which tend to confuse rather than to enlighten. For example, one publication [40] in 1789 offers the following: "This being a National Society, it is founded on the true principles of patriotism, and has for its motives charity and brotherly love." The next year the same publication gives the objects thus: "This national institution holds up as its objects the smile of charity, the chain of friendship, and the flame of liberty, and, in general, whatever may tend to perpetuate the flame of Freedom or the political advantage of this country." In an oration delivered before the Society on May 12, 1790, Dr. William Pitt Smith declared [41] that the primary objects of the Society were: (1) to impress upon the institution a strong American feature by adopting Indian terms, customs, dresses and ornaments, and that the Order might eventually adopt a pattern for a distinctive national dress; (2) to promote intercourse between the states, and to remove local and class prejudices; (3) to establish a society whose membership was not gauged by wealth or class; (4) to cultivate and diffuse political knowledge. At the reception tendered by the Society to the Creek Indians on August 2, 1790,[42] Dr. Smith, in his address of welcome, again outlined the objects in these words: "Our great object is to cherish, to spread abroad, and to maintain the love of freedom." The Society in an address issued to the people of the United States on February 2, 1795, described its basic principles in these words: [43]

Whereas this Society acknowledges neither political principles for its establishment, nor political objects for its pursuits; but is founded on the broad basis of natural rights and is solely designed to connect American brethren in the indissoluble bonds of Patriotic Friendship, and

Whereas if it be not strictly against the Tammanial Constitution, it at least militates against the spirit and tenor of

that constitution for this society to intermeddle in public questions, either by their actions or the publication of their sentiments as a society, and tends directly to defeat its object by interrupting harmony and destroying Friendship.

And the Society, again, in an address [44] published in 1819, described its principles in these sentences: "The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order is founded upon the dignified principles of Public Liberty. It is the task of this Society to adhere with the faith of the magnet to the principles of the revolution."

At the 42d anniversary celebration of the Society, held on May 12, 1831, Sachem Grant outlined its principles in the following toast: [45] "Tammany Society or Columbian Order,—a great national institution, founded on the principles of civil and religious liberty—the glory of man."

That another object was the conciliation of the Indian tribes [46] is an impression that will not down. This view, which was current as early as 1838, has been adopted by many later writers. At the time of the reconstruction of the Tammany Society and immediately thereafter, the country was in a state of turmoil because of the depredations of the Indians on the frontiers. The Society performed a patriotic function in entertaining the representatives of the various tribes who came to New York to negotiate with the National Government for establishing peace. In February, 1790, the chiefs of the Oneida Indians visited New York; and, in an entertainment provided for them by the Tammany Society, the Scribe informed them that "This society is formed to promote good will and friendly intercourse between you and us." [47] To give these words any further significance than mere diplomatic courtesy seems unwarranted; nevertheless they are the foundation for the assumption that the conciliation of the Indians was one of the principal objects of the Society, while in fact the per-

formance of these highly useful offices was wholly fortuitous.

Pintard's remark that " It is a political institution founded on a strong republican basis, whose democratic principles will serve in a measure to correct the aristocracy of our city " gave rise to the contention that the Society was organized to oppose the Cincinnati. Many writers attribute to it this purpose,[48] although an understanding of the circumstances surrounding the establishment and early growth of the Society does not warrant such an inference. By " aristocracy," Pintard undoubtedly meant the Tory reactionaries, who by reason of wealth and social position developed strength after the disabilities imposed upon them during the war had been removed. The line of cleavage was between the patriots and the loyalists, not between any class or classes of men who, like the Sons of Saint Tammany and the members of the Cincinnati, had struggled side by side for American freedom. There is nothing in the early character of the Society, with its Indian emblems and ceremonial, which would indicate that it was intended to operate as a check to the Cincinnati, to " laugh the vanity of hereditary honors out of countenance " and to combat those who " wished for the loaves and fishes of government and cared for nothing else but a translation of the diadem and sceptre from London to Boston, New York or Philadelphia." [49] It is true that when the Cincinnati was organized, it seemed to the masses that an institution was created which threatened to develop into an hereditary aristocracy; but a change in the exclusive rules of the order and the passage of time dispelled these fears; while, by the time of the founding of the Tammany Society, the aristocratic pretensions of the Cincinnati and the bitterness entertained toward it were reduced to a minimum in New York City.[50]

In 1789 the utmost good feeling prevailed between the Tammany Society and the Order of the Cincinnati. Compliments and felicitations were exchanged at their banquets,[51] and the Cincinnati, at an early date, "congratulated the [Tammany] Society . . . and expressed their wishes that, as the institutions were founded on similar principles, the most perfect union might subsist between them and that the chain of their friendship might be brightened by mutual endeavors to serve their country." Members of the Cincinnati were also prominent members of the Tammany Society;[52] invitations to dine were cordially exchanged,[53] and a committee delegated by the Tammany Society, "to congratulate the Society of the Cincinnati on the happy return of the day," reported "that they had waited on the Society of the Cincinnati and were received by the President and members with every mark of friendly regard and attachment."[54] Without further comment, therefore, we may dismiss as unfounded the statement that the Tammany Society was instituted to counteract "pernicious" principles propagated by the Order of the Cincinnati.

The Society had a charitable side and a fund was raised by collection at the annual festivities for the relief of delinquent debtors. This was a favorite practice of the day, for the Poor Debtors' Laws were stringent and worked untold hardship.[55] As the Debtors' Relief Laws were forced on the statute books, the Society turned its charitable attentions in other directions. This phase of the Society became a distinguishing feature, which still endures; and, in the act[56] of the legislature of New York State that incorporated the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, the object is stated to be "relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity."

In 1790 the objects were not clearly grasped by the pub-

lic, for even so keen an observer as Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania noted in his diary on May 12th of that year: "There seems to be some kind of order or society under this denomination, but it does not seem digested as yet." There is a dearth of contemporary information on the subject, and subsequent writers have enumerated a variety of objects limited only by the vagaries of the particular author. It is unfortunate, however, that more information is not available from so reliable a source as Pintard; and contemporary letters and speeches, which might shed much light upon the inquiry, have not been unearthed. We know for instance that on May 12, 1791, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, one-time Grand Sachem, delivered an oration entitled "Origin of the Columbian Order and the Society of Cincinnati,"[57] in which, according to the newspaper account, he discussed at length the origin and objects of the Society. And on May 12, 1825, Lemuel Smith spoke on the "Original Organization of the Tammany Society";[58] but neither of these speeches has been preserved. It may fairly be concluded, however, that the Society was instituted primarily as a social, fraternal and benevolent organization, based on democratic principles, that its membership was not determined by caste, but that all might mingle on the basis of manhood rather than on that of wealth or culture.

It is remarkable that the strong anti-Catholic sentiment discernible in the early development of the Society has hitherto escaped critical attention. English oppression in Ireland, which became acute in 1688 and continued for a century and a half, caused a heavy emigration to America. Beginning with the opening of the 18th century, and especially from 1720 on, thousands of Irish emigrants settled in Pennsylvania,[59] Maryland and the southern colonies where religious toleration was one of the cardinal virtues of these communities. The following letter, written in

1729, aptly describes the great Irish influx into Pennsylvania:[66]

> It looks . . . as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived and every day two or three also arrive. The common fear is, that if they continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the province. It is strange . . . that they thus crowd where they are not wanted. The Indians themselves are alarmed at the swarm of strangers, and we are afraid of a breach between them, for the Irish are very rough to them. . . . The greater portion of them are Catholics and have priests officiating in the Irish language, which is spoken by many of the laboring classes.

Great numbers settled in Philadelphia and vicinity, and their descendants slowly drifted into the political and social activities of the day. Their native aggressiveness and natural aptitude soon made them a factor in the new game. It followed that when the Tammany societies were organized in Philadelphia and in the southern colonies, the Irish Catholic took up the movement with enthusiasm and it soon passed under his complete control. A glance at the toasts offered at the banquets of these societies shows that the movement was under the auspices of the Irish, who were overwhelmingly Catholic in these localities. In the north, however, the movement developed under the domination of John Pintard, who, although a man of liberal views, was by training and family tradition averse to the spirit of Catholicism. He was descended from Huguenot stock, trained in his early youth at the school of the Rev. Leonard Cutting, an Episcopal clergyman on Long Island, and later completed his education at Princeton College, in those days a violently sectarian institution. New York City, moreover, was not at this time considered a haven for victims of religious intolerance; and, though, soon after the Treaty of Peace, in

fact as soon as the success of the American arms seemed assured, the Irish immigrants flocked to America, they preferably landed in Boston and in Philadelphia, avoiding New York because of its loyalist tendencies. There was, however, in the city, prior to its evacuation by the British, a large number of Irish who were Protestant in faith and loyal to the Crown. When the British evacuated New York in 1783, Irish Catholics from Boston, Philadelphia, and even from their native land, began to pour into the city.[61] Their tact and their ready adaptability to new conditions soon won them an enviable place in the affairs of the municipality. Their success aroused animosity among the intolerant, and, on the reconstruction of the Tammany Society in 1789, decisive steps were taken to curb this tendency and to prevent the Society from passing under their control as had been the case with the Tammany Society in Philadelphia. The constitution of this year, which has already been credited to the genius of Pintard, states that "no person shall be eligible to the office of Sachem unless a native of this country." By another clause absolute control of the Society was placed in the hands of a council composed of the thirteen Sachems, vested with certain exclusive judiciary powers. Two negative votes in every sixteen cast were sufficient to exclude an applicant for membership, and this rule kept the membership, and through it the Society, under the complete domination of the Sachems. Thus the reorganizers readily retained control. Its principles were expressed as strongly American, and the term "National" was used to describe its sentiments, connoting opposition to the Irish Catholics and stigmatizing their aspiration as un-American.[62]

This sectarian prejudice, masquerading as national pride, was the forerunner of the American Protective Association or "Know Nothing" Party, which aroused such acrimo-

nious controversies in New York some fifty years later, and which, by the irony of fate, was bitterly opposed by the Tammany Society, by that time under Hibernian control.[63]

Singularly the Philadelphia branch, organized under the first dispensation issued by the Society, welcomed Catholics into its fold and presently passed completely under their influence. Although the chapter prospered under these auspices, it was bitterly attacked in the press and in the political arena because of its strong Irish-Catholic character.[64] The Washington Chapter of the Society, which was organized August 1, 1807, was most unfortunate in its dealing with this problem. Immediately after its organization, it was confronted with the question of excluding aliens from membership; and by the dissensions which survived the controversy the Society was rent asunder.[65]

In the New York Society, however, the undemocratic feature gradually disappeared, the opposition to admitting aliens being finally beaten down by the persistent efforts of the Irish to gain recognition. The process was attended by friction within the Society[66] and the battle was fiercely waged without. As the Society became more interested in politics, the spirit of toleration, inspired by the desire for votes, swept aside religious prejudice; and, with the advent of manhood suffrage in 1821, Irish Catholics and indeed all aliens were cordially received within its portals. After 1821 the Irish membership and influence had become dominant, if the cordial toasts to Ireland's sons and the popularity of St. Patrick, who well nigh supplanted Columbus as a patron, may be ascribed to genuine sentiments. The complete recognition accorded to the Irish race is reflected in the following toast offered at the banquet of the Society on its 42d Anniversary, May 12, 1831: "St. Patrick and St. Tammany—Both purified their respective countries,—the first from poisonous reptiles, the other from the tools

of tyranny and despotism. Heaven grant that they may soon exchange works." [87]

The Society as reorganized in 1789 had two patrons, Saint Tammany and Columbus. The private constitution provided that on the first Monday of October in each year a brother should deliver before the Society a "Long Talk" in honor of Columbus; and as early as April 6, 1791, Pintard announced the intention of appropriately celebrating the tercentenary of the discovery of America. Tammany, however, retained his place in the reverence and affections of the Society, and was regarded as its original patron. While Columbus was recognized in the toasts offered at the festivals, his place was subordinate to that occupied by the aborigine. The following toast, drunk at the celebration of February 22, 1790, in honor of Washington's birthday, illustrates the status of the Patrons: [88] "The Birth of Columbus, our secondary Patron." At the reception to the Creek Indians on August 2, 1790, Dr. William P. Smith, Grand Sachem of the Society, explained the dual system of patrons as follows: [89]

Although the hand of death is cold upon their bodies, yet the spirits of two great Chiefs are supposed to walk backwards and forwards in this great Wigwam, and to direct us in all our proceedings—Tammany and Columbus. Tradition has brought to us the memory of the first. He was a great and good Indian Chief, a strong warrior, a swift hunter, but what is greater than all, he loved his country. We call ourselves his sons.

In all pageantry and ceremonial of the Society, however, the two were linked in equal importance, and, as late as 1812, no Tammanial procession was complete without a float as its central feature, presenting in allegorical significance the two great patrons of the Society—Columbus bearing the Cross, the emblem of civilization; Tammany bear-

ing the constellation of the thirteen American stars, alternately smoking the Calumet of peace. The figures were shown seated on an elevated car, over which presided the Genius of America bearing the great standard of the United States. At the conclusion of the procession, the car of Tammany and Columbus moved up to the head of the line and the two patrons were presented to the Genius of America, who descended from the pedestal to receive them.[70]

The bucktail, regarded as a talisman of liberty by the earlier Tammany Societies, was adopted by the New York Society as its emblem; and the regulations provided that it should be a part of the insignia[71] worn on all public occasions. It seems to have borne a superstitious character as a token of good luck, and was long considered the appropriate badge of a hunter. With this significance in mind, the original votaries of Tammany in Philadelphia, members of the Schuylkill hunting and fishing clubs, employed it in their ceremonies. The tradition of the bucktail, however, is not indigenous to the American Colonies, but was probably known to the yeomanry of England in the days of archery, for it received the recognition of early English poets and dramatists. The following characteristic lines taken from a hunting song are attributed to Ben Jonson:

Hail, hail, hail!
Thou honest Bucktail,
The tail of the Buck
Is a sign of good luck
Then hail, hail, hail!
To the merry bucktail.

The importance accorded to this symbolism in the Society is illustrated by its recognition among the toasts offered at the banquets. The following toast to the bucktail was drunk at the celebration of May 12, 1819:[72] "The Amer-

ican Bucktail of Tammany; an emblem of liberty honored by our ancestors—May it sweep from our soil the last vestige of unchastened ambition."

So prominent was the display of the bucktail in all Tammanial pageants that its wearers were popularly known as "Bucktails," and the political faction of which the Tammany Society was the nucleus was called the Bucktail Party. The name was applied in a spirit of political satire, and the party was the butt of gibes and caustic criticism by its adversaries.[73] Even poets who celebrated the Society in verse were contemptuously dubbed "Bucktail bards."[74]

Chroniclers of the early history of the Tammany Society in New York have apparently overlooked the evolution of its present name. The Society is first called to our attention on April 30, 1787, under the name of *St. Tammany's Society;*[75] while, in the press notices of the following day, the possessive is omitted and the name is printed *St. Tammany Society.*[76] On May 12, 1789, in a notice signed by William Tapp, secretary *pro tempore,* the name again appears as *St. Tammany's Society,*[77] and in the same notice the name *Sons of St. Tammany* is used; but the later phrase may be merely descriptive. On May 14th of that year, the organization in an official notice is called the *Society of St. Tammany.*[78] From these varied designations, employed by an officer of the Society within the space of a few days, it would seem that the name was not yet definitely fixed. On May 24, 1789, however, we find the name assuming for the first time the dual character, as *St. Tammany's Society or Independent Order of Liberty.*[79] The first record of the adoption of an official title by the Society itself is found in the following paragraph of the public constitution, printed some time during the year 1789: "This society shall be called and known by the name of *Saint Tammany's Society or Columbian Order.*" The Society has also been referred

to unofficially as the *Sons of St. Tammany or (and) Columbian Order, Society of St. Tammany or Columbian Order.*" A radical change in the title appears early in the year 1791, when the name *Tammany Society or Columbian Order* was adopted, the word "Saint" being dropped from the appellation, or as Pintard expressed it, "We have lately uncanonized him." [80]

By an act of the legislature of the State of New York, passed April 8, 1805, and which went into effect February 24, 1807, the Society was incorporated and its title legally and permanently established as *The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York.*[81] While the title was thus legally determined in 1805, it is to be observed, however, that in the last decade of the 19th century, and at times even in these days, the Society is frequently called *Tammany Society or Columbian Order.*

Among the chapters or branches established in various cities throughout the United States, the name of the parent body does not seem to have been closely followed. In Rhode Island the chapter was known as the *Tammany Society or Columbian Order;*[82] in Virginia as the *Sons of St. Tammany in the Columbian Order;*[83] while in Kentucky it was called *Sons of Tammany or Brethren in the Columbian Order;*[84] and in Ohio and Washington, D. C., *The Tammany Society.*[85] This diversity of titles led to dissatisfaction among the several branches of the Order, which was voiced in a resolution adopted by the Washington Chapter on April 7, 1809,[86] directing the committee on correspondence to negotiate with the sister societies, "On the existing differences between the old and new titles," looking to the establishment of uniformity in name.[87] No record, however, is available to show that this purpose was accomplished.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. The American Commonwealth (3d edition, New York, 1901), II: 379.

2. The History of Political Parties in the State of New York (Albany, 1842), by Jabez Hammond, I: 340.

3. New York *Gazetteer,* Jan. 27, 1786, p. 124.

4. John Pintard was born in New York, May 18, 1759. His parents died when he was very young, and committed him to the care of his uncle Lewis, who gave him an excellent education and business training. During the early years of the Revolution, Pintard occupied the post of Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, in New York City; and later took up a residence at Paramus, N. J. Here he met Eliza Brasher, who became his wife. After the treaty of peace he returned to New York and engaged in business. His social and political activities made him a leader in all the movements of the day. His career was almost blighted by the failure of William Duer, for whom Pintard had endorsed notes for upward of a million dollars. This accomplished his financial ruin, and he spent thirteen months in a debtor's cell at Newark. Later he took advantage of the insolvency act, and proceeded to rehabilitate his fortunes. His great personal popularity and ability secured for him the position of clerk to the Corporation of the City of New York from 1804 to 1810.

Pintard was the father of the movement for the foundation of historical societies and museums of natural history in this country, the New York Historical Society, which he personally organized in 1804, standing to-day as the most notable monument to his work. He was a trustee of the New York Society Library and a prominent advocate of the free school system. Up to the time of his death, on June 21, 1844, he was actively interested in various charitable, educational, literary, and commercial movements in New York City.

See: John Pintard, Founder of the New York Historical Society (New York, 1902), by Gen. James Grant Wilson; Biographical Sketch of John Pintard (n.p., n.d.), by Walter

Barrett, Clerk; History of the New York Society Library (New York, 1908), by Austin Baxter Keep, Ph. D., pp. 217-219.

5. Munsey's Magazine (New York), Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 58.

6. New York *Packet, Tuesday,* May 1, 1787.

7. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 3, 1787; the same article appeared in the New York *Packet,* May 4, 1787; New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 4, 1787; and New York *Independent Journal,* May 5, 1787.

8. Hammond (as cited), p. 340, states that the Society was organized shortly after the peace of 1783.

9. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 14, 1789; New York *Daily Gazette,* May 14, 1789; New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 14, 1789.

10. New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 15, 1805.

11. Thomas F. Smith, Esq., Secretary of the Society, in a letter dated December 8, 1910, made the following reply to a request by the author for permission to examine the records of the Society: "I regret that it is impracticable to comply with your request for many reasons, principally because our constitution and by-laws prohibit us from giving a copy of them to anybody, the same rule applying to letting any one have copies of the records and papers, which you requested."

12. New York *Daily Gazette,* May 14, 15, 1789.

13. Published by Hodge, Allen & Campbell and issued about May 24, each year; Gaine's New York Pocket Almanack for 1789.

14. The Tammanial Laws, forms and ritualistic imitations were slowly evolved. On June 25, 1810, William Mooney, as chairman of the Committee on Correspondence, certified to the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Beaver Tribe No. 4 of the State or No. 1 of the Island of Nassau, the ritual and forms in use by the New York Society, together with the date of their adoption. These have been preserved in manuscript and are now in the possession of O. B. Ackerly, New York City. The dates of the adoption of the Laws are

given as follows: I. Duties of the Secretary, August 24, 1789; II. Duties of the Treasurer, August 31, 1789; III. Forms of Initiation, September 5, 1789, amended February 1, 1796; IV. Preservation of the Arcana of Tammany, September 8, 1789; V. Dates of Regular and Stated Meetings, September 14, 1789; VI. Regulations and Dates for the Delivery of Long Talks, September 14, 1789; VII. Reorganization of the Judiciary Department and the Appointment of Censors, October 26, 1789; VIII. Formula for the Inauguration of Sachems, November 2, 1789; IX. Impeachment of Officers, December 7, 1789; X. Selection of Badges and Duties of the Sagamore, January 11, 1790; XI. Regulations for the Celebration of Independence Day, April 18, 1791; XII. Form of Testimonials for Deceased Members; XIII. Duties and Powers of the Committee on Amusement, October 24, 1791, amended February 1, 1796, and again on November 1, 1796; XIV. Certificate of Fellowship, December 26, 1791; XV. Form of Dispensation to Subordinate Branches, July 6, 1795; XVI. Forms for Tammanial Fellowship and Certificate of Brotherhood, December 7, 1795; XVII. Duty of Door Keeper, December 21, 1795; XVIII. Regulations for Anniversary Celebrations, November 7, 1796; XIX. Regulations for Dividing the Membership into Tribes, January 12, 1797; XX. Forms for the Presentation of Candidates for Membership, February 29, 1800, amended May 4, 1801; XXI. Fixing the Pay of the Secretary.

15. Constitution, Public, of the Society of St. Tammany, New York, MDCCLXXXIX, printed by Thomas Greenleaf.

16. On this date Pintard wrote to Belknap (see page 136), stating that the word "Saint" had been lately dropped from the name of the Society, and in the Public Constitution the name is given with the word "Saint" omitted.

17. Constitutions of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order (New York), printed by John Harrison.

18. Myers as cited, p. 1; Hammond as cited, I:340; The Story of Tammany, by Rufus Home, in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XLIV April, 1878), p. 689.

19. New York Directory and Register for 1789, 1790.

20. New York *Daily Advertiser,* June 14, 1786.

21. New York as it was, during the latter part of the Last Century (New York, 1849), by William Alexander Duer, LL.D., p. 25.

22. William Mooney was Sachem almost continuously from 1789 to 1827; Father of the Council during the years 1796-1797, 1799-1800, 1807-1808, and Grand Sachem for the periods of 1789-1790, 1797-1798, 1801-1802, 1811-1813. He was chairman of the Committee on Correspondence, and his name frequently appears as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements on the important celebrations held under the auspices of the Society. In this position he had charge of the celebration held in New York City in 1804 to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase; he also conducted the ceremonies at the laying of the corner-stone and the dedication of the vault to the prison-ship martyrs at the Wallabout in April and May, 1808. He was chairman of the committee that planned the ceremonies for the laying of the corner-stone of the first Tammany Hall, on May 12, 1811. In 1805 his name headed the petition presented to the legislature of the State of New York to incorporate the Society. See notes 28 and 56.

23. Accounts of Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Rhode Island. List of Members and General Rules of Order observed by the Society in 1810. (MS. in Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.)

24. MS. Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, XX:376-392.

25. The report of the committee reads in part: "On the comparison of the articles consumed for those two years the Committee will observe with regret that the greatest increase has taken place in the consumption of those articles which are used as the gratification of luxury or intemperance while the use of some articles which might contribute to the comfort of the sick or feeble has been diminished or discontinued. . . . The quantity of rum consumed in the later year is more than double that in the former; that of gin is six times and that of brandy four times as much as in the former years." MS.

Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, Oct. 30, 1809.

26. "The name of Charles Carroll will lose nothing of its purity and worth, if we should write under it that of William Mooney, the only surviving founder of the Tammany Society, and first among all of those patriotic men, who gave the impress of his name to its constitution. This venerable man must have been born a Democrat; for surely if unwearied zeal, untiring perseverance and a holy devotion to the cause of national liberty, did ever make up one entire character in man, it is to be found in him. Live on, Old Man! live on thou first of the Tammanities! live in the winter of your day supremely blest, for the Great Spirit has smiled upon you; he has given you a wonderful and a still unceasing country to look upon and permit to you the proud privilege of exclaiming—towards all this did I zealously contribute." Oration delivered at Tammany Hall on the twelfth May 1831, being the forty-second Anniversary of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order by Myer Moses, a member of said society (New York, 1831), p. 12.

27. *Rhode Island American* (Newport), Oct. 24, 1809.

28. *The Columbian* (New York), May 11, 1811.

29. New York Directory and Register, 1789-1800; Gaine's New-York Pocket Almanack, 1790-1807; Ming's United States Register and New-York Pocket Almanac, 1808; New York *Evening Post,* July 5, 1813; *National Advocate* (New York), Feb. 23, 1819, May 14, 1825; *American Citizen and General Advertiser,* May 12, 1804, April 9, 1808; *The Columbian,* May 11, 1811; National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, III:376; Home as cited, p. 685 *et seq.;* Myers as cited, pp. 1, 14, 29, 41, 63, 102; Blake as cited, p. 18 *et seq.;* Horton as cited, Chapter II.

30. Belknap Papers, II:157; Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society, I:vi, xv.

31. Belknap Papers, II:231.

32. *Ibid.,* II:237.

33. *Ibid.,* III:469.

34. *Ibid.,* III:490.

35. Pintard had in mind the New York Magazine or Literary Repository, for in this letter he states: "To tie myself down in some measure to the study of our annals, I have assumed the task of drawing up a kind of American Chronology which appears monthly at the end of the New York Magazine, with a view also of contributing my mite towards the support of a periodical publication of that nature in our City."

36. Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., Dec. 27, 1791, I:28.

37. In his letter of April 6, 1791, he tells Belknap: "My avocations, especially as a citizen, are numerous, and I can seldom steal a moment for private or literary correspondence. . . . My passion for American History increases, tho' I have but detached moments and scant means of gratifying it." He nevertheless found time to aid Belknap in advancing the interests of the Mass. Historical Society, and, in a letter to him dated April 12, 1791 (Belknap Papers, III:493), he writes: "I also received the proposals for the American Apollo. I think it a good thing, and will forward it all in my power. I have obtained twenty subscribers and hope to do better." In another letter to Belknap (Belknap Papers, III:470), Pintard shows his eager interest in the Tammany Society in the following words: "I am obliged to you for the offer respecting the coins. I must decline it, however, as I know not how far indulging a turn that way may lead. Should there be anything in Dr. Byles' Library in the book way suitable to the intentions of our Society, I would engage the Trustees of our Museum to give an order for purchasing them, if I could know what the articles and their cost were."

38. Historical Magazine (New York), I:211; the letter was subsequently read before the New York Historical Society, June 2, 1857.

39. Columbian Celebration of 1792, the First in the United States: An Address before the New York Historical Society, Oct. 4, 1892, by Edward F. De Lancey (New York, 1893), pp. 1-7; The Life of Thomas Paine (New York, 1892), by Moncure D. Conway, II:231: "John Pintard, thus outdone

by Paine in politeness, founded the Tammany Society, and organized the Democratic Party"; Walter Barrett, Clerk, as cited.

40. New York Directory and Register for 1789, 1790.

41. New York Magazine or Literary Repository, I:290-295.

42. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Aug. 10, 1790.

43. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 4, 1795; New York *Daily Advertiser,* Feb. 4, 1795.

44. Address of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, to its absent members and the members of its several branches throughout the United States (New York, 1819).

45. *Morning Courier and* New-York *Enquirer,* May 14, 1831.

46. Tammany Hall, A Sketch of its History (New York, 1893), by Nelson Smith; "Tammany," an oration delivered Feb. 13, 1902, by William Sulzer; Westervelt as cited.

47. The colloquy between the Scribe of the Society and one of the Chiefs of the Oneidas is reported as follows in the New York *Weekly Museum,* Feb. 20, 1790:

"After they were seated the scribe of the Grand Council addressed them in substance as follows:

"'Sago, Sago, brothers:

"'It gives us great pleasure to see you here, and you are greatly welcome into our wigwam; we have formed ourselves into a band of fellowship in order to receive you.

"'This society is formed to promote good will and friendly intercourse between you and us. We have adopted many of your customs. We wish also that you would adopt some of ours. This will tend to strengthen the union—you see the ornaments made use of here are something in the fashion of your own, and we are now ready to mingle the smoke of friendship from our calumet of peace. . . . We shall strive to keep the tomahawk buried forever.'

"One of the Seniors [a chief] replied: 'Brothers, Sachems and Warriors: We have heard your voice, giving us a most hearty welcome into your wigwam. You have told us of the original design of your society—that it is to keep in remembrance the friendship that subsisted betwixt our ancestors at

their first meeting in our Island (*i. e.,* America). Every appearance in this assembly seems instantly to brighten the chain and bring up to our view our respective ancestors in full council smoking their pipes in peace. . . .'

" 'The institution of this society, and present appearances will sufficiently authorize us to impart to your Chief Sachem the name of Odaght-Seghte, which was given to our first Sachem on this island, and has been sacredly preserved. It signifies one who carries the quiver, or supports the arrows. By this let your Chief Sachem henceforth be distinguished. . . .' "

48. The following excerpt, from *The Aurora* (Phila.), May 14, 1808, is typical of the impression entertained by many of those who wrote even a few decades after the founding of the Society:

" Under the name of Cincinnatus, an institution was reared which threatened the establishment of an hereditary aristocracy; some humorists among the sachems of the Society of Tammany gave to this body the super-name of Columbian Order, and by the adoption of ensignia, sought to bring on the floor of equality an order which threatened to rear itself up on the ruin of the equal principles fought for in the revolution.

" The Cincinnati, in consequence of the vigorous exposition of its dangerous tendency by Ædanus Burke, has ceased to be pernicious or alarming, and the emblems of the Tammany Society, which were intended to laugh the vanity of hereditary honors out of countenance, remain as innocent memorials of their origin, and ensigns by which the unison of tribes, upon the principle of the revolution is to be maintained —union and harmony on the sound principles of democracy are its tenets—apostacy and perfidy to the cause of the causes of the people are the causes of exclusion."

See Westervelt as cited; Home as cited; Myers as cited, p. 5.

49. Private Journal of William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania in the First Congress, 1789-1791. Printed in the New York *Sun,* March 30, July 6, 1890. Maclay

was born in New Garden Township, Pennsylvania, July 20, 1737, of rugged Irish parentage. He was admitted to the bar in New York in 1760. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1781 and afterwards became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; later he was appointed Deputy Surveyor of the State. In January, 1789, he was elected Senator from Pennsylvania and drew the short term. He jotted down with critical care his observations and experiences in the Senate, and his caustic remarks throw a new and interesting light on the personalities of his colleagues. In 1795 he was again elected to the Assembly in Pennsylvania. He died at Harrisburg, April 16, 1804.

50. In 1787 the Order of the Cincinnati was referred to in the public prints as "that illustrious Institution." *General Advertiser* (New York), July 4, 5, 1787.

51. The following toasts drunk at their banquets demonstrate the friendly feelings that the Societies entertained toward each other:

By the Tammany Society:

1790, May 12: "Our brethren the Warriors who compose the Cincinnati of the State of New York, may the Calumet of Peace, now presented to their chief, be accepted as a pledge of an everlasting Friendship! (Here the Sagamore presented a calumet of Peace to Baron Steuben, the President of the New York Cincinnati, on the part of the Sons of St. Tammany or Columbian Order, as a pledge of their wish to cultivate an everlasting friendship between the two national societies.)"

1791, Feb. 22: "The Society of Cincinnati."

1791, May 12: "Our brethren of the Cincinnati—May they and the memory of their fellow chiefs and warriors, whose patriotic blood enriched their native soil, be ever dear to American freemen."

1792, May 12: "The Cincinnati and those heroes who fell in defense of the liberties of our country."

1792, July 4: "The Cincinnati and the memory of their brothers who fell in the cause of liberty."

1793, Feb. 23: "Cincinnatus and the Plough—May our citizens be soldiers and our soldiers citizens."

By the Order of the Cincinnati:

1793, July 4: "The Tammany Society"—(New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 14, 1790; Feb. 24, 1791; May 14, 1791; May 16, 1792; July 7, 1792; Feb. 23, 1793; July 6, 1793.)

52. William Tapp, *Secretary pro tempore* of the Tammany Society in 1789, was a member of the Cincinnati, as was Marinus Willet a prominent member of the Tammany Society.

53. The Tammany Society extended an invitation to the Cincinnati to participate in the anniversary of May 12, 1790. "From Church, the society marched to Brother Campbell's at Greenwich—where they partook of an elegant entertainment, to which his excellency, the Governor, the Mayor, and the principal officers of the Cincinnati were invited." *Gazette of the United States,* May 15, 1790. The Cincinnati returned the compliment on July 4, 1791, and invited the officers of the Tammany Society to its banquet. "The Grand Sachem and Father of the Council of the St. Tammany's Society were honored with an invitation to dinner by the members of the Cincinnati and the evening was spent with that mental good humor and joy, which it is hoped will ever be the concomitants of a day so remarkable in the annals of America." *Gazette of the United States,* July 7, 1791.

54. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 24, 1791: The occasion was the celebration of Washington's Birthday by the Cincinnati on February 22, 1791; and the event is chronicled in the New York *Daily Advertiser,* Feb. 23, 1791, in these words: "Before they [the Cincinnati] rose from the table, they received a polite message from the Society of St. Tammany by the father of the Council of Sachems, and brothers Melancthon Smith and John Pintard, congratulating them, in behalf of the society, on the return of this anniversary; to which the president made a handsome complimentary answer."

55. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 12, 14, 1790.

56. Laws of the State of New York, 1805, Chapter 115. The preamble of the Act reads: "An Act to incorporate the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York. Passed April 9, 1805.

"Whereas, William Mooney and other inhabitants of the City of New York have presented a petition to the Legislature, setting forth that they, since the year 1789, have associated themselves under the name and description of the Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity, they therefore solicit that the Legislature will be pleased by law to incorporate the said society for the purposes aforesaid, under such limitations and restrictions as to the Legislature shall seem meet."

57. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* July 5, 1791.

58. *National Advocate* (New York), May 13, 1825.

59. The American Nation, a history (New York, 1906), edited by A. B. Hart, III:105; Irish Builders of the American Nation, by Rev. Madison C. Peters; The Causes that led to Irish Emigration, by James Fitzgerald in Journal of American Irish Historical Society, X:114; The Scotch Irish (New York, 1902), by Charles Hanna, II:6.

60. Letter from James Logan, quoted in History of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Schuylkill and Carbon Counties, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1845), pp. 16-18. In 1730 the Irish immigrants seized Conestago Manor, Pennsylvania, saying: "It is against the laws of God and Nature that so much land should be idle, while so many Christians wanted it to labor in and to raise their bread." *Ibid.,* p. 20.

61. Journal of American Irish Historical Society, X:356; Irish-American Historical Miscellany relating largely to New York City and vicinity (New York, 1905), by John D. Crimmins. The increase in immigration at this period became so marked that it attracted newspaper attention, and in the New

York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Oct. 15, 1790, we notice the following interesting comment:

"The ship Betsy Rook, arrived on the 6th inst. at Wilmington, Delaware, from Londonderry, in Ireland. This vessel brought in a large number of Irish immigrants, some of them people of property, who, weary of the patronage of their old tutelar St. Patrick, have come to settle themselves and their posterity in America under the more liberal auspices of St. Tammany."

62. The rules of eligibility for membership were prescribed in the New York *Daily Gazette,* May 12, 1790, as follows:

"The Society of St. Tammany being a national society, consists of American born, who fill all offices, and adopted Americans, who are eligible to the honorary posts of warrior and hunter." See New York Directory and Register for 1789, 1790.

It is evident that the intention was to keep the society strictly within the control of native-born Americans, and little latitude was allowed for the admission of aliens to influence and power, by the provision for the eligibility of "adopted Americans" to the posts of warrior and hunter, which were empty titles.

63. Bryce as cited, II:379 *et seq.;* Myer as cited, pp. 54, 160. From 1835 to 1845, Irish immigration again received a great stimulus. Driven from their native land by potato famines and general failure of crops, they migrated to the United States in great numbers.

64. The hostility exhibited by the press toward this feature of the Tammany Society of Philadelphia is aptly illustrated in the following criticism printed in Freeman's *Journal,* April 10, 1805:

"It was now not necessary to be an American to become a Son of Tammany, for the magic yell of the Wiskinky, so savage was it, could convert the Sons of Erin into Aborigines of the American wilds, though the sun of America had not yet warmed them to their hearts. Patriots who had avowedly fled their native soil to find safety in this, and who proposed

to return to their homes when it should no longer be a hanging matter, were, by the virtue of the tomahawk, dubb'd savages of the first order. Men who could not, under our laws, be citizens for years, readily found seats in this honorable body, where the influence over the elective franchise has been greater than in any other known association in this country. Instances of rejected applicants may have occurred; but when they did, the rejected candidate merited his fate. We now find the order assuming quite new features and the descendants of Kilbuck conversing in a transatlantic tongue. A learned stranger would not have been esteemed ridiculous, if, upon invitation in this body, he had pronounced, that the ancient language of Ireland was that of the aborigines of America.

"We have no intention to reflect upon the Irish as a nation —we sympathize with them as an oppressed and esteem them as a brave people; but we take the liberty of feeling as national as themselves; and though on proper occasions we would not hesitate to join the hands of St. Patrick and St. Tammany, yet we feel a conscious rectitude, when we aver, that no one man can, at the same time, be of both families. There can be no solid objection against an association of citizens of different nations, if their views are aught besides political; but considering politics to be the main spring of the St. Tammany Society, it was highly improper to admit aliens."

65. The Washington Society made every effort to conciliate the offended members, and at a meeting held July 7, 1808, "Resolved, that all expressions or conduct calculated to foment divisions, or excite unreasonable distrust and jealousies between the native and adopted citizens who are members of this Society, ought to be carefully avoided; and that the Society will discountenance and repel all attempts that may be made to introduce the demon of discord into its wigwam." Notwithstanding the efforts of the Society for harmony, however, the dissatisfaction continued, and resignations so depleted the roll of membership that on March 2, 1810, a committee was appointed to "recommend the adoption of such measures as, in their opinion, will tend to re-organize the institu-

tion and place it on a permanent basis." The preamble to the report of the committee clearly shows the desperate straits in which the Society found itself: "That, in consequence of unfounded pretensions or erroneous impressions, all members of foreign birth, except two, have withdrawn from the Society, by which its number is now reduced to about twenty resident members." The Society struggled along for a few months, and then quietly ceased its activities. MS. Minutes of the Tammany Society of the City of Washington (now in the possession of Wendolin Buole, Chevy Chase, Md.).

66. *Public Advertiser,* Aug. 19, 1811; *National Advocate,* May 10, 1817; *Commercial Advertiser,* Nov. 23, 1835; Myers as cited, p. 54.

67. *Morning Courier and* New-York *Enquirer,* May 14, 1831. This feature of the New York Tammany Society is characteristically illustrated in the following sentence by Richard C. Adams (Letter to the author, dated April 4, 1910): "Ask an Irishman and he will probably tell you that St. Tammany was a younger brother of St. Patrick who emigrated to America for the purpose of taking a city contract to drive all Republican reptiles out of New York."

68. The following toasts have been drunk by the Tammany Societies to the honor of St. Tammany and Columbus:

1790, May: "The Memory of Columbus and our adventurous Forefathers who first planted the standard of Freedom on the Western Shores."

1791, Feb. 22: "The 12th of May, being the birthday of St. Tammany, our Titular Saint and Patron."

1791, May 12: "The memory of the Renowned Columbus —May our latest posterity inherit the goodly land which his intrepidity explored, and his sagacity discovered."

1792, Oct. 12: "The memory of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of this New World."

1795, May 12: "Kind and Hospitable TAMMANY—May nations who boast of civilization and refinement like him receive the friendless stranger to their bosom, and may the chain

of beneficence and affection be extended until it encompass the habitable globe."

1810, Feb. 22: (at Providence, R. I.) "Tammany—May his sons imitate his patriotism, love of freedom and virtue."

1811, May 12: (at New York), "The Patrons of our order —Tammany and Columbus, their virtue and patriotism will always be held in grateful remembrance by every friend of Liberty and the rights of Man."

May 12: (at Newport, R. I.) "The Birth of Tammany, the illustrious Patron of the Order of Columbus."

1812, July 4: (at Newport, R. I.) "The illustrious Tammany—Blush ye schools of Art for Tammany was the Child of Nature."

1819, May 12: "Tammany and Columbus, the patrons of our envied order—Prosperity to the day we celebrate."

1822, July 4: (at Wilkes-Barre, Penna., by a Company of Citizens) "The Memory of Tamanend, the true titular Saint of America—May our Tammany Societies imitate his virtues and practice fewer of the savage customs of his countrymen."

1831, May 12: "Tammany and Columbus, Patrons of our Order—The great spirit has long since called them hence: their memory and patriotic virtues live in posterity."

(New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 25, May 14, 1790; Feb. 24, May 14, 1791; Oct. 12, 1792; New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 13, 1795; *Providence Phenix,* Providence, R. I., Feb. 24, 1810; *Public Advertiser,* New York, May 15, 1811; *Rhode Island Republican,* Newport, R. I., May 15, 1811, July 11, 1812; *National Advocate,* New York, May 13, 1819; *Susquehanna Democrat,* Wilkes-Barre, Penna., July 12, 1822; *Morning Courier* and New-York *Enquirer,* May 14, 1831. For toasts to Tammany prior to 1789, see pp. 93, 96.

69. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Aug. 10, 1790.

70. *American Citizen* (New York), July 4, 1810, July 2, 1812; *The Columbian* (New York), May 10, 1811.

71. The official notice for the ceremonies to be held July 4, 1791, contained the following: "N. B. It is expected, the members of the Society will appear with a buck's tail in their

hats by way of distinction"; and, in the celebration of July 4, 1822, the members were requested to appear "Wearing the distinguished badge of the institution [the buck tail] in the front of their hats." New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* July 2, 1791; *National Advocate,* New York, July 3, 1822.

72. *National Advocate,* New York, May 13, 1819. At this celebration another toast was also drunk to the Bucktail:

"The Bucktail—simbolical emblem of Liberty; the aboriginal ancestors of Tammany used it, and by him it was transferred down to the present time.

"As free and agile as the deer
Nor foe, nor element we fear."

73. "The Bucktail has of late years become in America, an emblem of the most rancorous, atrocious, malignant and bloody-minded Jacobinism."

The State Triumvirate, by Brevet-Major Pindar Puff (Gulian C. Verplanck), New York, 1819, p. 213.

74. "The Buck-tail Bards" included among others Fitz-Greene Halleck, William Leggett, and Philip Freneau.

75. New York *Daily Advertiser,* April 30, 1787.

76. New York *Packet,* May 1, 1787.

77. New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 12, 1789.

78. New York *Daily Gazette,* May 14, 15, 1789.

79. New York Directory and Register for 1789.

80. This was some time between Feb. 22, 1791, and April 6, 1791, when Pintard wrote, for on Feb. 22, 1791, it was called the "Society of Saint Tammany or Columbian Order." (New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 24, 1791; Belknap Papers, III: 490.)

81. Laws of the State of New York 1805, Chapter 115.

82. *Providence Phenix,* Providence, R. I., Oct. 7, 1809.

83. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 19, 1792.

84. *Kentucky Gazette,* Lexington, Ky., Dec. 2, 1816.

85. MS. correspondence James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.

86. MS. Minutes of the Tammany Society of Washington City.

87. The dual character of the name has been explained in various ways. One writer states: "Some humorists among the sachems of the Society of Tammany gave to this body the super-name of Columbian Order." See note 48; Albert Matthews in a letter to Sir James Murray, dated Jan. 15, 1910, is of the opinion that the phrase "Columbian Order" was adopted not in honor of Columbus, the second Patron of the Society, but because of the distinctively American character of the Tammany Societies. His words are:

"The early St. Tammany Societies were distinctly *American,* and this also was a distinctive feature of the New York Tammany Society. Now down to 1765 the American Colonists spoke of the colonies collectively as 'America,' as you in England have always done and still do. But about 1765 the word 'Columbia' came into use here, though not often met with until the Revolution was well under way. During the last two decades of the 18th Century, however, the word 'Columbia' and the terms 'Sons of Columbia, 'Columbians' and 'Columbian' (adjective) became so common that at one time it looked as if the word 'Columbia' might be adopted as the name for the nation. It seems to me possible, therefore, that the word 'Columbian' in 'Columbian Order' may have been added where twenty years before or twenty years later 'American' would have been used." The correspondence of Pintard, the customs and celebrations of the Society, and the various toasts offered by it to the memory of Columbus clearly demonstrate that "Columbian Order" was added to the name in honor of Columbus, and not because it connoted a distinctively American idea.

CHAPTER IV

Early Activities of the Society

1. *Receptions to the Indians*

After its reorganization in 1789, the Society rapidly gained a place of prominence in the social and patriotic activities of the city. Its growth was favored by the broadening metropolitan life of what was then the nation's capital; and its functions attracted the attention and received the recognition of men prominent in municipal, state and national affairs. Substantial and distinguished citizens were attracted to its membership; and so noted were its public ceremonials and pageants that the whole city was accustomed to view them with genuine pride.

New York at this time was a place of moderate size. In 1790 the population of the county of New York, including the city of New York and the several towns and villages located on the Island of Manhattan, comprised little more than 33,000 souls. Greenwich Village, located in the neighborhood of Christopher Street, was then a remote suburb of the city; while the surrounding counties of Kings, Queens, Westchester and Richmond were sparsely settled. During the next decade, however, the population nearly doubled, and the city grew rapidly in commercial and industrial importance.[1] With this growth the Society kept pace, enlarging its membership and extending its influence commensurately.

Early in its career the Society reaped a rich harvest in prestige and extended notice by the performance of signal public service in conciliating the Indian plenipotentiaries

who came to New York to treat with the National Government. This rôle had been played to advantage by the Philadelphia Tammany Society in 1786, when it entertained Cornplanter;[2] and the incident was doubtless a precedent for the activities of the New York Society in this direction. On Monday evening, February 15, 1790, the Society tendered a reception to the sachems and warriors of the Oneida Nation, who at that time were visiting New York to confer with Governor Clinton and President Washington. The evening was spent in cordial sociability; punch and wine were served, and complimentary toasts exchanged between the Oneidas and the Sachems of the Society. Columbian songs were rendered and speeches delivered, renewing vows of friendship between the Society and the tribe; and, as the Oneidas took their leave, the Sagamore of the Society "requested that whenever they came this way, they would call at the wigwam; wished them luck in their business with the brethren of the Grand Council Fire of our nation, and bid them good night."[3] During the same year, chiefs of the Cayuga Indians, who were in New York on official business, joined with the Society in its anniversary celebration of May 12th.[4]

By its entertainment of the Creek Indians, the Society mounted at once to national prominence and secured the recognition and esteem of President Washington and of Congress. In July, 1790, the chiefs of the Creek Nation, led by Colonel Alexander M'Gillivray,[5] came to New York for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace with the United States. During the Revolutionary War the Creeks joined with the British against the colonists. After the treaty of peace was signed, boundary disputes arose between the Indians and the southern states, and the Creeks began to harass the people of Georgia by conducting a savage border warfare. Local efforts to negotiate lasting peace

between the state and the Indians were abortive, and finally, on January 8, 1790, Governor Edward Telfair requested further negotiations with Colonel M'Gillivray,[6] assuring him that he desired to invoke the friendly offices of the President of the United States to prevent further bloodshed. To this request the Colonel replied, on March 30, 1790:

> We are willing to conclude a peace with you but you must not expect extraordinary concessions from us. In order to spare future effusion of blood, and to finally determine the war, I am willing to concede in some measure, if you are disposed to treat on the ground of mutual concession.

This letter was forwarded by the Governor to President Washington, and the Creeks were promptly invited by the National Government to attend a conference in New York. Colonel Marinus Willett was dispatched as special envoy to greet Colonel M'Gillivray and his warriors and to escort them to the Capital.[7] The Secretary of War sent a packet under direction of Major Stagg to meet the Creeks at Elizabethtown Point to convoy them to Murray's Wharf, New York City. As they passed the Battery, a federal salute was fired, which was repeated when they landed. The Tammany Society had made elaborate preparations for their reception, and at the time scheduled for their arrival (July 21, 1790) appeared in full regalia to greet them.

The conspicuous part played by the Society in the welcome to the Creeks is described in the following contemporary account:[8]

> Yesterday arrived in this city Colonel Willett, accompanied by Colonel McGillivray, with thirty warriors of the Creek and Seimonal nations. They embarked at Elizabeth-Town Point about 9:00 o'clock, in the morning and landed on Murray's wharf about 2 P. M. where they were received by the St. Tammany Society who attended on the occasion, attired in the

most splendid dresses and other emblems of that respectable society.

The society was drawn up in two files, with the Grand Sachem at the head, who welcomed Colonel McGillivray ashore; who, with the warriors, marched in the centre of the Society, which proceeded through Wall Street. When they came opposite the Federal Hall, Col. McGillivray and the Warriors saluted the Congress, who were in the front of the balcony, and returned the compliment. The procession moved on to the Secretary of War's, where the several Warriors smoked the calumet of peace, and next proceeded to the President's, where they were particularly introduced; after which they waited on Governor Clinton, still accompanied by the Society, who afterwards attended them to the City Tavern, where they took up their lodgings during their residence in the City.

During the procession from the place of landing to Broadway, the chiefs sung a peculiar song; this, together with the band of music, and the appearance of the troops which preceded and closed the line of march, had a very striking effect on a numerous concourse of spectators who crowded the streets and windows.

Notwithstanding the immense crowd collected on the occasion, not the least irregularity or accident happened. About four o'clock the St. Tammany Society having formed a circle in the rear of the City Tavern, Col. McGillivray made one of the chain, when Brother W. P. Smith dismissed the whole in the vernacular phrase of the nation, by recommending to the Society, in the name of the spirit of the free, to depart in peace.

Too much credit cannot be given to the St. Tammany Society for their cheerful compliance with the intimation given them that their attendance on this occasion would be peculiarly agreeable.

The Creeks were then entertained at dinner in the room which had been designated as the Wigwam of the Society, at the City Tavern. There were present, besides the Creeks,

General Knox, Secretary of War, the senators and congressmen from Georgia, officers of the army, and the officers of the Tammany Society. The utmost good humor and conviviality prevailed, and toasts were offered to the establishment of a strong and lasting friendship between the Creeks and the United States. General interest was excited to such a degree that an enthusiastic multitude witnessed their arrival and the parade that followed. The public concern manifested is described in the following contemporary comment: "The number of citizens that assembled on the landing of Colonel McGillivray has not been equalled since the first arrival in this city of the president."[9] The Creeks were completely overwhelmed by the ovation which they received.

On Tuesday, August 2, 1790, a conference[10] was held between the Tammany Society and the Creeks, attended by Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, George Clinton, Governor of the State of New York, and James Duane, Mayor of the City. The utmost cordiality and good fellowship prevailed in this distinguished assemblage and the tone of the speeches delivered was complimentary in the extreme. True to Indian custom, the calumet of peace and friendship was smoked and congratulations were exchanged upon the felicitous relations between the Indian guests and their hosts. The Scribe of the Council, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, presented Colonel M'Gillivray with a copy of the Public Constitution of the Society, handsomely inscribed on parchment. Patriotic songs were rendered and the Indian Chiefs sang and danced, frequently expressing their satisfaction with their reception, and their desire to continue in peace and amity with the United States. The conference, which was open to the public, delighted the spectators with its novelty and brilliancy.

The friendly spirit with which the Creeks were imbued, in the course of their cordial entertainment by the Society, undoubtedly mollified their opposition to the whites and, despite their distrust, influenced them to make the treaty of peace and friendship, which was concluded between the United States and the Creek Nation by Gen. Knox, on August 7, 1790. The treaty was approved by the President and ratified by the Senate on August 13, 1790. By this treaty [11] the dispute between the State of Georgia and the Creeks, with its savage border warfare, was ended. The boundaries were fixed and the Creeks acknowledged the United States as their sole protector. This treaty was of especial advantage to the United States,[12] and the value of the service of the Tammany Society in stimulating a favorable disposition on the part of the Creeks toward the negotiations cannot be overestimated.

Myers,[13] in his "History of Tammany Hall," insinuates that the Creeks were seduced into signing the treaty by the blandishments of the Tammany Society while debauched by its banquets. The charge is a gratuitous libel on President Washington and his cabinet, as well as on the Tammany Society. The circumstances surrounding the negotiations show that the treaty was consummated with dignity and fairness, and that the diplomatic attentions of the Tammany Society to the Creeks assured the Indians that the protestations of friendship made by the Government were shared by the people at large. As a result, the Creeks dealt in a spirit of friendship, quite without that distrust and hostility which would otherwise have been expected from their bitter struggle with their southern neighbors.

The removal of the National Capital to Philadelphia, and later to Washington, deprived the Society of further opportunity to entertain Indian envoys to the Federal Government, but it maintained its friendly attitude toward

them, and when in 1811 the Ottaway chiefs passed through New York on their way to Washington, the Society entertained them in its wigwam with all the pomp of its ceremonial.[14]

2. *The Tammany Museum*

The Society's prestige was further enhanced and its respect assured among men of learning by the establishment under its auspices of a museum for patriotic mementoes and material of historic value. As already indicated, the idea originated with John Pintard, who began to promote it as early as August 10, 1789. Plans were finally formulated and the American Museum, under the patronage of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, was established in June, 1790,[15] "for the purpose of collecting and preserving everything relating to the history of America; likewise, every American production of nature or art." On September 1, 1790, the Society petitioned the Common Council of the City of New York to appropriate a room in the City Hall for the Museum. On the following day the City Fathers "resolved that they [the Tammany Society] may have the use of the upper room in the City Hall in front of the Library Room whenever the same shall be cleared by the officers of Congress."[16] By April 6, 1791, the institution had, to use the words of Pintard, "made a small progress with a small fund and may possibly succeed." It then was possessed of "a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some history."[17]

On May 21, 1791,[18] the Museum was sufficiently established for the announcement of Tuesdays and Fridays as visiting days for the gratification of the public curiosity, and its by-laws and regulations were made public. The Museum was supported by funds appropriated by the Society, while its management was in the hands of a board

of seven trustees, of whom Dr. William Pitt Smith was chairman, John Pintard, secretary, and Gardiner Baker, keeper. On June 1, 1791, the board issued a broadside appealing to the public for contributions and support. It announced that the collection already accumulated had come chiefly from voluntary contributions, and that, "although quite in its infancy, the Museum already contains many articles in the historical and industrial line, highly deserving the notice of the curious . . . and promises fair to become an object of public utility." The strict Americanism of the institution was modified in the following announcement, in which the trustees expressed their willingness to accept objects of interest, even though not of American origin:

> Everything, from whatever clime, will be acceptable; for although the funds of the Society are to be confined to American productions, the doors of the Museum are, nevertheless, opened to voluntary contributions from every quarter.

Names of the benefactors and a description of the articles presented were carefully recorded in a book kept for that purpose, and it was Pintard's idea that the lists at a later date should be published.[19] Members of the Society and their friends were admitted to the Museum without charge, and, while they had free access to the collection, no one was permitted to remove any of the exhibits.

Under the guidance of Pintard, it grew rapidly in importance and became one of the showplaces of the city. Its advertisements, appearing in the current press, announced special features and enumerated curios acquired from time to time. Because of Pintard's forced withdrawal from the city in 1792, his valuable aid was lost to the Museum, but the Society continued to conduct it according to plans which he had formulated. In 1794 it was removed from the City Hall to the Exchange in Broad Street.[20] By

the year following, however, it appears that the Society's interest in the Museum had waned, for, on June 25, 1795, its management was relinquished and the collection presented to Gardiner Baker, who had served in the office of keeper since its foundation, in appreciation of his faithful and efficient efforts. The resolution limited the terms of the gift, and read in part as follows:[21]

That Gardiner Baker has the merit in his extraordinary exertions in the promotion and extention of the Museum; he appears neither to have spared labor nor expense in his endeavors to accomplish the original objects of the founders of this institution, and of gratifying the curious; that the members of this society relinquish and assign all their right in the Museum to Gardiner Baker upon the following conditions: That the same shall forever hereafter continue to be known by the name of Tammany Museum, in honor of its original founders and Patrons; that Gardiner Baker shall continue the Museum, one and indivisible, which shall be kept together in some convenient place within the city of New York and that each member of the Tammany Society shall with their wives and children forever hereafter have free access to the said Museum, free of expense; and that this privilege be considered as an equivalent for the society's having relinquished and assigned all their rights of the said Museum to Gardiner Baker.

At this time the Museum had a representative collection of specimens and curios, with many objects of real artistic value. Its library, according to Baker's announcement in the city directory for 1795, contained "the best history of our country that is collected together," comprising "upwards of five hundred volumes," covering the political, religious and economic development of the country. With commendable public spirit, Baker extended the privileges of the library gratis to all persons over twenty-one years of age, and set aside a room for their accommodation, giving the public permission to make extracts from

books or pamphlets on file. A catalogue of the contents of the Museum was prepared by Baker, but unfortunately it has not been preserved.

Gardiner Baker was an original member of the Tammany Society and its first Wiskinkie, bearing the great standard of the Order in all its processions. He enjoyed a considerable local reputation because of his enthusiasm, geniality and odd appearance, and in the Society his activity made him prominent in most of its undertakings. He is aptly described, by one of his acquaintances, as[22] "a snub-nosed, pock-pitted, bandy-legged, fussy, good-natured little body full of zeal and bustle in his vocation, who expended his money and credit in collecting all sorts of curiosities from the skeleton of a drag fly to that of a mammoth. . . . He moreover was a greater curiosity than any in his museum." In spite of his grotesque appearance, Baker was possessed of an attractive personality which won him many friends. He was endowed with a refined literary taste and contributed to the publications of the day articles covering a wide range of subjects.[23] While on a business trip to Boston, he was stricken with yellow fever and died on September 30, 1798, still a very young man.[24] In his enthusiasm for the Museum he had exhausted his personal fortune in increasing its collection, so that shortly after his death it was deemed appropriate to conduct a benefit for his widow.[25]

In 1800[26] Baker's administrator sold the Museum to W. J. Waldron. Its activities, however, were continued, and in 1810[27] we find it owned and conducted by John Scudder under the name of Scudder's American Museum. In 1812 a correspondent writes that it was "the most amusing and striking place of public resort in the city."[28] By 1815 the extent of public interest in the Museum induced Scudder to throw open its doors on certain days to the poor

of the city,[29] and in 1820 it was enlarged by consolidation with the Grand Museum. After Scudder's death, in August of the following year, the Museum was continued in various hands until 1842, when it was purchased by P. T. Barnum,[30] and its identity became merged in his famous "Museum of Wonders."

The Tammany Museum was the first museum established in the city of New York and the second in the United States. Although no vestige of the original collection can now be anywhere identified, the fact remains that the institution performed a social, educational and patriotic function in the life of the community, and may properly be regarded as the forerunner of our historical societies and public museums.

3. *Promotion of Holidays*

The development of the new national life provided an opportunity for the origin of new traditions and for the adoption of ceremonies expressive of patriotic sentiments. The Tammany Societies, as we have seen, were conceived in a spirit of festival and celebration, and the New York Tammany Society, in developing this phase of its activity, aided in the promotion of local and national holidays. After the ancient Tammanial custom, Saint Tammany's Day was celebrated out of doors, and the parade in native costume was a feature which naturally attracted the curious and made the event a subject of public notice. With the growth of the Society, the customary pageantry was given added splendor, and such throngs witnessed the spectacle that its yearly observance assumed the proportions of a public holiday. To keep pace with the interest excited, the Society developed an elaborate form of processional and instituted the practice of giving "Long Talks" on the occasion of its anniversary festival.

The celebration of the twelfth of May, 1790, saw the first pretentious pageant staged, and the custom of giving Long Talks inaugurated. At ten A. M., on that day, the Society assembled at its Wigwam, in Barden's Tavern, and proceeded to the Brick Church, where the oration of the day was delivered by Dr. William Pitt Smith, Grand Sachem of the Society. A collection was taken up for distressed debtors, and the sum of thirty pounds ($75 in local currency) was realized. After singing an ode composed by Samuel Low, one of the members, the parade was resumed and the Society proceeded to " Brother Campbell's at Greenwich where an elegant entertainment was prepared, to which the Governor of the State, the Mayor of the City, and the principal officers of the Cincinnati were invited." Patriotic toasts were offered and the festival was concluded by an Indian dance given by the Sachems of the Society and the Cayuga Indians, who were the guests of the day. After sundown the Society returned to its wigwam, at Barden's Tavern, where the members dispersed. Although the gathering was large and a great concourse of people beheld the ceremony, no untoward occurrence marred the harmony and decorum of the occasion.[31]

This form of ceremony was followed until 1813, when the Indian costumes were discarded.[32] The Society, however, continued its parade, in civilian attire, until 1825, when this feature seems to have passed from public notice. The less spectacular attractions of the anniversaries—the banquets and Long Talks—survived until the 42d anniversary, in 1831.[33] After that date we find no record of further observance of the occasion. The early anniversary celebrations maintained a lofty tone, and for some time the Society attracted the most dignified and prominent citizens to its festive board.[34]

On February 22, 1790, the Society celebrated the birth-

day of President Washington. The regular Monday meeting of the Society chancing to fall on the 22d, the idea seems to have arisen spontaneously, and the following toast was drunk in "American porter": "May the auspicious birth of our Great Grand Sachem, George Washington, be ever commemorated by all the loyal Sons of Saint Tammany." A song suitable to the occasion was sung and great patriotic fervor was evinced by the participants. It was then on motion "resolved unanimously that the 22nd day of February (corresponding with the 11th of February old style) be this day and ever hereafter commemorated by this Society as the birth of the illustrious George Washington, President of the United States of America." [85]

This was the first anniversary of Washington's birthday after his inauguration, and its recognition by the Society was probably the first formal notice taken of the event in New York and perhaps in the United States. Even the Order of the Cincinnati, of which Washington was President-General, took inspiration from this action of the Tammany Society, for on March 1st of the same year they "resolved unanimously that this Society will in the future celebrate the anniversary of George Washington, late Commander-in-Chief of the American army and President-General of the Society." [86] The Tammany Society for many years faithfully observed the occasion with appropriate patriotic ceremonies.

The Society early adopted the celebration of the anniversary of American Independence as one of its principal annual functions. Indeed, the custom in this state of reading the Declaration of Independence as a part of the Fourth of July program was instituted by the Tammany Society.[87] The establishment of this ceremony has been attributed to John Pintard, and his strong patriotic sentiment and far-seeing appreciation of the significance of American na-

tionalism gives weight to this opinion. The Society's first-recorded observance of this event was modestly held in the Wigwam on July 4, 1790, and was briefly chronicled as follows:[88] "The Society of Tammany also convened yesterday and testified a grateful remembrance of the acts of '76 by reading the declaration of independence."

The establishment of the new Federal Government, which was not fully consummated until late in 1789, produced a renewed enthusiasm in the fact of American independence; and the Society's celebration of the Fourth of July in the year 1790 was among the earliest exercises held to commemorate that august occasion. The celebration of July 4, 1791, was elaborately prepared. An ambitious program was arranged and formal notice of the order of proceedings was conspicuously displayed in the newspapers of the day.[89] At sunrise the American colors were broken out at the great Wigwam in Broad Street, and at nine o'clock the Society, under escort of the military corps, marched to the Middle Dutch Church, where, in the presence of a large and brilliant audience, divine services were held. The Declaration of Independence was read by the Grand Sachem, and the Reverend Dr. William Linn, Chaplain to the First Congress, delivered a timely sermon on "The Blessings of America," which was highly lauded for its elegance of composition and animated delivery. Patriotic music was rendered and an ode, composed by Dr. William Pitt Smith at the request of the Society, was sung. At the conclusion of the celebration a collection was taken up for the benefit of the Charity School, to which the assemblage liberally contributed. Upon leaving the church, the Society and its escort marched in military order to the Battery, where manœuvres were executed and formal salutations exchanged between the militia and the Society. The members of the Society then proceeded to a banquet

at Campbell's, on the banks of the Hudson, where toasts were offered and speeches expressive of patriotic sentiment delivered. In the evening the Great Wigwam was illuminated and a transparency displayed, disclosing the arms of the United States.[40]

This program was substantially followed at the celebrations of July 4th, 1792 and 1793. The Fourth of July, 1794, however, brought a more concerted public recognition of the day. The leading civic and patriotic bodies in the city combined in the arrangement of an ostentatious ceremony to take the place of the separate functions which had characterized the day theretofore. A joint committee, composed of members from the various societies, arranged the details of the occasion, following the general plan that had been employed by the Tammany Society.[41] The militia, civic societies and interested citizens paraded to Christ's Church, where divine services were conducted, and an impressive and patriotic sermon delivered by the Rev. Joseph Pilmore on "The Blessings of peace; Psalm 132-1. Behold, how good and pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity."[42] At the close of the exercises the various societies repaired to their respective meeting-places and concluded the day with separate banquets and festivities.[43] The Society participated in these joint celebrations until 1826, when it resumed its separate observance, a practice which has survived to the present day. An elaborate program, which has been substantially followed from year to year, was evolved. It consisted of long and short talks, music, an ode, and the reading of the Declaration of Independence.

In these public festivals the members of the Society appeared in Indian costume, bearing tomahawks and bedecked with paint and feathers. This pageantry appeared to be relished by the populace during the early years

of the Society, but, when it became enmeshed in politics, it was attacked and criticised for this mummery; and a feature which had at first been so highly appreciated fell into general disrepute. Newspapers dominated by the political opponents of the Society took up the cudgels, and the Society became a prey to their deprecatory comments and rancorous attacks. The first caustic criticism of the pageantry was evoked by the parade of May 12, 1804. This was a celebration in honor of the Louisiana Purchase, conducted under the auspices of the Tammany Society in conjunction with its own anniversary exercises. The article appears as an editorial in the *Commercial Advertiser* of May 14, 1804:

We are informed that the procession of Saturday [May 12] was but a very sorry figure. Very few characters of any kind of respectability were present. Many of our warmest Democrats were ashamed of the business, and prudently declined the honor of mixing with the motley crowd.

At this time the Society was a mere political neophyte, and its critics exhibited a far less poignant rancor than that employed in their attacks a few years later when the Society became more deeply involved in political controversy. This added acrimony is illustrated by the following editorial comment which appeared in the *American Citizen and General Advertiser* of July 6, 1809:

It is painful to observe the ridicule which is annually thrown upon this glorious event by some semi-barbarians calling themselves the Tammany Society. Instead of commemorating the birth of the nation with that manliness and dignity which the occasion calls for and inspires, we see them with pain and disgust daubing their faces with paint, crowding their heavy heads with feathers; making savages in appearance more savage; representing as they term it, the genius of the nation in the person of some one who has no genius, and playing such tricks and exhibiting such figures as showmen would despise and be ashamed of. We derive, however, from the late commemora-

tion a consolation of no trifling magnitude; we see that the Society is rapidly diminishing, and that the more civilized of the savages are beginning to associate with tamed and tutored men.

The author of this scathing attack, James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen,* on March 1st preceding the appearance of the article was expelled from the Society for revealing its secret proceedings. Some degree of bitterness was doubtless engendered by this occurrence, and the editor was probably prejudiced in his observations. The several branches of the Society established throughout the country, and especially those in Philadelphia and Rhode Island, were also the victims of this hostility, and their gay pageantry was unmercifully lashed by the Federalist press.[44]

When, in 1813, the practice of appearing in Indian costume at public functions was abandoned, the announcement met with public approval. This sentiment is voiced editorially in the *Evening Post* of July 1st of that year, as follows:

The notification that the Tammany Society are about to abandon their savage habits and intend to celebrate the day with decency and decorum gives us pleasure . . . We hope under the new regulations the use of ridiculous cars loaded with ferocious animals, Indian canoes, etc., will be laid aside . . .

In the celebration of July 4th of that year the Society paraded in civilian attire, its membership distinguished by an appropriate badge. On the following day the *Evening Post* made the following comment on the change:

The Tammany Society walked in the procession yesterday, but with reduced numbers. There was very little of the savage display in their costume or manners, so hopes for their conversion to Christianity are increased. In place of the dis-

gusting car which has heretofore disgraced their processions, a standard was carried which bore the inscription, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights."

The abandonment of the Indian regalia was induced by an intense public feeling against Indians because of the atrocities perpetrated in the border conflict incident to the War of 1812.[45] The feeling on this point was so strong that other societies refused to join with the Tammany Society unless the Indian costume were discarded for the occasion. But the Society did not succumb to the pressure of public opinion without internal dissension. Older members, with whom the custom of appearing in paint and feathers had become time-honored, resisted the proposed change and were disgruntled by the abandonment of the Indian titles so long in vogue in the Society which the wave of disapproval for the Indian features of the Order had brought about. Officers elected for the year resigned in protest, and many members withdrew from active participation in the Society's affairs. The practice of wearing the Indian costumes at the festivals was never resumed, but the Indian names of the officers were restored in 1815, shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Ghent.[46]

The Society included in its list of celebrations that of November 25th, Evacuation Day.[47] In conjunction with other civic bodies, it frequently participated in parades in honor of this occasion, but for the most part the ceremony was confined to a banquet at the Wigwam. This observance was continued until 1823, after which date the event seems to have lost public interest.

The calendar of the Society, issued with the Public Constitution in 1790, included October 12th, the anniversary of the discovery of America, as the day sacred to the memory of the Society's second patron, Columbus. As a feature of the occasion a Long Talk, usually delivered in conjunc-

tion with a banquet, was prescribed. It early became customary to include in the program an ode or poem dedicated to the Great Discoverer and eulogizing the Society.

The tercentenary of the discovery of America was celebrated by the Society on October 12, 1792. The event was marked by a stately ceremony in which the Society eclipsed all former efforts in the dignity and pomp displayed. This was the first pretentious Columbian celebration in the New World.[48] As outlined in Pintard's letter to Belknap, quoted above, the Society began its preparation for this event as early as April 6, 1791; and the proposed celebration was heralded in the New York *Journal and Patriotic Register* for October 10, 1792, by the following announcement:

> Notice: The members of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, are hereby notified that an extra meeting will be held in the wigwam the 12 inst. at seven o'clock, to celebrate the third century since the discovery of America by Columbus.
>
> By Order of the Grand Sachem
>
> Benjamin Strong, Secretary.

An elaborate program was arranged for the evening, the members meeting at the Wigwam and there celebrating "in that style of sentiment which distinguishes this social and patriotic institution."[49] The Long Talk, delivered by John B. Johnson, was devoted to a narrative of the life and trials of the great explorer.[50] Several Columbian odes were recited, patriotic songs were sung, and at the banquet the Patron was toasted with appreciative reverence.

An attraction of the celebration was an illuminated shaft or monument which "was exposed for the gratification of public curiosity some time previous to the meeting."[51] It was upwards of fourteen feet high, and was ornamented with a number of transparent devices depicting the principal events in the career of Columbus from his reception

by Queen Isabella to his imprisonment and humiliation in a Spanish dungeon. The pedestal bore this inscription:

This monument
was erected by the
Tammany Society, or Columbian Order
Oct. 12, MDCCXCII,
to commemorate
IVth Columbian Century:
an interesting and illustrious
æra.

The monument attracted considerable public interest, and after the celebration it was assigned to a central position among the exhibits in the Tammany Museum.[82] It was annually illuminated on the 12th day of October, and this feature was given prominence in the advertisements of the Museum. In the course of the numerous changes in the Museum's management all trace of the monument has been lost.

For some years the Society continued to honor the memory of Columbus. Interest in the secondary patron, however, began to wane during the period of the Society's early political activity, and an occasional toast in his memory appears to be the only recognition accorded. The celebration of the anniversary of Columbus has not survived as a prominent function of the institution.

4. *Patriotic Zeal and Civic Interest*

The Society's patriotic zeal found expression in tributes to departed statesmen. Upon the death of Benjamin Franklin, in 1790, it was "unanimously resolved that as a mark of respect due to the memory of Dr. Franklin in commemoration of his republican virtues and as an incentive to imitate the same, that this Society wear the usual badge of mourn-

ing for the space of thirty days."[53] The Society shared the grief which pervaded the entire country at the death of Washington, and conducted commemorative exercises.[54] The death of Alexander Hamilton, although effected at the hand of one who at that time controlled the political activities of the Society, plunged the organization into keenest mourning. Resolutions of condolence were extended to his widow and family, and the Society occupied a conspicuous place in the funeral procession.[55] Again its badge of mourning, a black crêpe ribbon edged with red, was worn by the Society at the funeral of John Pierce, who was killed in April, 1806, by a shot from the British sloop Leander, off Sandy Hook.[56] In July of the following year, the badge of mourning was again displayed for thirteen days, in memory of the sailors of the frigate Chesapeake who were killed by shots from the British sloop Leopard.[57] The wearing of this symbol at the death of prominent men became a fixed custom of the Society which has survived to the present day.

The practical character of the Society's patriotism is revealed by its work on the fortifications guarding New York harbor. In 1794, when war with Great Britain seemed imminent, the unprotected condition of the city became a subject for public concern, and the various patriotic societies and civic bodies coöperated with the Government in perfecting the coast defences. The Tammany Society bore its share of the burden, and the following article from the *Columbian Gazetteer* of April 23d, indicates that its efforts were received with public approval:

We hear that the Tammany Society are determined to improve the present opportunity of adding to the incidents of their distinguished zeal for the safety and welfare of the Republic in general and of this port and city in particular, by turning out to work with their own hands upon the fortifica-

tions in the harbor. By actions of this kind, the dignity and honor of true Republicans is shown.

On May 1st of the same year the following notice of the prosecution of this work is called to our attention:

The Tammany Society or Columbian Order, having resolved to go on Governor's Island on Friday next, the 2nd day of May, to work on the fortifications the members are requested to meet at Tammanial Hall precisely at eight o'clock a. m. on that day for the aforesaid purpose. As this is a voluntary act, it is presumed that none who are well wishers of the safety and security of this country will neglect to attend.

By order of the Grand Sachem

Benjamin Strong, Secretary.

The extent of the assistance rendered by the Society does not appear, but its patriotic spirit was proved by its participation in the work. It should be borne in mind that at that time the corrupting influence of patronage had not yet been felt in our political life, and it was a worthy and common practice for citizens to volunteer to assist the government in time of need. The students and faculty of Columbia College [60] were among those who coöperated in the work on the fortifications, and they, together with various societies and civic bodies, were assigned a day upon which to contribute their share toward the completion of the work. All who participated received the thanks of an appreciative public. This patriotic function was renewed by the Tammany Society in the second war with Great Britain, when its members volunteered various services for the protection of the city.[61] In 1814 the members were assigned to regular tours of duty in constructing and inspecting the fortifications in Brooklyn and Harlem. On August 31st of that year the Society proceeded in a body, 1,500 strong, to the fortifications in Brooklyn, where they aided in the construc-

tion of new defensive works. The event was marked by patriotic spirit, and the members proceeded to their labor to the accompaniment of martial music. The chief presiding officer of the Society (at that time known as the President), Matthew L. Davis, personally defrayed all the expenses of the members in forwarding this public-spirited enterprise.[62]

5. *The Wigwam*

The Wigwam of the Society at the time of its early activities was variously located. Previous to May 1st, 1789, the house of Talmage Hall at 49 Cortlandt Street was called the Wigwam in public notices.[63] In 1789 and early in 1790 it was apparently located on the banks of the Hudson and at Barden's Tavern in Broadway.[64] On July 21st, 1790,[65] the Wigwam was at the City Tavern in Broad Street, but this, like its predecessors, was merely a temporary abiding-place of the Society, which now began to feel the need of a permanent home. For this purpose a request was made to the Common Council of the city for a room in the Exchange, and the minutes of that body for September 10th, 1790, record the action taken upon the Society's request as follows:[66] "A petition from the Society of St. Tammany for the use of the room in the Exchange was read and the prayer thereof granted: except when the room shall be wanted for public use."

Thus the Exchange became the "Great Wigwam" or "Tammanial Hall" and continued to be the home of the Society until 1798, when the scene of its activities shifted to "Martling's" at the corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets.[67] The "Long Room" at Martling's, which became its assembly hall, was derisively called the "Pig Pen" by political opponents of the Society.

The Society had long cherished the desire for a home of

its own, and to effectuate that purpose there was organized, in January, 1792, the New York Tammanial Tontine Association. The purpose of this association and the proceedings of its first meeting are described in the New York *Journal and Patriotic Register* for January 18, 1792, as follows:

> The Tontine was opened by the Tammany Society a few days ago for the purpose of erecting a great wigwam or Tammany Hall for the convenience of the meetings and to accommodate the great museum of that respectable and patriotic society. This Tontine filled rapidly and it is rumored that a spacious lot is already purchased for the purpose intended.

A secretary, a treasurer, and a board of thirteen directors were chosen, the board including in its membership John Pintard, William Mooney and Dr. William Pitt Smith. Pintard's name appears at the head of the list of directors, and it may fairly be assumed that, because of his experience in organizing Tontine associations,[68] he took a leading part in the organization and management of the scheme. It is also probable that Pintard himself suggested the experiment.

The Association adopted and published, early in 1792, an elaborate prospectus, entitled "The Plan of the New York Tammanial Tontine Association." It was proposed to issue four thousand shares of stock valued at sixteen dollars each, individual subscriptions to be limited to twenty-five shares. For thirty days after the Tontine was opened, members of the Society had the exclusive right to subscribe for stock, and at the expiration of that period the subscription was open to all citizens of the United States, within a time limit of ten days.

The officers and board of directors were to be elected by a vote of the stockholders; and, in order that the Tammany Society might not lose control of the Association through the stock falling into the hands of non-members,

the articles of the Association required that three-fourths of the board of directors, besides the president and treasurer, were to be members of the Society. The surplus, if any remained after the building and other contemplated improvements had been paid for, was to be safely invested, and the dividends distributed pursuant to an elaborate scheme. The Tontine was to expire on the first Monday in May, 1820.

This Association, although auspiciously inaugurated and elaborately organized, was doomed to failure, and slight mention is found of it thereafter. This may be accounted for by the fact that Pintard, who was probably its moving spirit, was lost to its management because of his personal difficulties at this time.

The failure of the Tontine postponed the consummation of the Society's desire for a home of its own and it was not until May 13, 1811, that the corner-stone of the first Tammany Hall was laid. The building was located at the corner of Nassau and Frankfort Streets, and was erected for the purpose of "preserving and strengthening that patriotic chain which unites its members and for accommodating their republican brothers." Funds for the enterprise were raised by issuing stock upon which dividends were to be paid from the income of the building. A large room was reserved for the use of the Society on certain evenings, and the remaining space was rented as a hotel. The edifice is still standing, and is now (1913) occupied by the downtown office of the New York *Sun*.

On July 4, 1867, the Society laid the corner-stone of the present Tammany Hall in East Fourteenth Street, near Third Avenue. On July 4, 1868, the Hall was publicly dedicated at the opening of the National Democratic Convention which selected Horatio Seymour as Presidential nominee.

6. *The Drift toward Politics*

The Society shared the intense public interest in the French Revolution. The signal service rendered to the American cause during the Revolutionary War was gratefully remembered, and the American people displayed a lively sympathy with the French in their efforts to throw off the yoke of despotism. Indeed the Tammany Society carried its enthusiasm for the French Revolution to the point of holding celebrations to commemorate its events. The first of these was held on July 14, 1792, "to celebrate that day on which the French nation wrested from the hands of tyranny their liberty and freedom. Every American must revere it and every friend to humanity must be filled with enthusiasm when he contemplates the event that happened on it."[69] Representative French residents of the city were invited to attend the function, and the Wigwam was brilliantly illuminated and decorated with the Stars and Stripes and the Tricolor of France. At the banquet, a notable feature of the gathering, congratulatory addresses were delivered and toasts offered to the continued freedom of the French people. Dr. Vacher, responding in behalf of the French guests, said: "We most firmly believe the fourth and fourteenth of July will be considered by future generations the epochs of their liberty and happiness."

This event established a bond of sympathy between the French residents and sympathizers and the Tammany Society, and brought about an exchange of social amenities. The French consul visited the Society and French residents paid it homage.[70] On May 12th, 1794, a grand civic feast in honor of the Society was given aboard the French sloop-of-war La Perdrix, and on the same afternoon the consul participated in the anniversary celebration held on shore by the Society.[71] On September 22d of the same year, the officers of the Society were the guests of the French consul

at a dinner given in honor of the third anniversary of the establishment of the French Republic.[73] In April, 1795, the Society again celebrated the achievement of French liberty.[73] The enthusiasm with which the establishment of the French republic was greeted, produced a wave of democratic fervor throughout the United States. French fashions, French songs, and French ideas engrossed the popular mind, and the Tricolor of France was everywhere displayed.

The arrival of Citizen Genet in America, in 1793, and his agitation for the creation of sympathy for the French further stimulated enthusiasm for the radical republican principles of the French Revolution. Democratic societies, dedicated to the equal rights of men[74] and to the freedom to criticize and correct those in control of the reins of government, sprang up all over the country.[75] These principles found so much favor in the Tammany Society that, when the New York branch of the Democratic Society was established in the city in February, 1794, it was joined by so many members of the Tammany Society that the two bodies became almost identical in personnel.[76] Thus the Society was unconsciously drawn toward the Democratic-Republican Party, and began to take on a political complexion.

The origin of our present system of political parties may be traced to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, for there developed the great cleavage between the advocates of state rights and those who favored a Federal Government with strongly centralized powers. Washington's first administration was non-partisan in character, but with the institution of the financial policies of Hamilton, in 1791, party lines assumed definition, and the two great parties, Federalist and Republican, sprang into life. The Federalists, under the leadership of Hamilton, advocated a control of the Government based upon aristocracy and wealth; while the Republicans, under the leadership of Jefferson,

upheld the principles of a government based on equal rights and true popular rule. Inasmuch as the Anti-Federalists espoused the principles to which the Tammany Society was dedicated, its Anti-Federalist leanings were inevitable. As the various questions of public policy under the Federal administration agitated the public mind, the Society as a civic body found itself ranged on the side of popular rights, and against the conservative policies advocated by Hamilton and the administration. These popular views became more and more clearly the views of the Society, and the Federalist members gradually withdrew.

While the Society was slowly gyrating into the whirlpool of politics, there arrived in New York in the fall of 1793 Mrs. Ann Julia Hatton,[77] who sprang into immediate prominence as the bard of American Democracy. She championed the cause of Republicanism and dedicated to the Democratic Society a patriotic ode embodying the French ideas of liberty and equality with which she was imbued.[78] Mrs. Hatton became the Poetess Laureate of the Tammany Society and wrote an opera called "Tammany, or the Indian Chief," based upon the legends of its patrons. The Society in its zeal secured the production of the piece in New York in March, 1794.[79] Its expressions of liberty and equality created a sensation. The prologue and epilogue were characterized by their strong leaning toward the principles of the French Revolution, and the opera as a whole was "seasoned high with spice hot from Paris." The Federalists severely criticized the piece and condemned its sentiments, but it met with great favor among Republicans.[80] The opera was produced in Philadelphia in the fall of 1794;[81] in Boston on January 4, 1796;[82] and played a return engagement in New York on March 13, 1795.[83]

A hostile press took occasion to criticize the Society for employing its formidable influence to foist the play upon the public. The Society's power in the community and its anxiety to procure the production of this piece are shown by the following remarks of a contemporary critic:[84]

> Why is that wretched thing Tammany again brought forward? Messrs. Hallam & Henry [managers of the theatre], we are told, used to excuse themselves for giving it, by saying that it was sent them by the Tammany Society and they were afraid of disobeying so respectable a body of critics who, having appointed a committee to report upon the merits of this piece, had determined it to be one of the finest things of its kind ever seen.

This incident tended to widen the gap between the Tammany Society and the Federalists, and the bitterness engendered brought it into closer allegiance to the Democrats. During this year the acrimonious controversy between William Cobbett and Dr. Joseph Priestley, the English Jacobin,[85] was waged. Priestley, in his advocacy of the French political thought, received the support and approval of the Tammany Society. This was a further step in the assumption of Republican principles on the part of the Society.

The final breach, however, between the Federalists and the Democrats in the Society and its taking up of the cudgels of active politics were precipitated by the controversy following the Whiskey Rebellion. The Democratic Society opposed the national excise tax, one of Hamilton's fiscal measures, and even went so far as to encourage opposition to its collection.[86] On November 19, 1794, Washington, in his sixth annual message to Congress, deplored the unpatriotic motives which had actuated the rebellion, and severely censured the societies or combinations of men that countenanced and encouraged the resistance to organized

authority. The President's attitude is expressed in the following quotation from his message:[87]

The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws, and associations of men began to devise threats against the officers employed. From a belief that by a more formal concert their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of the excise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them.

Congress immediately approved the President's sentiments. The Democratic Society, at which the message was plainly aimed,[88] immediately fell into disrepute, and its activities gradually ceased. The Federalists, however, pretended to believe that the President's strictures upon self-created societies were aimed at the Tammany Society, and a bitter controversy ensued. The Federalists within the Society took advantage of a thinly attended meeting to offer a resolution approving the President's sentiments, and, by implication, endorsing the entire administration. The resolution read in part:[89]

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Society that the President of the United States in using his best endeavors to support on all occasions the laws and constitution of these states, entitles him to the warmest thanks and fullest approbation of every lover of their prosperity and happiness.

Based upon this resolution, a pronunciamento was issued to the People of the United States, containing a hearty endorsement of President Washington. Its Federalist tone is displayed in the following excerpt:

We vow, then, our hearty and entire approbation of the conduct of the President of the United States, in his late endeavors to discountenance certain self-created societies; and we

perceive, from the iritation a consciousness of merited censure has occasioned, in various parts of the country, that the appellation which he chose to distinguish them has been sufficiently discriminating; the event presents him to us as the firm and independent patriot, the prudent and sagacious statesman.

The majority of the members of the Society, who were Republican in sentiment, were shocked by the publication of this address, and, when they had recovered from the surprise occasioned by minority action, its repudiation speedily followed. The issuance of the address was severely censured, and an address, intended to supplant the action of the minority, was issued to the public. This was the first authentic statement of the Society's attitude on any political question. In it the policy of non-intervention in partisan politics was clearly expressed, and the Society's purposes were reiterated. The minority address was characterized as the action of a snap meeting, not representative of the true character or sentiments of the Society, and it was denounced as officious and impolitic, distinctly contravening the spirit and tenor of the Tammanial laws.[90]

This controversy brings clearly to light the split between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists within the Society. The bitterness occasioned caused the withdrawal of the supporters of the administration and left the Society in the possession of the Anti-Federalists or Republicans. The resulting unanimity of feeling removed the barrier which the original non-partisan character of the Society had interposed to political action. Thenceforth the Society's influence in public matters became a factor, notwithstanding the fact that no official participation in politics occurred for several years.

President Washington, in his Farewell Address (September 17, 1796),[91] again assailed self-created societies and combinations of men as a pernicious and dangerous element

in the community; and it is said that Hamilton influenced the President's declaration, intending to inflict a staggering blow at the growing influence and importance of the Society in the political affairs of the City and State of New York. In fact Hamilton intimated to his political friends in New York that the President had in mind the Tammany Society when he denounced such organizations as a menace to Republican institutions.[92] This harsh Federalist criticism and severe arraignment of self-created societies had the inevitable effect of aligning the Society with the Anti-Federalists, and the step was not far into the arena of partisan politics. We thus find the Society on the threshold of its career as a militant partisan influence and champion of personal liberty and popular rights.

Organized in a spirit of fraternity and dedicated to the advocacy of popular rights and national solidarity, the Society performed its most valuable offices in the crystallization of the sentiments and traditions of American patriotism and in the championship of the principles of true democracy. These great public services were performed without rancor and with an unselfish earnestness that won the respect of its contemporaries. Posterity, however, blinded by prejudice engendered in subsequent controversy, has failed to accord to the early Tammany Society of New York the gratitude and honor which are its due.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

1. The Census report for 1790 gives the population as follows: New York County, 33,131; Kings County, 16,014; Queens County, 4,495; and Richmond County, 3,835. The Report for 1800 gives the following population: New York County, 60,515; Kings County, 16,916; Queens County, 5,740; and Richmond County, 4,564.

2. See page 94; *Independent,* April 22, 1786; Harvey as cited, I:164. Harvey, however, fixed the date as December, 1790. This is obviously an error.

3. New York *Weekly Museum,* February 20, 1790; New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* February 18, 1790.

4. The Cayugas were tenth in the order of procession, and "the festival was concluded by an Indian dance led by the Cayuga Indians, in which the officers of the society joined." New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 14, 1790.

5. M'Gillivray, the Chief of the Creek nation, was a half-breed. His father was a Scotch trader and his mother was ruler of the Creek nation. He had several sisters who married the leading men of the nation. A man of considerable attainments and native shrewdness, he was so highly esteemed by the Creeks for his skill and ability that he became their monarch. He made a favorable impression on Congress, and Fisher Ames said of him: "He is decent and not very black." The St. Andrew's Society elected him an honorary member and an ode especially written for the occasion was dedicated to him (*Gazette of the United States,* Aug. 14, 18, 1790; A History of the People of the United States, New York, 1883, by John Bach McMaster, I:604).

6. *Gazette of the United States,* July 28, 1790.

7. Ibid, July 24, 1790; New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* July 23, 1790.

8. New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 23, 1790.

9. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* July 23, 1790.

10. Ibid, August 3, August 10, 1790.

11. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Aug. 17, 1790.

12. The treaty, however, was not favorably received by the people of Georgia, and on the opening of Congress in December, 1790, it was bitterly attacked by James Jackson, representative from that State, who, in the course of his speech, said: "That the treaty has spread alarm among the people of Georgia. It has ceded away, without any compensation whatever, three millions of land guaranteed to Georgia by the Constitution. Has the government recognized the rights of Georgia? No. It has given away her lands, invited a savage of the Creek nation to the seat of government, caressed him in a most extraordinary manner, and sent him home loaded with favors." McMaster as cited, I:604.

13. Myers as cited, p. 7.

14. *The Columbian,* Oct. 16, 1811.

15. New York Directory and Register for 1794, p. 271.

16. Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, Sept. 2, 1790.

17. See page 136.

18. New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 21, 1791,

19. Broadside issued June 1, 1791.

20. History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1913), by Winifred E. Howe, p. 4.

21. New York Directory and Register for 1795, p. 313.

22. Reminiscences of an Old New Yorker (New York, 1867), by William Alexander Duer, LL.D., p. 8.

23. New York *Commercial Advertiser,* Jan. 4, 1798.

24. *Russell's Gazette* (Boston), Oct. 1, 1798; New York *Daily Gazette,* Oct. 5, 1798; Howe as cited, p. 6.

25. New York *Daily Gazette,* Oct. 18, 1798.

26. New York *Commercial Advertiser,* May 13, 1800.

27. *The Columbian,* March 21, 1810.

28. New York *Commercial Advertiser,* May 15, 1812.

29. *The Columbian,* Feb. 16, 1815.

30. Life of P. T. Barnum, by himself (London, 1853), p. 77.

31. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 14, 1790.

32. See page 168.

33. *Morning Courier* and New York *Enquirer,* May 14, 1831.

34. The first fêtes under the auspices of the Society were favorably commented on by the press. The *Gazette of the United States* of May 15, 1790, said of the first procession: "The officers of the Society and many of the members were superbly habited in Indian dresses—the novelty of their appearance excited universal attention, and the day being fine, the scene collected a prodigious concourse of people." Senator Maclay, however, looked upon the display as useless extravagance and jotted down in his diary the following cynical comment:

"May 12, 1790.—This day exhibited a grotesque scene in the streets of New York. Being the old first of May, the Sons of Tammany had a grand parade through the town in Indian dress. Delivered a talk at one of their meeting houses and went away to dinner. There seems to be some kind of order of society under this denomination, but it does not seem well digested as yet. The expense of the dress must have been considerable, and the money laid out in clothing might have had dressed a number of their ragged beggars. But the weather is warm now."

The anniversary of May 12, 1791, attracted even greater atention. Governor Clinton was present and "wished prosperity to Tammany's Society and health and happiness to its members, which was drunk in bumpers, and himself and strangers retired amidst the acclamations of the multitude." The growth of the society and its accession to public favor is recognized in the following excerpt from the New York *Journal and Patriotic Register* for May 14, 1791:

"We have great reason to compliment the brothers and officers of this institution on their good conduct and management; when we consider how numerous are the brothers and how great the multitude that attended, we are convinced that

nothing but the best dispositions, well concerted measures, and most active execution could have insured so much harmony and regularity as prevailed."

35. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 25, 1790.

36. Ibid., March 2, 1790.

37. New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 15, 1805.

38. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* July 6, 1790.

39. Ibid, July 2, 1791; New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 2, 1791.

40. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* July 6, 13, 1791.

41. Ibid., July 2, 1794; *Columbian Gazetteer,* July 3, 1794.

42. See appendix, page 216.

43. *Columbian Gazetteer,* July 7, 1794.

44. *Rhode Island American,* Oct. 24, 1909; March 13, 23, April 17, 20, July 3, 1810. *The Scourge,* Providence, R. I., Aug. 25, 1810; Freeman's *Journal,* April 10, 1805.

45. New York *Evening Post,* June 30, 1813.

46. Ibid., July 5, 1813. *The Advance,* April 11, 1896; New York City and Vicinity during the War of 1812-'15 (New York, 1889), by R. S. Guernsey, I:239.

47. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Nov. 26, 1791, Nov. 28, 1795; *American Citizen or General Advertiser,* Nov. 29, 1805; *The Columbian,* Nov. 29, 1813, Nov. 30, 1818; *National Advocate,* Nov. 28, 1814, Nov. 25, 1825.

48. Columbian Celebration of 1792.—The first in the United States; an address before the New York Historical Society, Oct. 4, 1892, by Edward F. De Lancey; Discovery of America by Columbus.—Boston and New York. Celebrations one hundred years ago: The Tammany Society's Illuminated Monuments, by Dr. George H. Moore in New York *Times,* Aug. 4, 1889, Magazine of American History, XXII, No. 4, Oct. 1889, p. 317.

49. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Oct. 13, 1792.

50. See appendix, page 215.

51. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Oct. 17, 1792.

52. *Columbian Gazetteer,* Oct. 14, 1793, Oct. 12, 1794. The announcement in the *American Minerva and New York Evening Advertiser* for Oct. 11, 1794, read as follows:

"The Public are informed, that on Monday evening next being the 13th instant, a transparent monument dedicated to the memory of the great Columbus, the discoverer of this Western World, will be illuminated. This monument stands in the centre of the museum and its four sides show the most important events of this great navigator's life from his being seated at the right hand of Ferdinand the then King of Spain, to his being enchained by order of this same king to satisfy some of his courtiers."

53. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* April 26, 1790.

54. *Argus,* Feb. 3, 1800.

55. *Republican Watch Tower,* July 18, 1804.

56. *The Advance,* April 11, 1896.

57. *Public Advertiser,* July 3, 1807.

58. *Columbian Gazetteer,* May 1, 1794; New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 2, 1794; *The Diary,* April 29, 1794.

59. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* May 3, 1794.

60. Ibid., May 10, 24, 1794; *The Diary,* May 2, 8, 15, 21, 1794; *American Minerva and New York Evening Advertiser,* May 12, 1794; June 25, 1795; *Gazette of the United States,* Jan. 28, 1796.

61. Guernsey as cited, II:227, 293; *The Advance,* April 11, 1896.

62. *National Advocate,* Sept. 1, 1814.

63. New York *Daily Advertiser,* April 30, May 4, 1787.

64. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 18, May 11, May 14, 1790.

65. Ibid., July 23, 1790.

66. Manuscript minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, Sept. 10, 1790.

67. Myers as cited, p. 13.

68. The Tontine was a common device of the day for raising funds for popular enterprises, and in a measure performed

the function of our modern building loan associations. Pintard organized a number of commercial enterprises prior to 1791. See John Pintard, Founder of the New York Historical Society, by Gen. James Grant Wilson, pp. 21-24.

69. New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 17, 1792.

70. New York *Magazine or Literary Repository,* Vol. 4, No. VI., June [19], 1793, p. 384.

71. *Columbian Gazetteer,* May 15, 1794.

72. Ibid., Sept. 25, 1794.

73. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* April 8, 1795.—The Tammany Society ardently supported the basic principles of the French Revolution—Liberty and Equality, and its sympathies were extended toward those struggling to maintain them. At this banquet, Ireland, which was then chafing under the English yoke, was remembered by the Society in the following toast: "Ireland—May she gain by the energy of her arms what has always been refused to the earnestness of her entreaties."

74. Constitution of the Democratic Society, New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Feb. 19, 1794.

75. American Nation, III:86.

76. New York *Daily Advertiser,* July 15, 1805.

77. Mrs. Hatton was a member of the talented Kemble family of celebrated English players, a sister of Mrs. Siddons, Mrs. Whitlock, John, Charles and Stephen Kemble.

78. Ode on the Retaking of Toulon, addressed to the Democratic Society. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* March 15, 1794.

79. Songs of Tammany; or, the Indian Chief, A Serious Opera (New York, 1794). The principal characters were Tammany and Columbus; the opera was produced on March 3d, 6th and 8th, and April 11th, 1794. The prologue was written by Richard B. Davis and published in the *Columbian Gazetteer* March 6, 1794.

80. For criticism of the Opera see: Records of the New York Stage (New York, 1866), by Joseph Ireland, p. 104; History of the American Theatre (New York, 1832), by Wm.

Dunlap, p. 200; Early American Operas, by O. G. Sonneck, in Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik Gesellschaft, Sechster Jahrgang, 1904-1905, pp. 459-464; History of the American Theatre (Phila., 1891), by George O. Seilhamer, III., pp. 80, 84-87, 101, 110; New York *Daily Advertiser,* March 6, 7, 1794; *Columbian Gazetteer,* March 10, 1794.

81. It was produced on Oct. 18 and Nov. 10, 1794. See *American Daily Advertiser* (Dunlap and Claypoole's), Oct. 17, 18, Nov. 10, 1794.

82. *Federal Orrery* (Boston), Jan. 4, 1796.

83. New York *Daily Advertiser,* May 13, 1795.

84. New York Magazine or Literary Repository, Vol. 6, No. 5, March, 1795, pp. 130-131.

85. A Twig of Birch for a Butting Calf; or strictures upon the remarks on the emigration of Doctor Joseph Priestly. By a Brother of the Buck (New York, 1795), by William Cobbett; Observations on the emigration of Dr. Joseph Priestly, and on the several addresses delivered to him, on his arrival at New York (Phila., 1794), by Wm. Cobbett. *American Minerva* and the New York *Evening Advertiser,* June 10, 1794; *The Herald, a Gazette for the County* [New York], June 16, 1794. The support given to Priestly by the Tammany Society was severely criticized, both in America and in England, by those opposed to French ideas. The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle (London), Vol. 64, Part II., June 11, 1794, p. 850, comments on this support in the following words: "On Monday evening, the Committee appointed by the Tammany Society to address their congratulations to Dr. Priestly, reported their address and his answer, both of which were too violent for the decency of an English publication."

86. New York *Journal and Patriotic Register,* Aug. 24, 1794.

87. A compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, by James D. Richardson. (Published by authority of Congress, 1899), I:163.

88. For reply of the Democratic Society, see *American Minerva and Evening Advertiser,* Jan. 24, 1795.

89. New York *Daily Advertiser,* Jan. 21, 1795.

90. Ibid., Feb. 4, 1795. The preamble to the address is printed on page 138. The resolution stated that the former address "conceived in a hurry so mysterious and ushered in the world with a precipitation so unprecedented cannot in reason and does not in fact express the candid opinion and deliberate sentiments of this society, and is therefore condemned as officious, unconsiderate, impolitic and unconstitutional . . . and does not express the candid opinion and deliberate sentiments of the Columbian Order."

91. Richardson as cited, I:213. Washington wrote in part: "While combinations or associations . . . may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government."

92. Home as cited, p. 695. After the defeat of the Federalists in 1800, Hamilton advocated that a Society similar to the Tammany Society in scheme of organization and activity be organized to support the Federalists. In a letter to Senator Bayard of Delaware, he said: "We must consider whether it be possible for us [the Federalists] to succeed without in some degree employing weapons which have been employed against us, and whether the actual state and future prospect of things be not such as to justify the reciprocal use of them." Works of Alexander Hamilton (New York, 1851), edited by John C. Hamilton, VI:540.

APPENDIX.



TAMMANY SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

I. Prior to May 12, 1789

1. Philadelphia, Penna.

1772, May 1: Sons of King Tammany.[1]

Adopted, or was known under, the following names:

April 28, 1773. Associate Sons of Saint Tammany.[2]
Jan. 7, 1775. Buckskins of Pennsylvania.[3]
May 1, 1779. Sons of Saint Tammany.[4]
Feb. 22, 1780. Constitutional Society.[5]
May 9, 1781. A Society of Gentlemen.[6]
May 1, 1783. Constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany.[7]
May 1, 1784. Sons of Saint Tammany.[8]

2. Norfolk, Va.[9]

*1774, May 1.

3. New Jersey.

*1779, May 1. Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany.[10]

4. Richmond, Va.

*1785, May 1. Sons of Saint Tammany.[11]

5. Charleston, S. C.

*1792, May 1. Sons of Saint Tammany.[12]

A. Celebrations in Honor of Saint Tammany[13]

1. Annapolis, Md.

*1771, May 1. A popular celebration in honor of "Saint Tamina"[14]

* Indicates the earliest date found.
[1] *Penna. Chronicle*, Philadelphia, May 4, 1772.
[2] *Penna. Mag.* XXV: 446.
[3] *Temple of Liberty*, Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1775.
[4] *Penna. Packet*, May 1, 1779.
[5] *Penna. Packet*, Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1780.
[6] Freeman's *Journal*, Philadelphia, May 9, 1781.
[7] *Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, May 3, 1783.
[8] *Penna. Packet*, Philadelphia, May 6, 1784.
[9] *Va. Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, May 17-24, 1774.
[10] Location not given; probably at Morristown or its vicinity.
[11] Washington's Diary; *Washington after the Revolution*, Phila., 1898, edited by W. S. Baker, p. 30.
[12] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 19, 3/1, 1792. Probably established prior to 1789.
[13] Prior to 1795.
[14] *Letters from America*, William Eddis, Dec. 24, 1771, pp. 114–115.

2. New-Ark, N. J.
*1779, May 1. By "A Number of Gentlemen of the Army."[1]

3. Savannah, Ga.
*1786, May 1. By "A Number of Gentlemen from the Northern States."[2]

4. Harrisburg, Va.
*1788, May 1. By the militia and the principal farmers.[3]

5. Petersburg, Va.
*1788, May 1. By the militia.[4]

6. Philadelphia, Penna.
1788, May 1. At Lilliput Wigwam. "On the banks of the Delaware and Schuylkill.....by a variety of social circles composed of citizens of this place and New Jersey."[5]
1791, May 2. By the Battalion of Artillery and Citizens.[6]

7. Wilmington, N. C.
*1788, May 1. By the Federal Club.[7]

8. Norfolk, Va.
*1789, May 1. By the Gentlemen Volunteers.[8]

II. Subsequent to May 12, 1789

1. New York City.
*1787, April 30. St. Tammany's Society.[9]
Continued under the following names:
May 12, 1789. Sons of St. Tammany.[10]
May 15, 1789. Society of St. Tammany.[11]
May 24, 1789. St. Tammany's Society or Independent Order of Liberty.[12]
1789. Saint Tammany's Society or Columbian Order.[13]
Feb. 25, 1790. Society of St. Tammany or Columbian Order.[14]

[1] *New Jersey Journal*, May 4, 1779.
[2] *Mass. Centinel*, Boston, July 1, 1786.
[3] *Penna. Mercury*, Philadelphia, May 24, 1788.
[4] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 22, 1788.
[5] *Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, May 3, 1788.
[6] *Penna. Mag.*, XXVI: 42.
[7] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 22, 1788.
[8] *Penna. Mag.*, XXVII: 40.
[9] New York *Daily Advertiser*, April 30, 1787.
[10] New York *Daily Advertiser*, May 12, 1789.
[11] New York *Daily Gazette*, May 15, 1789.
[12] *New York Directory and Register* for 1789, p. 132.
[13] Public Constitution of the Society of St. Tammany, New York, 1789.
[14] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, Feb. 25, 1790.

May 14, 1791. Sons of St. Tammany and Columbian Order.[1]

Feb. 24; April 6, 1791. Society of Tammany or Columbian Order.[2]

April 9, 1805. The Society of Tammany, or Columbian Order, in the City of New York.[3]

2. Charleston, S. C.

*1792, May 1. Sons of St. Tammany.[4]

3. Richmond, Va.

*1792, May 1. Sons of St. Tammany in the Columbian Order.[4]

4. Philadelphia, Penna.

*1795. Successor to the Democratic Society of Philadelphia.[5]

5. Baltimore, Md.[6]

1806, Sept.

6. Alexandria, Va.[7]

*1807, August 1.

7. Washington City, D. C.[7]

1807, August 1.

8. Troy, N. Y.[8]

*1809.

9. Providence, R. I.

1809, Oct. 10. Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Beaver Tribe No. 1.[9]

10. Apponaug, Warwick, R. I.

1810, Jan. 27. Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Beaver Tribe No. 3, at the tavern of George Carder.[10]

[1] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 14, 1791.

[2] Letter from John Pintard. *Belknap Papers*, III: 490.

[3] *Laws of the State of New York*, 1805, chapter 115.

[4] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 19, 3/1, 1792.

[5] Freeman's *Journal*, Philadelphia, April 10, 1805.

[6] *Constitution of the Tammany Society of Baltimore*, in Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

[7] MS. *Minutes of the Tammany Society of the City of Washington* in the possession of Wendolin Buole, Chevy Chase, Md.

[8] *Magazine of American History*, III, No. 6, June, 1879, p. 479; *History of the City of Troy* (Troy, N. Y., 1876), by A. J. Wiese, pp. 86-88.

[9] *Providence Phenix*, Providence, R. I., Oct. 7, 3/4, 1809.

[10] *Providence Phenix*, Feb. 3, 3/2, 1810; *Providence Journal*, May 12, 1910.

11. Newport, R. I.
1810, Feb. 10. Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Beaver Tribe No. 2.[1]

12. Bristol, R. I.
1810, Feb. Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Beaver Tribe No. 4.[2]

13. Brookhaven, Long Island, N. Y.
1810, Feb. 23. Beaver Tribe No. 4 of the State, or No. 1 of the Island of Nassau, N. Y.[3]

14. Annapolis, Md.
*1810, May 12.[4]

15. Attleborough, Mass.
1810, Aug. 30. Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Panther Tribe No. 1, Massachusetts. At Capt. Borune's Inn. This society also met at Rehoboth and at Seekhonk, Mass.[5]

16. Rehoboth, Mass.[6]

17. Seekhonk, Mass.[6]

18. Chillicothe, Ohio.
*1811, June 14. Tammany Society, Wigwam No. 1.[7]

19. New Brunswick, N. J.
1812, Nov. 11.[8]

20. Cincinnati, Ohio.
*1812, Dec. 14. Tammany Society, Wigwam No. 3.[9]

21. Kings County, New York.
*1813, July 4. At Alex. Whaley's in Bushwick.[10]

22. Lexington, Ky.
1816, Dec. 2. Sons of Tammany or Brethren of the Columbian Order.[11]

[1] *Providence Phenix*, Feb. 17, 3/1, 1810.
[2] *Rhode Island Republican*, Newport, R. I., May 29, 2/3, 1811.
[3] Original Charter in New York Hist. Society.
[4] *Providence Phenix*, June 13, 2/2, 1810.
[5] *Providence Phenix*, Sept. 1, 1810; *Tammany Societies of Rhode Island*, Providence, R. I., 1897, by Marcus W. Jernegan, p. 33.
[6] See under Attleborough, Mass.
[7] Letter dated June 14, 1811, from Edward Tiffin, Grand Sachem, to President James Madison, MS. L. C.
[8] Original Charter in New York Historical Society.
[9] Letter dated Dec. 14, 1812, from Daniel Symmes, Grand Sachem, to President Jas. Madison, MS. L. C.
[10] *National Advocate*, July 8, 2/4, 1813.
[11] *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Ky., Dec. 2, 1816.

23. Chattanooga, Tenn.
*1890. Tammany Club.[1]

24. Portland, Oregon.
1893. Tammany Club.[2]

25. Miscellaneous.[3]
Tammany Society of Georgia.
Tammany Society of Texas.
Tammany Society, Cambria County, Penna.

[1] *Tammany Times*, New York, Vol. II, No. 2, Nov. 18, 1893.
[2] *Directory of the City of Portland*, Oregon, for 1893.
[3] Mentioned in *History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order*, New York, 1901, by E. V. Blake, p. 22. No dates are given or authorities cited.

TALKS OR ORATIONS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

1790, May 12. William Pitt Smith.[1] At New Brick Church

Aug. 4. Reception to the Creek Indians: At the Wigwam. Addresses by:[2]

William Pitt Smith, Grand Sachem.

John Pintard, Sagamore.

Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Scribe of the Council.

Reply by:

Col. Alexander M'Gillivray, Chief of the Creek Nation.

1791, May 12. Josiah Ogden Hoffman.† At Brick Meeting House, Chapele Street.

Subject: Origin of the Columbian Order and the Society of the Cincinnati.

> "At the Meeting-house an oration was delivered by their Brother Josiah Ogden Hoffman, to the Society, and to a most respectable and crowded audience; in the most brilliant and pathetic language he traced the progress of the liberty we enjoy; and thence elegantly deduced the origin of the Columbian Order, and the Society of Cincinnati."[3]

July 4. Rev. Dr. William Linn.[4] At New Dutch Church, Nassau Street.

Subject: "The Blessings of America—Psalm XVI:6. 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places, yea, I have a goodly heritage."

> "Dr. Lynn preached an occasional sermon; which for apposite and well adopted thoughts, elegance of composition, and animation of delivery, in our opinion, equalled, if not excelled anything of the kind we have ever heard. To attempt to describe the beauties of this discourse would argue weakness in an auditor—to say that the composition is a

†Indicates that the oration has not been located.

[1] Printed in *New York Magazine or Literary Repository*, Vol. I, No. 6 1790, pp. 290-295. N. Y. H. S.

[2] Printed in New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, Aug. 10, 1/3, 1790.

[3] New York *Daily Advertiser*, May 13, 2/4, 1791; Dunlap's *American Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 2/4, 1791.

[4] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 39. New York, 1791. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.

masterpiece of oratory, replete with the most refined religious and political sentiment, is but justice."[1]

"Uncommonly well adapted in all its parts to the occasion. Inspired with the important ideas which this event [July 4] conveys, he spoke with feeling and a surprising energy. . . . All eyes were fixed on the great and patriotic preacher; while his discourse at once commanded their admiration and delight."[2]

1792, May 12. Peter R. Livingston.† At New Dutch Church, Nassau Street.

1792, July 4. Rev. Benjamin Foster.† At St. Paul's Chapel. Subject: Exodus, chap. XII, ver. 14: "And this day shall be unto you for a memorial."

"An elegant and patriotic sermon from this text: Exodus, chapter XII, ver. 14, 'And this day shall be unto you for a memorial' was delivered by the Reverend Mr. Foster."[3]

"Where a well adopted discourse was delivered upon the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Foster."[4]

Major Morton.† Brief Address.[5]

July 14. Dr. J. F. Vacher.[6] Celebration in honor of the French Revolution.

Oct. 12. John B. Johnson.† At the Great Wigwam. Columbus celebration in honor of the third century of the discovery of America.

"Brother J. B. Johnson addressed the Society with an animated eulogy on this nautical hero and astonishing adventurer [Columbus] with great applause."[7]

"An elegant oration was delivered by Mr. J. B. Johnson, in which several of the principal events in the life of this remarkable man [Columbus] were pathetically described and the interesting consequences to which his great achievements had already, and must still conduct the affairs of mankind, were pointed out in a manner extremely satisfactory."[8]

1793, May 12. Cadwallader D. Colden.† At St. Paul's Church.

Subject: "The Super-excellence of the United States, when contrasted with those of despotic countries."

"Brother Cadwallader D. Colden delivered to a crowded and brilliant audience an animated Talk on the super-excel-

[1] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, July 6, 3/2, 1791.
[2] New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 2/5, 1791.
[3] New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 2/3, 1792.
[4] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, July 7, 3/4, 1792.
[5] New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 2/3, 1792.
[6] Printed in New York *Daily Advertiser*, July 17, 2/4, 1792. N.Y.H.S.
[7] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, Oct. 13, 3/3, 1792.
[8] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*. October 17, 3/2 1792.

TAMMANY SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES

I. Prior to May 12, 1789

1. Philadelphia, Penna.

1772, May 1: Sons of King Tammany.[1]

Adopted, or was known under, the following names:

April 28, 1773. Associate Sons of Saint Tammany.[2]
Jan. 7, 1775. Buckskins of Pennsylvania.[3]
May 1, 1779. Sons of Saint Tammany.[4]
Feb. 22, 1780. Constitutional Society.[5]
May 9, 1781. A Society of Gentlemen.[6]
May 1, 1783. Constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany.[7]
May 1, 1784. Sons of Saint Tammany.[8]

2. Norfolk, Va.[9]

*1774, May 1.

3. New Jersey.

*1779, May 1. Society of the Sons of Saint Tammany.[10]

4. Richmond, Va.

*1785, May 1. Sons of Saint Tammany.[11]

5. Charleston, S. C.

*1792, May 1. Sons of Saint Tammany.[12]

A. Celebrations in Honor of Saint Tammany[13]

1. Annapolis, Md.

*1771, May 1. A popular celebration in honor of "Saint Tamina"[14]

* Indicates the earliest date found.
[1] *Penna. Chronicle*, Philadelphia, May 4, 1772.
[2] *Penna. Mag.* XXV: 446.
[3] *Temple of Liberty*, Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1775.
[4] *Penna. Packet*, May 1, 1779.
[5] *Penna. Packet*, Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1780.
[6] Freeman's *Journal*, Philadelphia, May 9, 1781.
[7] *Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, May 3, 1783.
[8] *Penna. Packet*, Philadelphia, May 6, 1784.
[9] *Va. Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, May 17-24, 1774.
[10] Location not given; probably at Morristown or its vicinity.
[11] Washington's Diary; *Washington after the Revolution*, Phila., 1898, edited by W. S. Baker, p. 30.
[12] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 19, 3/1, 1792. Probably established prior to 1789.
[13] Prior to 1795.
[14] *Letters from America*, William Eddis, Dec. 24, 1771, pp. 114–115.

"John I. Johnson delivered a political long talk which was received with the usual plaudits."[1]

July 4. George James Warner.[2] At New Dutch Church
Subject: "Means for the Preservation of Public Liberty."

1798, May 12. George I. Eacker.[3] At the Wigwam.
Subject: "Observations on the National Character of the Americans."

"Brother Geo. I. Eacker, agreeable to appointment, delivered a long talk which for elegance of diction and patriotic sentiments, was highly applauded."[4]

July 4. George Clinton, Jun.[5]

"Mr. George Clinton Jun. delivered an oration which abounded with many noble and patriotic sentiments and was received with unbounded applause."[6]

"The reiterated applauses of the very numerous and respectable auditory could not be restrained . . . the expression of real patriotism which proceeded from the orator gave universal satisfaction."[7]

1799, May 13. George J. Warner.[8] At the Wigwam.

July 4. Samuel Latham Mitchill.[9] At Brick Presbyterian Church.
Subject: "An address to the citizens of New York."

1800, May 12. Jonathan Pearss, Jun.† At the Wigwam.

"An elegant and pertinent oration was delivered to them by Brother Jonathan Pearss, Jun."[10]

July 4. Matthew L. Davis.[11] At St. Paul's Church.

"The oration in point of republican principle and propriety, did honor to the speaker, and produced the unbounded applause of the numerous attendants."[12]

[1] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 13, 3/3, 1797.
[2] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 22. New York, 1797. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.
[3] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 20. New York, 1798. N. Y. H. S.
[4] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 19, 2/1, 1798.
[5] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 14. New York, 1798. N. Y. H. S.
[6] *Weekly Museum* (New York), July 7, 3/1, 1798.
[7] New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, July 7, 1/1, 1798.
[8] Printed—2 columns—in New York *Journal and Patriotic Register*, May 22, 1/2, 1799.
[9] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 27. New York, 1800. N. Y. H. S.
[10] *American Citizen and General Advertiser* (New York), May 10, 2/2, 1800.
[11] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 21. New York, 1800. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.
[12] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 5, 2/1, 1800.

1801, May 12. John McKesson.† At the Wigwam.

" Brother John McKesson, Scribe of the Council, delivered before the brothers, a handsome long talk suitable to the occasion."[1]

July 4. George I. Eacker.[2]

1802, May 12. James Carson.[3] At the Wigwam.
Subject: "The Past and Present State of our Country."

July 4. Nathan Sandford.† At Brick Presbyterian Church.

" An elegant and didactic oration delivered by Mr. Nathan Sandford."[4]

1803, May 12. Samuel Cowdrey.[5] At the Wigwam.

" An excellent long talk in which he displayed considerable precision and taste, heightened by patriotic sentiment and enforced by an impressive and pleasing exhibition of genuine eloquence."[6]

July 4. John D. Miller.[7]† At New Dutch Church.

" We are glad to see that the very improper remarks made in the Federal prints previous to the 4th of July had no effect on Mr. Miller, who acquitted himself very handsomely."[8]

1804, May 12. John Forbes.† At the Wigwam.

July 4. Major John A. Mulligan.† At the Brick Presbyterian Church.

" To pass by the masterly performance, without a tributary remark on the style and manner in which it was written and delivered, would be doing injustice to the orator and to our feelings. The sentiments were those of '76, couched in the glowing language of a patriot and American. . . . The ebullitions of a sound heart and correct judgment, and dictated solely by a pure and ardent love of country."[9]

" The displeasure of the Democrats with Mr. Mulligan for his oration delivered before them on the late anniversary

[1] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, May 14, 2/2, 1801.
[2] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 23. New York, 1801. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.
[3] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 16. Phila., 1802. N. Y. P. L.
[4] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 6, 2/2, 1802.
[5] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 15. New York, 1803. N. Y. H. S.
[6] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, May 16, 2/2, 1803.
[7] The selection of John D. Miller, a Republican, as the orator of the day, was severely criticised by the Federalist Press. See *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 7, 3/2, 1804.
[8] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 6, 2/2, 1803.
[9] *Commercial Advertiser*, New York, July 5, 3/1, 1804.

of Independence, is unaccountable by all not acquainted with the principles which actuated them. The prominent feature in the oration was an encomium on the administration of President Washington. Why should this offend them?"[1]

"Was it becoming, decorous, manly, or generous to mingle in your oration opinions which could not fail to give high and just offense to your brother officers? You sink the character of a soldier in that of a party politician."[2]

"Your language was neither bold nor figuratively beautiful."[3]

1805, May 12. Name of orator not found.
July 4. Samuel Cowdrey.† At New Dutch Church.

1806, May 12. John Ferguson.† At the Wigwam.
July 4. Peter H. Wendover.[4] At New Dutch Church. Subject: "National Deliverance."

1807, May 12. Benjamin Romaine.† At the Wigwam.
July 4. Richard Hatfield, Jun.† At the Brick Presbyterian Church.

1808, April 6. Joseph D. Fay.[5] At the Wallabout, L. I. On Laying the Corner Stone of the Prison Ship Martyr's Vault.

"A Speech highly animated and appropriate. The pictures which he drew of the sufferings of the heroes and martyrs of American liberty, were painted to the life. Many of the survivors of British cruelty were present, and to the tears of sympathy which others shed, added those of bitter remembrance. The orator had many circumstances in his favor, and he could not fail to improve them. . . . The air was serene—the sky unclouded—nature appeared to listen and approve. The introduction which he made was beautifully concise and energetic."[6]

May 28 John D. Miller.† At the Wigwam.

"The orator was attentively heard with repeated shouts of approval; without attempting anything fulsome, the orator acquitted himself handsomely. His sentiments were animated and breathed the pure patriotism of an American."[7]

[1] *Commercial Advertiser*, July 6, 2/5, 1804.
[2] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 7, 3/2, 1804.
[3] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, July 11, 3/2, 1804.
[4] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 16. New York, 1806. N. Y. H. S.
[5] Printed in *An account of the Procession . . . with extracts of the oration delivered at the Wallabout, L. I., April* 6, 1808, pp. 5-13; *A brief account of the origin and progress of the Tammany Society*, New York, 1838, pp. 10-11; *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, April 12, 2/3, 1808.
[6] *A Brief account of the Origin and Progress of the Tammany Society*, p. 10.
[7] The *Public Advertiser*, New York, May 14, 2/3, 1808.

May 26. Rev. Ralph Williston.[1] At the Wallabout, L. I. Subject: "A Prayer to the God of Battles."

May 26. Benjamin DeWitt.[2] At the Wallabout, L. I. Subject: "Oration at the Tomb of the Patriots."

"An address finely composed and delivered amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the surrounding spectators."[3]

July 4. Joseph D. Fay.† At the Brick Presbyterian Church.

1809, May 12. Name of orator not found.

July 4. John Treat Irving [The Elder].[4] At North West Dutch Church.

1810, May 12. John Treat Irving [The Elder].[5] At the Wigwam.

"An Excellent Long Talk was delivered by Brother John T. Irving to a very numerous and respectable audience."[6]

July 4. Rev. Hooper Cumming, D.D.[7] At the Presbyterian Church.

1811, May 13. Alpheus Sherman.† Laying Cornerstone of New Wigwam.

"Mr. Sherman, the orator of the day, delivered an oration extremely appropriate to the occasion."[8]

July 4. Samuel Berrian.[9] At East Rutgers Street Church.

1812, May 12. Name of orator not found.

July 4. Samuel B. Romaine.[10]

"Gratified by an oration from S. B. Romaine, Esq., of which report speaks in the highest term of approbation."[11]

1813, May 12. Benjamin Romaine.[12] Tammany Hall.

[1] Printed in *Wallabout Prison Ship Series*, by Henry R. Stiles, M.D., p. 131.
[2] Printed in *Wallabout Prison Ship Series*. Edited by W. R. Stiles, New York, 1865, p. 136.
[3] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, May 28, 2/3, 1808.
[4] Printed separately: 8vo. pp. 23. New York, 1809. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.
[5] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 17. New York, 1810. N. Y. H. S.
[6] *Columbian*, New York, May 14, 2/5, 1810.
[7] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 14. New York, 1810. N. Y. P. L.
[8] *Columbian*, May 16, 3/1, 1811.
[9] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 20. New York, 1811. N. Y. H. S.
[10] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 16. New York, 1812. N. Y. H. S.
[11] *Columbian*, July 6, 2/4, 1812.
[12] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 16. New York, 1813. N. Y. H. S.

July 5. John Rodman.[1] At the Brick Presbyterian Church.

1814, May 12. Matthew L. Davis.† At Tammany Hall.

"An oration appropriate, animated, and patriotic was delivered by Brother M. L. Davis, who spontaneously brought forth the repeated acclamations of applause from a numerous and respectable auditory."[2]

July 4. Henry Wheaton.† Anthony Street Theatre.

1815, May 12. Samuel Hawkins.† At Tammany Hall.

"An animated and appropriate address."[3]

July 4. Samuel Berrian.[4] At Anthony Street Theatre.

1816, May 12. Joseph D. Fay.† At Tammany Hall.

"An oration was pronounced by Joseph D. Fay, Esq., to a numerous assembly and received the highest proofs of approbation. It reflected honor on the orator's feelings and judgment; its every sentence was stamped with the energy of Republican sentiment and love of country."[5]

July 4. Charles D. Ferris.† At the Spring Street Church.

1817, May 12. Name of orator not found.

1817, July 4. Moses Mordecai Noah.† At the Presbyterian Church.

"An oration appropriate to the occasion."[6]

1818, May 12. Samuel B. Romaine.† At Tammany Hall.

"The company was numerous and respectable—especially the female part. To say that the orator was eloquent would be but common praise—he soared aloft into the regions of conjecture and improbability and exhibited to his admiring auditors a clear view of invisible things. . . . The eyes of a Martling-man have very astonishing magnifying powers. Monstrous distortions are perpetually in his view. He sees nothing through a true medium."[7]

July 4. William M. Price.† At Popin's Circus.

"The oration deserved a unanimous applause, and received it in the warmest possible manner; and when we duly take into view the orator and the audience, this circumstance may be regarded as an evidence that this is indeed 'an era of good feeling.' "[8]

[1] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 24. New York, 1813. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.
[2] *National Advocate*, May 13, 2/3, 1814.
[3] *Columbian*, May 13, 2/1, 1815.
[4] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 32. New York, 1815. N. Y. H. S.
[5] *Columbian*, May 14, 2/1, 1816.
[6] *National Advocate*, July 7, 2/3, 1817.
[7] *Columbian*, May 14, 2/1, 1818.
[8] *Columbian*, July 6, 2/1, 1818.

1819, May 12. Moses Mordecai Noah.† At Tammany Hall.
Subject: "The Rise, Progress and Fall of Empires."
July 4. James W. Gerard.† At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.
Subject: "The Principles of Political Equalities, the Foundation of the Tammany Society."
Oct. 4. Address of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order to its absent members and the members of its several branches throughout the United States.[1]

1820, May 12. John Woodward.† At Tammany Hall.
July 4. Edward Livingston.† At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.

1821, May 12. Stephen Cambreleng.† At Tammany Hall.
July 4. Thomas F. King.† At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.

> "The language was pure, it was delivered with animation and eloquence, and what was of more importance, it was entirely free from party bearing."[2]

1822, May 13. John H. Sackett.[3] At Tammany Hall.
Subject: "An Inquiry into the origin and tendency of political institutions."
July 4. Stephen Cambreleng.† At the Franklin Street Church.

1823, May 12. Moses Mordecai Noah.† At Tammany Hall.
July 4. Name of orator not found. At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.

1824, May 12. Name of orator not found.
July 4. Luther Clark.† At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.

1825, May 12. Lemuel Smith.† At Tammany Hall.
Subject: "Original Organization of the Tammany Society."
July 4. Elisha L. Avery.[4]† At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.

1826, May 12. Name of orator not found.

[1] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 29. New York, 1819. N. Y. H. S.; N. Y. P. L.
[2] New York *Evening Journal and Patron of Industry*, July 5, 2/2, 1821.
[3] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 19. New York, 1822. N. Y. P. L.
[4] *National Advocate*, July 4, 1825.

July 4. Abner Kneeland.[1]† At the Baptist Church, Mulberry Street.

1827 to 1830, May 12—July 4. No data found.

1831, May 12. Meyer Moses.[2] At Tammany Hall.

"The orator was exceedingly happy in the selection of his topics and in the manner of treating them."[3]

"The Long Talk was distinguished for enlarged and patriotic sentiments, and correct views:—it was received with great approbation."[4]

RESPONSES TO TOASTS.

Edward P. Livingston.[5] Stephen Cambreleng.[6]

"Mr. Cambreleng spoke at length, and with great ability."[7]

1831, July 4, to May 12, 1862. No data found.

1852, July 4. John C, Mather.†

"A very clever production and was well received."[8]

1853, July 4. Lorenzo B. Sheppard.[9]†

1854, July 4. Lorenzo B. Sheppard.[10] John Cochrane.†

1855, July 4. Col. Alexander Ming.[11]

Subject: Origin of Tammany.

"During the delivery of the oration, the few ladies who at first graced the assembly retired from the room, excepting one solitary female, whose nerves happened to be sufficiently strong to endure the vehement enunciation of the speaker and the tumultuous stamping of the braves."[12]

Lorenzo B. Sheppard.[13] Acting Grand Sachem.

[1] The name of the Tammany Society does not appear in the order of procession for the Independence celebration of this year, and it is not positive that its members joined with the other societies to hear the address of Kneeland.

[2] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 31. New York, 1831. N. Y. H. S.; L. C.

[3] *Evening Post*, New York, May 13, 3/1, 1831.

[4] *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, May 14, 1/6, 1831.

[5] Printed, ⅛ column, in *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, May 14, 1/7, 1831.

[6] Printed, 1⅛ columns, in *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, May 14, 1/7, 1831.

[7] *Evening Post*, May 13, 2/1, 1831.

[8] New York *Tribune*, July 7, 5/1, 1852.

[9] New York *Tribune*, July 6, 5/6, 1853.

[10] Printed, in part, New York *Times*, July 6, 2/5, 1854.

[11] Printed, in full, New York *Times*, July 6, 1/4, 1855.

[12] New York *Tribune*, July 6, 7/3, 1855.

[13] Printed in full, New York *Times*, July 6, 1/4, 1855.

1856, July 4. Horace F. Clark.†
Lorenzo B. Sheppard, Grand Sachem.[1]

1857, July 4. No public addresses because of the death of Lorenzo B. Sheppard and Wm. H. Cornell.[2]

1858, July 4. Caleb Cushing.[3] Wm. McMurray.[3]
Subject: "Origin and Custom of the Cap of Liberty."
Isaac M. Fowler,† Grand Sachem.

1859, July 4. Andrew H. Green.† Francis B. Tillou.†
John Kelly,[4] Acting Grand Sachem.

1860, July 1. Stephen A. Douglas.[5]
July 4. John Cochrane.† John Kelly.[6]†

1861, July 4. Gen. Hiram H. Walbridge.[7]

1862, July 4. Chas. P. Daly.[8]
Nelson J. Waterbury, Grand Sachem.[9]
Hiram H. Walbridge.[10]

RESPONSES TO TOASTS.[11]

August Belmont.	Chas. P. Daly.
Henry L. Clinton.	Harry Hilton.
Richard B. Connolly.	Elijah F. Purdy.

1863, July 4. Henry C. Murphy.[12]
Elijah F. Purdy, Grand Sachem.[13]

RESPONSES TO TOASTS.[14]

Cyril H. Brackett.	Geo. W. McLean.
Ward B. Burnett.	Hosea B. Perkins.
Henry L. Clinton.	Edwards Pierrepont.
Robert C. Hutchings.	Horatio Seymour.

[1] Printed in full, New York *Herald*, July 6, 1/3, 1856.
[2] New York *Times*, July 4, 1/4, 1857; New York *Herald*, July 4, 1857.
[3] Printed in full, New York *Times*, July 7, 1/6, 1858.
[4] New York *Tribune*, July 6, 6/5, 1859.
[5] Printed in full, New York *Herald*, July 2, 1860.
[6] New York *Times*, July 6, 5/1, 1860.
[7] Printed in part, ¼ column, New York *Tribune*, July 6, 1/2, 1861.
[8] Printed in "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4th, 1862," pp. 22–34.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–8.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36; New York *Tribune*, ¼ column, July 5, 8/1, 1862.
[11] "Annnal Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4th, 1862," pp. 37–48.
[12] Printed in "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1863." pp. 17–30.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 7; New York *Herald*, July 6, 2/4, 1863.
[14] "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1863," pp. 31–53.

1864, July 4. A. Oakey Hall.[1]
Elijah F. Purdy, Grand Sachem.[2]

RESPONSES TO TOASTS.[3]

(Judge) Cowles. Eli P. Norton.

1865, July 4.
Gen. Francis B. Spinola.[4] Elijah F. Purdy,[5] Grand Sachem.
Hiram B. Smith.[6] Samuel J. Tilden.[7]

"Three cheers were then given for Hon. H. B. Smith, and his patriotic speech."[8]

1866, July 4. Richard O'Gorman.[9]

"The orator then raised his musical, but Cassandra-like voice, in pessimistic threatenings as to the near future of the Nation's fate."[9]

John T. Hoffman,[10] Grand Sachem.
Samuel Sullivan ["Sunset"] Cox.[11]
Edwards Pierrepont.[12]

1867, July 4. Gulian C. Verplanck.[13]

[1] Printed in: "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1864," pp. 9–20; New York *World*, July 6, 2/1, 1864; separately: 8vo. pp. 12, New York: 1864. N. Y. H. S.

[2] Printed in "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1864," pp. 6–7.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–25.

[4] Printed in "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1865," pp. 13–15.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–17.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–21; New York *World*, ½ column, July 5, 2/3, 1865.

[8] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1866," pp. 25–45; New York *World*, 2¼ columns, July 5, 1/2, 1866; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/4, 1866; New York *Herald*, July 5, 1/6, 1866.

[9] History of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, by E. V. Blake, p. 91.

[10] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1866," pp. 10-13; New York *World*, ½ column, July 5, 1/2, 1866; New York *Herald*, July 5, 1/6, 1866.

[11] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1866," pp. 45-51; New York *World*, ¾ column, July 5, 1/2, 1866.

[12] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1866," pp. 51-59; New York *World*, 1 column, July 5, 1/2, 1866.

[13] Printed in: "Proceedings of the Tammany Society . . . on laying the corner stone . . . July 4, 1867," pp. 19-44; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/3, 1867; New York *Herald*, July 6, 6/2, 1867; New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1867.

"With a somewhat enfeebled voice, but with great precision in enunciation and grace of gesture."[1]

John T. Hoffman,[2] Grand Sachem.

"It was an address remarkable for chaste simplicity and apt expression."[3]

Samuel Sullivan Cox.[4]
A. Oakey Hall.[5]

1868, July 4. No celebration. Democratic National Convention in Tammany Hall, July 4, 1868.

1869, July 4. John Potter Stockton,[6] U. S. Senator from New Jersey.
William M. Tweed,[7] Grand Sachem.
George W. Miller.[8] Samuel B. Garvin.[10]
A. Oakey Hall.[9] John R. Fellows.[11]

"The Grand Sachem was no other than our mild-mannered, gentle and polite city official, the Hon. William M. Tweed."[12]

"The sentiments of Mr. Miller's strong argumentative address were frequently and loudly applauded, and it appeared to be generally regarded as an effort of which the speaker, Tammany, and the entire Democratic party might be proud."[13]

"A felicitously humorous speech."[9]

"A rambling speech [Fellows] of excruciating duration."[14]

[1] "Proceedings of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1867," p. 19.
[2] Printed in: "Proceedings of the Tammany Society . . . on laying the corner stone . . . July 4, 1867," p. 10-11; New York *Herald*, July 6, 6/2, 1867.
[3] "Proceedings of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1867," p. 11.
[4] *Ibid*, pp. 45-58.
[5] *Ibid*, pp. 58-62.
[6] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 5, 1869," pp. 18-36; New York *World*, 2 columns, July 6, 1/6, 1869.
[7] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 5, 1869," pp. 9-10; New York *Herald*, 1/6 of a column, July 6, 7/2, 1869; New York *Sun*, July 6, 1/2, 1869.
[8] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 5, 1869," pp. 36-44; New York *World*, ½ column, July 6, 1/6, 1869.
[9] *Ibid*, pp. 48-56; New York *World*, July 6, 1/6, 1869.
[10] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 5, 1869," pp. 16-18; New York *World*, ⅛ column, July 6, 1/6, 1869.
[11] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 5, 1869," pp. 57-63.
[12] New York *Sun*, July 6, 1/2, 1869.
[13] "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 5, 1869."
[14] New York *Herald*, July 6, 7/2, 1869.

1870, July 4. Eugene Casserly,[1] "The Democratic Warrior from the Pacific," U. S. Senator from California.

William M. Tweed,[2] Grand Sachem.

> "Mr. Tweed . . . with coolness, but delighting modesty, welcomed brothers and guests."[3]

Samuel Sullivan Cox.[4]

> "His speech was frequently interrupted by laughter and applause, but it appears, as the speeches of that honorable gentleman always do, sparkling and happy in the pages of Tammany record."[5]

James Brooks.[6]

1871, July 4. Gen Theodore Runyon,[7] Governor of New Jersey.

William M. Tweed,[8] Grand Sachem.

Clarkson N. Potter.[9]	Richard O'Gorman.†
(Judge) Friedman.†	Mr. Hill.†

1872, July 4.

James Brooks.[10]	Gen. J. Martin McMahon.[12]
August Schell,[11]	William R. Roberts.†
Grand Sachem.	Elisha P. Norton.†
Samuel Sullivan Cox.[12]	John W. Chanler.†

[1] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1870," pp. 10-51; New York *World*, in part, July 5, 1/2, 1870; New York *Tribune*, 1/8 column, July 5, 1/6, 1870.

[2] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1870," pp. 8-9; New York *World*, 1/5 column, July 5, 1/2, 1870; New York *Tribune*, 1/6 column, July 5, 1/6, 1870

[3] "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1870," p. 8.

[4] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1870," pp. 54-65; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/4, 1870.

[5] "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1870," p. 54.

[6] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1870," pp. 65-75.

[7] Printed in New York *Times*, July 5, 5/1, 1871.

[8] Printed in: New York *Times*, July 6, 5/1, 1871; New York *Sun*, July 5, 2/4, 1871; New York *Tribune*, July 5, 1/6, 1871.

[9] Printed in: New York *Sun*, July 5, 2/4, 1871; New York *Tribune*, ¾ column, July 5, 1/6, 1871.

[10] Printed, in part: New York *Herald*, July 5, 2/2, 1872; New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1872; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/3, 1872; New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/1, 1872; New York *Tribune*, 1/5 column, July 5, 1/6, 1872.

[11] Printed in full: New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/1, 1872; New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1872; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/3, 1872.

[12] Printed in full, New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1872.

1873, July 4.

Clarkson N. Potter.[1]	Samuel Sullivan Cox.[5]
Augustus Schell,[2]	Rufus F. Andrews.[7]
Grand Sachem.	Delano C. Calvin.[8]
Abraham R. Lawrence.[3]	Gen. Francis B. Spinola.[10]

"The sentiments of Mr. Lawrence were frequently and loudly applauded, the speaker appeared to be generally regarded with feelings of pride by the spectators."[4]

"The remarks of Mr. Cox were enthusiastically received by the audience, and frequently interrupted by applause."[6]

"The sentiments of Mr. Calvin's argumentative address were frequently and loudly applauded."[9]

1874, July 4.

James S. Thayer.[11]	Fernando Wood.[14]
Augustus Schell.[12]	Rufus S. Andrew.†
Samuel Sullivan Cox.[13]	

1875, July 4.

Samuel Sullivan Cox.[15]	Delano C. Calvin.†
Augustus Schell,	William A. Boyd.†
Grand Sachem.	William A. Robinson.
A. Lee Knott.[16]	John W. Knox.†

[1] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1873," pp. 10-33; separately: 8vo, pp. 28, New York, 1873. N. Y. H. S.

[2] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1873," pp. 7-8; New York *World*, July 5, 1/6, 1873.

[3] Printed in "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1873," pp. 35-36.

[4] "Celebrations of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1873," p. 8.

[5] Printed in: "Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1873," pp. 37-47; New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/1, 1873.

[6] "Celebrations of the Tammany Society . . . July 4, 1873," p. 47.

[7] *Ibid*, pp. 48-51.

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 51-58.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 58.

[10] *Ibid*, pp. 58-62.

[11] Printed, in full: New York *World*, 2 columns, July 5, 1/6, 1874; New York *Herald*, July 5, 4/2, 1874; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/6, 1874; New York *Tribune*, July 6, 2/1, 1874.

[12] Printed, in full: New York *World*, July 5, 1/6, 1874; New York *Herald*, July 5, 4/2, 1874; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/6, 1874.

[13] Printed in full: New York *World*, ¾ column, July 5, 1/6, 1874; New York *Herald*, July 5, 4/2, 1874; New York *Tribune*, ⅛ column, July 6, 2/1, 1874.

[14] Printed in full: ½ column, New York *World*, July 5, 1/6, 1874; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/6, 1874.

[15] Printed in full, 5 columns, New York *World*, July 5, 1/6, 1875.

[16] Printed in full, New York *Herald*, July 6, 6/2, 1875.

1876, July 4. Fernando Wood.[1]
Augustus Schell, Grand Sachem.[2]
John Kelly.[3]
Thomas Y. Symonds of South Carolina.†
Erastus Brooks.†
Delano C. Calvin.†
William A. Robinson.†

1877, July 4. Samuel Sullivan Cox.[4]
Subject: "*De Jure et de Facto*—The Right and the Fact."
Augustus Schell,[5] Grand Sachem.

Gen. Benj. F. Spinola.†	J. W. Browning.†
William A. Boyd.†	Thos. C. E. Ecclesine.†
Benj. A. Willis.†	Christopher Fine.†

"The speeches were all of the clap-trap order."[6]

1878, July 4. Gilbert C. Walker,[7] Ex-Governor of Virginia.

Michael J. A. McCaffery.[8]	Gen. F. B. Spinola.†
Samuel Sullivan Cox.[10]	William Van Wyck.†
Thomas C. Ecclesine, of New York.†	Thomas F. Grady.†
	David McAdam.†
William E. Robinson.†	Hosea B. Perkins.†

"His [Walker] address was carefully prepared but was delivered in so low a tone as not to be heard by the mass of people in the hall . . . ; for the most part the address did not excite much enthusiasm in the audience."[9]

1879, July 4.
William Dorsheimer.[11]

[1] Printed in full: New York *Herald*, July 5, 2/2, 1876; New York *World*, 2 columns, July 5, 2/2, 1876; New York *Tribune*, ¼ column, July 5, 1/8, 1876; separately: 8vo, pp. 8, New York, 1876. N. Y. P. L.
[2] Printed in full: New York *Times*, July 5, 8/1, 1876; New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/1, 1876.
[3] Printed in part, 1/8 column, New York *Tribune*, July 5, 1/8, 1876.
[4] Printed in part: New York *World*, ¾ column, July 5, 5/2, 1877; New York *Times*, July 5, 6/1, 1877; New York *Sun*, July 5, 3/1, 1877; separately: 8vo, pp. 54. New York, 1877. N. Y. P. L.
[5] Printed in full, New York *Tribune*, 1/8 column, July 5, 3/1, 1877.
[6] New York *Times*, July 5, 6/1, 1877.
[7] Printed in full, New York *Herald*, July 5, 3/1, 1878; in part: New York *Times*, July 5, 8/1, 1878; New York *Tribune*, ¾ column, July 5, 3/1, 1878.
[8] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 3/1, 1878.
[9] Printed in full, New York *Herald*, July 5, 3/1, 1878.
[10] Printed in part, New York *Times*, July 5, 8/1, 1878.
[11] Printed in full: New York *Times*, July 5, 8/8, 1879; New York *Herald*, July 5, 8/1, 1879; New York *Tribune*, ½ column, July 5, 8/1, 1879.

Benj. H. Hill[1] of Georgia.
John Cotter Smith.†
Benj. A. Willis.†
Thos. F. Grady.†
Mr. King of Louisiana.†
F. F. Vanderveer.†

1880, July 5.

George Ticknor Curtis.[2]
Jerome Buck.†
William E. Robinson.†
Thomas F. Grady.†
Gen. F. B. Spinola.†
John Kelly.†
James H. Lyddy.†

"Mr. Curtis read his address from printed slips and occupied one hour and three quarters in so doing."[3]

1881, July 4. Usual exercises abandoned because of the assassination of President James A. Garfield.

John Kelly.[4]—Brief remarks of sympathy and regret.

1882, July 4. John Kelly (Leader of Tammany Hall).
Subject: "The rise and progress of the United States and of the political parties therein."

John B. Haskins.†
Patrick Cavan.†
Michael H. Sigerson.†
James M. Lyddy.†
Thomas F. Grady.†
Thomas G. White.†

"Kelly spoke from a slip in his hand, and his delivery became very monotonous as he read his speech and the audience began to show signs of impatience."[5]

1883, July 4. Wm. Bourke Cockran[6] (of Irving Hall).
Thomas C. E. Ecclesine (of the County Democracy).†
Orlando B. Potter.†
Thomas F. Grady.†

1884, July 4. Samuel Sullivan Cox.†
Subject: "Old and new landmarks: 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmarks.'—Deuteronomy."
John Kelly.[7]
James P. Reid.†
George H. Stokes.†

[1] Printed in part, 1 column, New York *Tribune*, July 5, 8/1, 1879.
[2] Printed in part: New York *Times*, July 6, 8/1, 1880; New York *Sun*, July 6, 1/2, 1880; New York *Tribune*, ½ column, July 6, 1/4, 1880
[3] New York *Tribune*, July 6, 1/4, 1880.
[4] Printed in full in New York *Times*, July 5, 8/3, 1881.
[5] New York *World*, July 5, 2/1, 1882.
[6] Printed in part, ⅓ column, New York *Tribune*, July 5, 8/3, 1883; in full, New York *Star*, July 5, 1883.
[7] Printed in full in: New York *Tribune*, ⅓ column, July 5, 8/1, 1884; New York *Times*, July 5, 3/1, 1884.

1885, July 4. Orlando B. Potter.†
"Richelieu" (Wm. E.) Robinson.†
Eugene S. Ives.†
A. B. Tappan.†
Dennis McMahon.†

1886, July 5. Zebulon B. Vance, United States Senator from North Carolina.†
Samuel J. Randall.†
J. Randolph Tucker.†
F. H. Murphy, of Iowa.†
Wm. A. McAdoo, of New Jersey.†

1887, July 4. Fitzhugh Lee,[1] Governor of Virginia.
E. Willis Wilson,[2] Governor of West Virginia.
James A. Flack,[3] Grand Sachem.
Wm. C. Maybury,[4] of Michigan.
Barnes Compton,[5] of Maryland.
Samuel Sullivan Cox.[6]

> "A dapper little man with a sleek suit of black, a high-standing collar, a white silk neck tie and an onyx and diamond pin."[7]

Samuel J. Randall.[8]

1888, July 4. At Academy of Music.[9]
Geo. W. Vest,[10] United States Senator from Missouri.
Roger Q. Mills,[11] of Texas.
James A. Flack,[12] Grand Sachem.
Patrick A. Collins, of Boston.†
Benjamin F. Shively, of Indiana.†
James B. McCreary, of Kentucky.†
Melbourne H. Ford, of Michigan.†

[1] Printed in: "Celebration . . . by the Tammany Society, . . . July 4, 1887," pp. 11-27; New York *World*, ¾ column, July 5, 1887; New York *Tribune*, ⅛ column, July 5, 2/4, 1887.
[2] Printed in "Celebration . . . by the Tammany Society, . . . July 4, 1887," pp. 27-34.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-41.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-60; New York *Times*, July 5, 8/1, 1887.
[7] New York *Times*, July 5, 8/1, 1887.
[8] Printed in full, New York *Sun*, July 5, 2/6, 1887.
[9] Tammany Hall partially burned, June 6, 1888.
[10] Printed in full, New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/7, 1888; in part: New York *Herald*, July 5, 3/4, 1888; New York *Times*, July 5, 8/1, 1888.
[11] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 12, n.p., n.d.; in full, New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/7, 1888.
[12] Printed in full, New York *Herald*, July 5, 3/4, 1888.

Samuel Sullivan Cox, of New York.†
Gen. Chas. E. Hooker, of Mississippi.†
Levi Marsh, of Pennsylvania.†
B. T. Biggs, Governor of Delaware.†
Wm. Bourke Cockran, of New York.†

1889, July 4. Wm. Bourke Cockran.[1]

"The distinguished orator was greeted with hearty applause."[2]

"His oration was an elegant tribute to republican government as opposed to monarchical and aristocratic forms, and earnestly combated the notion that the present was an age of degeneracy."[3]

"Counselor Cockran walked almost as far as he talked; a caged lion is not to be compared to him in pedestrianism."[4]

James B. Eustis,[5] United States Senator from Louisiana.

"Senator Eustis was received with great applause."[6]

"Mr. Eustis had carefully prepared his speech. . . . In delivery and substance it was a dismal failure. . . . While her husband was speaking her [Mrs. J. B. Eustis] glasses were at her eyes all the time, excepting when she shivered and let them drop involuntarily because he spoke of 'Tom' Jefferson as 'Jack.'"[4]

B. T. Biggs, Governor of Delaware.†

"Governor Biggs is a tall, spare, elderly gentleman, with long white hair, a keen, intellectual face, and eyes that flashed the alternating enthusiasm and humor of his address."[7]

"The grotesque character of the Governor's speech was enhanced by his defense of the whipping post . . . and of the poll tax."[8]

James A. Flack,[9] Grand Sachem.
C. W. Wilson, Governor of West Virginia.†

"A tall, slightly built man, under the middle age, with high forehead, keen blue eyes, and a heavy brown mustache.

[1] Printed in: "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . . , July 4th, 1889," pp. 17-36; New York *Sun*, July 5, 3/1, 1889.
[2] "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . . , July 4th, 1889," p. 17.
[3] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 2/6, 1889.
[4] New York *Times*, July 5, 3/1, 1889.
[5] Printed in: "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . . , July 4th, 1889," pp. 36-46; New York *Sun*, July 5, 3/1, 1889.
[6] "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . . , July 4th, 1889," p. 36.
[7] "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . . , July 4th, 1889," p. 46.
[8] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 2/1, 1889.
[9] Printed in "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . . , July 4th, 1889," pp. 15-16.

He is a vehement speaker. His address was logical, scholarly and very eloquent; he traced the history of the two parties down from the constitution to the present time."[1]

"Wilson assumed a wild and untamed demeanor which greatly amused his auditors."[2]

B. F. Shively, of Indiana.†

"A tall, broad-shouldered, handsome young man, with black hair and mustache."[3]

1890, July 4. Wm. D. Bynum, of Indiana.†

"Bill Bynum the Hercules of Indiana read his piece, which was a dreary effort against the Federal election Bill."[4]

Chas F. Crisp, of Georgia.†

"Crisp pleasantly distinguished himself by a short address."[4]

B. T. Biggs, of Indiana.†
Jno. M. Allen, of Mississippi.‡
William Springer, of Indiana.†
Benton McMillan, of Tennessee.†
Asher B. Caruth, of Kentucky.†
James Ker, of Pennsylvania.†
Theo. Wilkinson, of Louisiana.†
B. G. Enloe, of Texas.†
S. S. Yoder, of Ohio.†
Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri.†

1891, July 4. A. H. Colquitt,[5] United States Senator from Georgia.

"During the address the Senator was frequently interrupted by applause."[6]

Charles F. Crisp,[7] of Georgia.

[1] "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . ., July 4th, 1889," p. 47.
[2] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 2/1, 1889.
[3] "Centennial Celebration . . . of the Society of Tammany . . ., July 4th, 1889," p. 49.
[4] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 2/1, 1890.
[5] Printed in: "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . ., July 4th, 1891," pp. 21-39; New York *Sun*, July 5, 7/1, 1891.
[6] "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . . July 4th, 1891," p. 39.
[7] Printed in: "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . , July 4th, 1891," pp. 40-62; New York *Sun*, July 5, 7/1, 1891

Benton McMillan,[1] of Tennessee.
Subject: "History of the Democratic Party since 1801."
Thomas F. Gilroy,[2] Grand Sachem.
George A. Cooper,[3] of Indiana.
Thomas F. Grady,[4] of New York.
Hilary A. Herbert,[5] of Alabama.
Wm. McKaig, of Maryland.†
B. T. Biggs, of Delaware.†

Sept. 24. Dedication of the Tammany Monument, Gettysburg, Penna.

Gen. Daniel E. Sickles.[6] J. M. Elmendorf.†
Gen. Martin McMahon.[7] J. M. Casey.†
John R. Fellows.† B. S. Weeks.†

1892, July 4. William J. Bryan,[8] of Nebraska.

"His address was moderate in tone and naturally created little fervor."[9]

John O. Pendleton, of West Virginia.
Wm. Bourke Cockran.[10]
E. C. Taliaferro, of Alabama.†
Jno. R. Fellows, of New York.†
Owen Scott, of Indiana.†
Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama.†
S. M. White, of California.†
Marcus L. Smith.†
Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri.†

"The speaking was generally of a dull and dreary kind. . . . Mansur of Missouri was the last and dreariest of the lot."[11]

[1] Printed in: "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . , July 4th, 1891," pp. 63-71; New York *Sun*, in part, July 5, 7/1, 1891.
[2] Printed in: "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . , July 4th, 1891," pp. 20-21; New York *Sun*, July 5, 7/1, 1891.
[3] Printed in "Annual Celebration of the Tammany Society . . . , July 4th, 1891," pp. 75-79.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 79-82.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-75.
[6] Printed in: "Tammany Souvenir of the Inauguration of Cleveland and Stevenson," pp. 71-82; New York *Times*, in part, Sept. 25, 7/2, 1891.
[7] Printed in part, New York *Times*, Sept. 25, 1891.
[8] Printed, in part, New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1892.
[9] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 1/3, 1892.
[10] Printed in part: New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1892; New York *Herald*, ½ column, July 5, 3/2, 1892; New York *Times*, July 5, 1/7, 1892.
[11] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 4/5, 1892.

1893, July 4. Chas. F. Crisp, of Georgia.†
Benton McMillan, of Tennessee.†
Champ Clark.[1]
Subject: "The Trans-Mississippi Democracy."

> "Champ Clark's profanity makes a hit. . . . Champ told a great many stories, and in most of them occurred some word of profanity, which never failed to evoke a rapturous applause."[2]

John R. Fellows, of New York.†

> . "Col. Fellows read a long and brilliant speech. Historically it was interesting and accurate, philosophically it was pure and true, politically it was noble and full of wise suggestions."[2]

James E. Hendrix, of New York.†
Chas. W. Dayton, of New York.†
Robert De Forrest, of Connecticut.†
Ferdinand Levy, of New York.†

1894, July 5. Patrick S. Walsh,[3] United States Senator from Georgia.
John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi.†

> "He looked the typical fire-eating Southern stump speaker. His trousers were peculiarly yellow in color and fitted closely to the contour of a pair of legs which for variety and novelty of a configuration would ordinarily have added to the gayety of Tammany."[4]

Amos J. Cummings, of New York.†
Walter I. Hayes, of Iowa.†
Joseph W. Bailey, of Texas.†

1895, July 4. Joseph E. Campbell,[5] of Ohio.
Frederick Smythe,[5] Grand Sachem.
Thomas M. Waller,[5] of Connecticut.
Subject: "Origin and History of the Tammany Society."
Thomas A. Weadock, of Michigan.†
Gen. Joseph A. Wheeler, of Alabama.†
John T. Dunn, of New Jersey.†
John O. Pendleton, of West Virginia.†
Gen. Daniel E. Sickles.†
Amos J. Cummings, of New York.†

[1] Printed in part, New York *World*, July 5, 1/1, 1893.
[2] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 1/4, 1893.
[3] Printed in part, 2 columns, New York *World*, July 5, 3/6, 1894.
[4] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 1/6, 1894.
[5] Printed in full, New York *Times*, July 5, 1/1, 1895.

1896, July 4. Josiah Patterson,[1] of Tennesee.
" He manfully tackled the silver question."[2]
Geo. P. Harrison, of Alabama.†
Amos J. Cummings.†
William Sulzer.†
Franklin Bartlett.†
James J. Walsh.†

1897, July 5. James D. Richardson,[3] of Tennesee.
Henry St. George Tucker, of Virginia.†
James Hamilton Lewis.[4]†
R. C. De Graffenried, of Texas.†
A. J. Hunter, of Illinois.†
John M. Quinn,[5] of Montana.
James W. Ridgeway, of New York.†
James A. O'Gorman, of New York.†
" Mr. O'Gorman's effort was a model of beauty and good sense and he was warmly cheered."[6]

1898, July 4. John J. Lentz, of Ohio.†
James Hamilton Lewis, of Washington.†
H. B. Ferguson, of Arizona.†
Amos J. Cummings, of New York.†
James D. Richardson, of Tennessee.†
James H. Servis.†
James K. McGuire, of Syracuse, N. Y.†

1899, July 4. James J. Willett, President of Bar Association of Alabama.†
Asher G. Caruth, of Kentucky.†
Wm. B. Gourley, of New Jersey.†
James S. Hogg, Ex-Governor of Texas.†
Thomas F. Grady of New York.†
Amos J. Cummings, of New York.†
William Daly, of New Jersey.†

1900, July 4. Michael J. Ryan,[8] of Pennsylvania.
Leon O. Bailey, of Indiana.†
Bertram C. Clayton.†
John M. Quinn.†

[1] Printed, in part: New York *Times*, July 5, 9/1, 1896; New York *Sun*, July 5, 5/1, 1896.
[2] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 13/3, 1896.
[3] Printed, in part, New York *Times*, July 6, 1/7, 1897.
[4] " Pink Whiskers," " Pink Aurora Borealis," of Washington.
[5] New York *Tribune*, July 6, 7/1, 1897.
[6] Printed, in part, New York *Times*, July 5, 7/3, 1900.

Wm. Temple Emmett.†
Ira Edgar Rider.†
Albert G. Childs.†

"Without him Tammany's fourth of July this year would have been as mild as stale beer. Mr. Childs is a gloriously rotund man about five feet tall. In Seneca County, New York, he is loved for his fatness and harmlessness. He does not have to smile to be taken for a nineteenth century cherub."[1]

1901, July 4. Wm. S. Jennings, of Florida.†
Charles E. Hooker, of Mississippi.†
Thomas F. Grady,[2] of New York.
Peter J. Otey, of Virginia.†
Martin W. Littleton.†
Amos J. Cummings.†
Robert Campbell.†

1902, July 4. Wm. Bourke Cockran,[3] of New York.
Charles A. Culberson, of Texas.†
James A. O'Gorman.[4]
W. S. Cowherd, of Virginia.†
William Sulzer, of New York.†
William Temple Emmett, of New York.†

1903, July 4. Charles A. Towne.[5]
Joseph W. Bailey.†
Stephen V. [The Deacon] White.†
William McAdoo.†
Thomas F. Grady.†
William Sulzer.†
Henry M. Goldfogle.†
John J. Delaney.†

1904, July 4. Lucius F. C. Garvin,[6] of Rhode Island.
Webster Davis, of New York.†
Geo. S. Boutwell,[6] of Massachusetts.
John T. Hunt, of Missouri.†
John F. Shafroth, of Colorado.†
C. D. Van Duzer, of Nevada.†
S. J. Bowie, of Alabama.†

[1] New York *Tribune*, July 5, 16/2, 1900.
[2] Printed in part, New York *Times*, July 5, 14/5, 1901.
[3] Printed, in full, *Irish World and Industrial Liberator*, July 12, 1902; in part, New York *Times*, July 5, 2/4, 1902; New York *Tribune*, 1 column, July 5, 2/3, 1902.
[4] Printed in full, ⅓ column, New York *Sun*, July 5, 1/1, 1902.
[5] Printed in part, 2 columns, New York *Herald*, July 5, p. 4, 1903.
[6] Printed in part, ⅓ column, New York *Tribune*, July 5, 4/4, 1904.

1905, July 4. Robert B. Glenn,[1] Governor of North Carolina.
Subject: "Our Country."
Jared Y. Sanders, Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana.†
William Sulzer, of New York.†

1906, July 4. John A. Sullivan, of Massachusetts.†
Robert L. Henry, of Texas.†
Wm. Bourke Cockran,[2] Grand Sachem.
Jack Beall, of Texas.†
Henry M. Goldfogle, of New York.†

1907, July 4. Henry T. Rainey, of Illinois.†
James M. Brinson, of Colorado.†
"Starting about the time Paul Jones was a little boy, the speaker talked about the defenders of liberty."[3]
Wm. Bourke Cockran, Grand Sachem.†
Thomas F. Grady.†
Alex. C. Young.†

1908, July 5. Morris Sheppard, of Texas.†
John Sayles, of New York.†
Chas. F. X. O'Brien, of New Jersey.†
John C. Knox, of New York.†
Maurice B. Blumenthal, of New York.†
"Mediocre oratory."[4]

Nov. 14. Dedication of the Prison Ship Martyrs' Monument, Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Daniel F. Cohalan,[5] Grand Sachem.

1909, July 4. Albert A. Gilchrist, Governor of Florida.†
Geo. F. Burgess. of Texas.†
Augustus O. Stanley, of Kentucky.†
Michael F. Conry, of New York.†
Robert Baker, of New York.†
John J. Delaney, of New York.†

1910, July 4. Champ Clark,[6] of Missouri.
Adam M. Byrd, of Mississippi.†
Edward S. Saunders, of Virginia.†

[1] Printed in part, ¼ column, in New York *Times*, July 5, 3/5, 1905.
[2] Printed in part, ⅛ column, New York *Tribune*, July 5, 3/1, 1906.
[3] New York *Times*, July 5, 3/2, 1907.
[4] New York *Tribune*, July 6, 2/6, 1908.
[5] Printed in "Program of dedicatory ceremonies, Prison Ship Martyrs' Monument . . . Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 14, 1908." N. Y. H. S.
[6] Printed in part, New York *Times*, July 5, 7/2, 1910.

1911, July 4. Oscar W. Underwood,[1] of Alabama.
Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama.†
James M. Graham, of Illinois.†
Manuel Luiz Quezon, of Philippine Islands.†
Francis Burton Harrison, of New York.†
William Sulzer, of New York.†
Robert F. Wagner, of New York.†
Dudley Field Malone, of New York.†

1912, July 4. Charles F. Johnson, United States Senator from Maine.†
Emmett O'Neale, Governor of Alabama.†
Thomas U. Sisson, of Mississippi.†
William F. Murray, of Massachusetts.†
Wm. C. Redfield, of New York.†
John Sayles, of New York.†

[1] Printed in part, ½ column, New York *Sun*, July 5, 2/4, 1911.

TALKS OR ORATIONS DELIVERED BEFORE THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE SOCIETY OF TAMMANY OR COLUMBIAN ORDER IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. Annapolis, Md.

1810, May 12. John S. Skinner.[1]

2. Attleborough, Mass.

1811, May 12. Mr. Hodges,[2] of Taunton, Mass.†

3. Bristol, R. I.

1811, May 12. John D'Wolf, Jr.[3]†

4. Brookhaven, Long Island, New York.

1812, May 12. William Mills.[4]†

1815, May 12. Dr. Hanen.[4]†

July 4. B. F. Thompson.[4]†

5. Newport, R. I.

1810, May 12. Rev. Mr. Webb.[5]†

Subject: "A Moral and religious discourse."

July 4. William Simmons.[6]†

1811, May 12. Nathaniel Hazard.[7]† At Second Baptist Meeting House.

July 4. Thomas M. Read.[8]†

1812, May 12. Daniel A. Leonard.[9]† At St. Michael's Church.

July 4. Dutee J. Pearce.[10]†

1813, July 4. William Simmons.[11]†

6. Philadelphia, Penna.

1798, May 2. George Logan.[12]

Subject: "An address on the National and Social order of the World, as intended to produce Universal Good."

[1] Printed in full, *Rhode Island Republican*, Newport, R. I., June 13, 2/2, 1810.

[2] *Providence Phenix*, May 18, 2/1, 1811.

[3] *Rhode Island Republican*, May 29, 2/3, 1811.

[4] *MS. Minutes of the Tammany Society of Brookhaven, N. Y.*, in the collection of O. B. Ackerly, New York City.

[5] *Providence Phenix*, May 19, 3/1, 1810.

[6] *Providence Phenix*, July 14, 2/2, 1810.

[7] *Rhode Island Republican*, May 15, 3/1, 1811.

[8] *Rhode Island Republican*, July 10, 2/3, 1811.

[9] *Rhode Island Republican*, May 20, 3/1, 1812.

[10] *Rhode Island Republican*, July 8, 3/2, 1812.

[11] *Rhode Island Republican*, July 8, 1813.

[12] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 12, Phila., 1798. N. Y. P. L.

1807, May 12. John Binns.[1]†

1808, May 12. Gen. Michael Lieb, M. D.[2]

7. Providence, R. I.

1810, May 12. John Pitman, Jun.[3] At the State House.

July 4. Henry Wheaton.[4] At the State House.

"Its ideas were elegant and original, its language classical and animated; and its American sentiments deserved and received the enthusiastic applause of a crowded, respectable and brilliant audience."[5]

1811, May 12. Dr. Hosea Humphrey.[6]† At the State House.

July 4. Mr. Raymond,[7]† of Norton. At Rehoboth,[8] Mass.

1812, May 16. Samuel Brown.[9] At State House.

8. Rehoboth, Mass.

1811, July 4. Mr. Raymond,[10] of Norton. Before Tammany Society or Columbian Order, Beaver Tribe No. 1, of Providence.

9. Seekhonk, Mass.

1812, July 4. Hosea Humphrey.[11] Before the Tammany Society, Panther Tribe, No. 1, of Massachusetts.

10. Troy, N. Y.

1809. Oct. 11. William L. Marcy.[12]

Subject: "An oration on the Three Hundred and Eighteenth anniversary of the Discovery of America. Delivered before the Tammany Society or Columbian Order in the County of Renssalaer and State of New York, with a traditional account of the 'Life of Tammany,' an Indian Chief."

"An able and useful production abounding in classical imagery."[13]

[1] *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, New York, May 16, 2/2, 1807.

[2] Printed in full, *Aurora*, Phila., May 14, 2/1, 1809; *Providence Phenix*, Oct. 14, 2/3, Oct. 21, 1/3, 1809.

[3] Printed in full, *Providence Phenix*, July 21, 1/2-3, Aug. 18, 1/3, 1810.

[4] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 20, Providence, R. I., 1810. N. Y. P. L.

[5] *Providence Phenix*, July 7, 3/1-3, 1810.

[6] *Providence Phenix*, May 18, 2/1, 1811.

[7] *Providence Phenix*, July 6, 3/1, 1811.

[8] See under Rehoboth.

[9] *Providence Phenix*, May 16, 2/3, 1812.

[10] See under Providence, R. I.

[11] Printed separately: 8vo, pp. 17, Newport, R. I., 1813. B. U.

[12] Printed separately; 8vo, pp. 71, 1809; *Providence Phenix*, Oct. 21, 2/1-4, 1809.

[13] *Providence Phenix*, Feb. 17, 3/4, 1810.

11. Warwick, R. I.

1810, May 12. "By a Brother."[1]†

July 4. Sabin Lewis.[2]†

12. Washington, D. C.

1808, May 12. Joshua J. Moore.†

> "It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Brother Moore for the patriotic and eloquent Long Talk which he has just delivered, and that he be requested to furnish the Society with a copy of the same for publication."[3]

1809, May 12. Bernard Smith.†

1810, May 12. Henry Aborn.†

[1] *Providence Phenix*, May 19, 3/1, 1810.
[2] *Providence Phenix*, July 14, 2/2, 1810.
[3] MS. *Minutes of the Tammany Society of Washington City.*

VITA.

"There shall be printed and appended to each dissertation in the form of a *vita* a statement of the place and date of birth of the author, of the educational institutions that he has attended, and a list of the degrees and honors conferred upon him, as well as the titles of his previous publications."

—*Statutes of the University.*

The author was born at Tanners Falls, Wayne County, Pennsylvania, April 19, 1883. His early education was obtained in the District Schools of Wayne County and at the High School, Honesdale, Pennsylvania. A course of study was then pursued at Packard's, and later at Paine's Business College, New York City. After attending the New York Preparatory School during the academic year of 1898-1899, and Dwight School for Boys, in New York City, the following year, where an academic diploma was received in June, 1900, he matriculated at Columbia College in the Fall of 1900.

In June, 1904, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Columbia College, having earned general honors in his junior year; and in 1905 the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him after a course of study in the School of Political Science. In 1906 he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from Columbia Law School. The author passed the oral examinations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in May, 1910, before the Faculty of the School of Political Science. On July 12, 1906, he was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, and entered upon the active practice of law in New York City. In time spared from professional duties this dissertation has been prepared.

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