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THE PROGRESS OF THE EMPIRE STATE

A HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
FROM 1784 TO 1892
BY
GROVER CLEVELAND

GROVER CLEVELAND.

President of the United States; born Caldwell, New Jersey, March 13, 1837; received academic education. Removed to Buffalo, 1855; admitted to bar, 1859; assistant district attorney Erie County, 1863-66; sheriff Erie County, 1870-73; elected mayor of Buffalo, 1881; elected governor of New York, 1882; elected President of the United States, 1884 and 1892. Was one of the trustees of the Equitable Life Assurance Society after control was surrendered by James H. Hyde. Resided in later life at Princeton, New Jersey; died at Princeton, June 24, 1908.

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS,
1892.

THE PROGRESS OF THE EMPIRE STATE
1892



THE PROGRESS OF THE EMPIRE STATE

A WORK DEVOTED TO THE HISTORICAL, FINANCIAL,
INDUSTRIAL, AND LITERARY DEVELOPMENT
OF NEW YORK

EDITED BY

CHARLES A. CONANT

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF MODERN BANKS OF ISSUE," "THE PRINCIPLES OF MONEY
AND BANKING," ETC.

VOLUME II.

THE HISTORY OF BUFFALO

BY J. N. LARNED

PUBLISHED BY

THE PROGRESS OF THE EMPIRE STATE COMPANY
NEW YORK

1913

P R E F A C E

The charm of the cities of the old world to the artist and scholar is the body of historical and romantic associations which cluster about their history and monuments. A certain amount of age is usually required to throw over such memories the halo of romance. In this respect America has been until recent times more or less deficient. It is beginning to be recognized, however, that there is much in the history of American communities as heroic, as picturesque and as romantic as in the history of the cities of the older world and that already in many cases these memories are being sanctified by the halo of time. In this field many of the best American scholars have been diligently pursuing their researches among old archives, documents and monuments.

Mr. Larned, who has written the history of Buffalo in the series of volumes on "The Progress of the Empire State," has been able to cast more or less of this flavor of romance into the background of his account of the modern efficiency of organization which has advanced Buffalo, Rochester and other cities of the Empire State to leading places in the industrial and social development of America. His work combines the story of the evolution of Buffalo from a little hamlet, on the frontier of a century ago, down to the magnificent city of to-day, with its great factories, railroad terminals, many-sided institutions of culture, and beautiful homes. In this field of practical development

American literature is perhaps even more deficient than in the history of the beginnings of the rule of white men on this continent. So much a thing of only yesterday and to-day has been this evolution that it has hardly been overtaken by the average scholar, plodding among written documents instead of seeking the photograph of what is in its throbbing and living actuality. This photograph of the Buffalo living, militant and creative it is the merit of the author of this work to have thrown upon the canvas for the benefit of those who are active sharers in it.

On a smaller scale a like work has been done for Rochester by the eminent scholar, the Hon. Charles E. Fitch, and for Utica by that many-sided man of achievement, letters, and public service,—the former historian of the State of New York, Member of Congress and Treasurer of the United States, Ellis H. Roberts.

For the portraits which illustrate the life of the three cities and for the sketches printed in connection with them for identification, the publishers of this work are responsible, the authors of the articles having been consulted only in certain cases.

THE EDITOR,

34 Nassau Street,
New York, August 15, 1911.

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GENERAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

IF some sagacious European of the 16th century could have had the North American continent mapped for him, after it became known as a continent, and had been asked to mark the points where cities of importance were most likely to grow up, when city-building peoples were spread over this New World, his pencil would no doubt have been prophetic in a few of its markings, but mistaken in many more. He might easily have missed the promise of Boston, Washington, Pittsburg, Cincinnati; might have seated Philadelphia and Baltimore differently on the great inlets from the Atlantic, or found reason for expecting but one of the two; might have hesitated in locating New Orleans, and predicted for Alton or Cairo what St. Louis has realized; but his pencil could not have passed over the site of New York, and three markings, at least, on the Great Lakes would have been made with a sure hand. In the face of its map, nobody could ever have doubted that cities must rise at the foot of Lake Erie, at the head of Lake Michigan and the head of Lake Superior, if cities in America were to be. More than probably the prophetic eye of the 16th century would have misplaced Chicago by a few miles, and discovered no foretoken of a Milwaukee, a Cleveland or a Detroit; but Buffalo and Duluth were geographically inevitable from the day that a civilized settlement of America began.

To civilized and peacefully commercial mankind, such seats of collective habitation, where some great waterway opens naturally easy intercourse with near and far neigh-

bors, are attractive; but mankind in the savage state of chronic warfare among neighbors has to shun them, for the same reason, of their openness to visitation. Naturally, therefore, there is nothing to show that the immediate shore of Lake Erie, at this point where the Niagara flows out of it, was ever chosen for an Indian town. Two successive aboriginal nations are known to have been in possession of the surrounding region, and with villages in the vicinity, but not close to river or lake.

Prior to the 17th century nothing is known of our predecessors on or near these shores. As early in that century as 1615, when Champlain visited the Hurons, he learned of a large tribe, dwelling between them and the Five Nations of the Iroquois, who took no part in the implacable wars which those two branches of one linguistic family persisted in till the former were vanquished and dispersed. This intervening tribe, kindred in language to both of the belligerents and avoiding alliance with either, was known as the Attiouandaronk or Neutral Nation. It was visited by some of the early French missionaries, and its occupation of a wide domain on both sides of the Niagara River, reaching eastward to the Genesee and westward, along the northern border of Lake Erie, nearly to Lake Huron, is a practically settled fact. The ground we now inhabit in Buffalo must have been in that domain. So far, the aboriginal history of this bit of American territory is tolerably clear.

But now slight confusions appear in the record, and they arise from confusions of name. According to Iroquois tradition and French missionary reports, the all-conquering Iroquois turned their arms against the Neutrals, soon after the Hurons had been overcome, and brought their tribal existence to an end; but early references to this are mixed with allusions to further wars and conquests of the Iroquois in

this vicinity, following closely thereupon. The annihilation of a people called the Kah-Kwahs comes into the story, and the scene of it appears to be laid on this ground. Then, in dim confusions with that, there are Iroquois memories of a victorious end to long struggles with the powerful nation of the Eries, who held the southern border of the lake which took their name, and whose hunting grounds seem to have stretched eastward to the Genesee, even as those of the Neutrals had done. Who were the Kah-Kwahs? is the question. Mr. Schoolcraft decided them to be a remnant of the Eries; but Father Charlevoix, who wrote his "History of New France" from information gathered in America between 1720 and 1722, says that the Iroquois finished their destruction of the Eries, about 1655, "so completely that, but for the great lake which still bears the name of that nation, we should not have known that it existed." This argues against the Schoolcraft opinion, which has little weight. Mr. Parkman thought Kah-Kwahs and Neutrals to be only two names for the same people. Our own best student of local Indian history, Mr. O. H. Marshall, held the same view. Mr. Ketchum, who devoted the greater part of his "History of Buffalo" to Iroquois history, thought it not improbable that the Kah-Kwahs were a remnant of the Neutrals. By one conclusion or the other it seems safe to identify the Kah-Kwahs with the Neutrals, and to regard them as the only Indian occupants of this soil before the Senecas, of the Iroquois confederacy, became its lords.

This enables us to believe, with the late David Gray, that the tragic end of these people is recounted in a famous war legend of the Iroquois, which Mr. Gray once recited to our Buffalo Historical Society in exquisite verse. So much of that notable poem, "The Last of the Kah-Kwahs," as sings the requiem of the vanished tribe, has a claim to quotation here:

It came, at last — the nation's evil day,
Whose rayless night should never pass away.
A calm foreran the tempest, and, a space,
Fate wore the mask of joy upon his face.
It was a day of revel, feast, and game,
When, from the far-off Iroquois, there came
A hundred plumed and painted warriors, sent
To meet the Kah-Kwah youth in tournament.
And legend tells how sped the mimic fight;
And how the festal fire blazed high at night,
And laugh and shout through all the greenwood rang;
Till, at the last, a deadly quarrel sprang,
Whose shadow, as the frowning guests withdrew,
Deepened, and to a boding war-cloud grew.

And not for long the sudden storm was stayed;
It burst in battle, and in many a glade
Were leaves of green with fearful crimson crossed,
As if by finger of untimely frost.
Fighting, they held the stubborn pathway back,
The foe relentless on their homeward track,
Till the thinned remnant of the Kah-Kwah braves
Chose, where their homes had been, to make their graves;
And rallied for the last and hopeless fight,
With the blue ripples of the lake in sight.

Could wand of magic bring that scene, again,
Back, with its terrors, to the battle-plain,
Into these silent streets the wind would bear
Its mingled cry of triumph and despair;
And all the nameless horror of the strife,
That only ended with a nation's life,
Would pass before our startled eyes, and seem
The feverish fancy of an evil dream.

For, in the tumult of that fearful rout,
The watch-light of the Kah-Kwah camp went out;
And, thenceforth, in the pleasant linden shade,
Seneca children, only, laughed and played.
And still the river rolled, in changeless state,
Eternal, solemn, deep and strong as fate.

The Iroquois had no disposition to occupy the territory they had depopulated by the destruction of the Kah-Kwahs, or to put their mastery of the great lake of the Eries to any use. For more than a century their westernmost nation, the Senecas, stayed at the east of the Genesee, and the whole region from that river to the lake was an uninhabited wild. The Senecas made no homes in this region till they were driven to do so, during the War of American Independence, by the Sullivan expedition, which devastated their beautiful valley, and compelled them to fly for shelter and subsistence to their British allies, on the Niagara, in 1779. One band of them, with a few fugitive Cayugas and Onondagas, made a settlement on Buffalo Creek, about four miles above its mouth, the next spring. These Senecas brought with them several white captives, of the Gilbert family, taken from their homes on the Pennsylvania border not long before, and they were probably the first of white people to be resident on this soil. French missionaries, traders and soldiers, and British soldiers after the conquest of Canada, may have sometimes trodden it, but only in a passing way. It was not till about ten years later that a Dutch trader, Cornelius Winne, opened a log-built store, for traffic with the neighboring red-men, at the foot of a low hill which gave its name to the strip of public ground that we call "The Terrace," though it was levelled long ago. He was the pioneer Buffalonian, so far as is known.

At this time the famous Indian orator known as Red

Jacket had risen to a leading rank among the Senecas, though not distinguished as a warrior and not originally a chief. He owed his influence to a natural gift of eloquence, which he is said to have cultivated artistically, by study as careful as that of Demosthenes. He had opposed submission to the treaty of Fort Stanwix (to be explained presently), without avail, and he continued through life to be an inflexible champion of radical claims for his people as primary possessors of the land; but his disposition was pacific, and he was generally in friendly relations with the whites. Those who knew him best seem to have respected and admired him much. He rejected Christian teaching, but accepted the accursed gift of intoxicating drink which the white man tempted and betrayed his red-skinned brother with, and it brought him sometimes to shame in his later years. His own people, in fine compliment to his oratory, called him Sagoyewatha, meaning that "he keeps them awake," but his white neighbors, with less sentiment and less respect, named him from the scarlet jacket which a British officer had given him and which it pleased him to wear.

The principal war chief of the Senecas was Honayewus, called Farmer's Brother, because President Washington, whom he had visited, described himself, in the course of an interview, as a farmer, and spoke of the chief as his brother. Farmer's Brother is said to have realized, in person, in bearing and in character, the ideal war hero of the Iroquois. In the wars of the past he had been a savage; in peace he was faithfully peaceful, and exercised an influence among his people that was strong and wise and good.

Both Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket lived on the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Cornplanter, another prominent Seneca chief of the time—a half-breed, sometimes called John O'Bail or Abeel—had his home on the Allegany.

The British were still holding Fort Niagara (and other

garrisoned places on American soil, which they did not surrender till 1796), with posts at Lewiston and Schlosser, as well as at Fort Erie, on the Canadian side of the river, and the Indians of this region were entirely under their control. By the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, between the United States and the Six Nations of the Iroquois, the western line of lands to be held by those tribes in New York and Pennsylvania was defined as running parallel with the Niagara River, at four miles distance, eastward, throughout the length of the river, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, and thence south from the mouth of Buffalo Creek. This put a large part of what is now Buffalo outside of the Indian lands. But, subject to Indian rights, the title to lands in Western New York (excepting a strip of one mile width along the eastern shore of Niagara River, which New York reserved, and which was long known as the State Mile Strip), had become vested in the State of Massachusetts, by an agreement between that State and New York in 1786. Under the royal charters which created them as English colonies, both States could claim unlimited westward extensions of boundary, the Massachusetts belt cutting through that of New York. In compromising their claims, Massachusetts obtained such proprietary rights over Western New York soil as were deducible from her colonial charter, while New York kept sovereignty over that and the rest. What Massachusetts obtained, in fact, was the sole right to buy the Indian rights of property in that soil, the native owners being forbidden to deal with any other buyer.

In 1788 this Massachusetts right of purchase was sold to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, who succeeded the same year, at a notable council with the Indians on Buffalo Creek, in buying so much of the tract as lay on the east side of the Genesee, together with an important strip on the west side of the river, taking in its Rochester falls. This ended

the dealings of Phelps and Gorham with the Indians. Being unable to complete the payments due to Massachusetts they were released from their contract, and the State made a new engagement with Robert Morris, the Philadelphia financier. Morris took the Massachusetts rights in all the remaining territory, and, stipulating to extinguish the Indian title, he sold most of the tract to a group of capitalists in Holland (it was never a company, though called "the Holland Company"), in 1792-3. It was not until 1797, however, that he could make his conveyance good. Then, at a council at Geneseo, the Senecas sold to him the residue of their lands in Western New York, excepting eleven reservations for their own settlements, the largest of which was that assigned to the Senecas of Buffalo Creek. This reservation was to extend eastward from Lake Erie, along both sides of the creek, having a width of about seven miles, and to contain 130 square miles. It took in the future harbor and original nucleus of Buffalo, and there could have been no city on this precise ground if the Indians had held fast to their rights. Fortunately they did not, as will be told. The town, however, was hampered by a large neighborhood of undeveloped country for many years.

By this time Winne, the trader, had acquired two or three neighbors, one of whom, Asa Ransom, brought a wife and daughter from Geneva, in 1796, and introduced in the little settlement its first example of civilized family life. Mr. Ransom was a jeweller, who found employment in making silver trinkets for the Indians. A second daughter, added to the family the next year, was the first white child born in this part of the State.

By this time, too, the small cluster of log houses had had a distinguished visitor, whose pen was preparing to introduce it into literature and history, as a very little village with a very big name. In the summer of 1795, the first year

of his "Travels through the United States of North America," the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, on his way to Canada, came to see the Senecas in their "Buffalo Town," which he found to contain about forty houses, with as many more scattered along the banks of the creek for several miles. From the Seneca "Buffalo" he came down to the lake, and what he saw and experienced here is described and related as follows in his book:

"At length we reached Lake Erie; that is to say, a small settlement of four or five houses, standing about a quarter of a mile from the lake. A small creek separated them from our road. The creek is so muddy that nobody ventures to ford it on horseback. The saddles are therefore taken off; the horsemen pass the creek, which is about twenty feet wide, in boats, and make the horses swim across. * * * We had intended * * * [to cross to the other side of the Niagara River], but it was too late. We were, therefore, necessitated to content ourselves with a very poor supper and to lie down on the floor, wrapped up in our cloaks. Not the least furniture was to be seen in the houses; nor was there any milk, rum or candles. With considerable trouble we got some milk from the neighbors, but they were not equally obliging in regard to rum and candles. At length we obtained these articles from the other side of the river; our appetite was keen; we spent a pleasant evening, and slept as well as in the woods.

"At Lake Erie (this is the name of this cluster of houses) everything is much dearer than in any other place through which we have hitherto passed in our journey, from want of any direct communication with other countries, to facilitate the intercourse of trade and commerce. There is scarcely one house in this little hamlet without a person indisposed with the ague. We found ourselves here surrounded by Indians; some of them had caught, with harpoons, several

large sturgeons on the border of the lake, which they offered us for two shillings apiece. The banks are crowded, nay rendered noisome, with places where the Indians dry the fish."

One of the residents in this village of "Lake Erie" was a Captain William Johnston, supposed to have belonged formerly to the notorious Butler's Rangers, who had taken a wife from the Senecas, and was so much in their favor that they had given him about two square miles of land in the heart of our present city. Between this grant to Captain Johnston (which antedated the Seneca sale of lands to Robert Morris), the Buffalo Creek Reservation, and the "Mile Strip" along the eastern shore of the Niagara, reserved by the State of New York in its arrangement with Massachusetts, the Holland Purchase (as the tract sold by Morris has always been known), was likely to come to no contact with lake, river or creek, at this point, and include no ground on which a commercial city in this region could grow up.

But Joseph Ellicott, appointed by the American agent of the Dutch proprietors to survey their tract, and afterwards made local agent and manager of this part of the property, had no sooner looked it over, and acquired an understanding of the situation, than he saw the necessity for establishing his main settlement here, at the head of the river and the outlet of the lake. He was able to acquire the needed site by a bargain with Captain Johnston, which exchanged other lands for his grant from the Senecas, and engaged him to persuade the Senecas to leave a considerable stretch of the lower part of Buffalo Creek out of their reservation, which he did. Thus Joseph Ellicott won a place among the founders of cities, by a sagacious stroke of business, conceived and executed with distinct foresight of its results.

It was in Ellicott's plan that his future city should be

called New Amsterdam; but the name Buffalo (derived from the creek), slipped away from the Seneca village, became attached to the "Lake Erie" settlement as soon as that began to grow, and could not be shaken off. When and why Buffalo Creek received its bovine name has been the subject of much research and much dispute. The substantial outcome is a general conclusion that the name, in English speech, was taken from its Indian equivalent (tick-e-ack-gou); that it was given at some quite early time, and given probably because there were herds of the American bison roaming at that time as far eastward and northward as this; that they found salt-licks which drew them to the borders of this creek and made it an important hunting ground. Mr. Marshall found Buffalo Creek so named on a manuscript map in the British Museum, dated in 1764, and that is the oldest known use of the name. It was used in the narrative of the captivity of the Gilbert family, published in 1784, and officially in the Fort Stanwix treaty of the same year.

The survey of the Holland Purchase, laying out townships and sub-dividing them into lots, and the opening of a passable road from the East, through Batavia to this western extremity of the Purchase, occupied Ellicott's attention for several years, and it was not until late in 1803 or early in 1804 that the village of New Amsterdam was mapped and lots in it were ready for sale. During these years a fair number of settlers had been deposited in neighboring townships, and a considerable stream of migration from eastern parts of the country to the Connecticut "Western Reserve," in Ohio, and to western Canada, had been passing through. New Amsterdam lost some possible pioneers by the tardiness of this part of the survey. One gentleman, Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, who became a citizen of great importance, had planned, in 1801, to be one of forty substantial men from

Oneida County who would buy largely on the Buffalo Creek site; but his proposals were declined. He came personally, however, in 1803, with his family, and finding no shelter for them, sought a temporary residence at Fort Erie, from which he practiced his profession on both sides of the river during the next two years. Fort Erie, and the Canadian side of the Niagara in general, were far in advance of the American side in settlement and cultivation at this time.

In his plan of New Amsterdam, Mr. Ellicott established street lines which gave form and direction to the whole after-growth of the town. The hub or nave, so to speak, of the plan was a specially large lot—"outer lot 104"—containing one hundred acres of ground, fronting on the road which came in from Batavia, but which entered the village on a nearly north and south line. On the eastern side of this, the present Main Street of Buffalo, the lot in question filled the space between what are now Swan and Eagle Streets, extending eastward for a mile. It was reserved by Mr. Ellicott for himself, with the intention of building a residence upon it, at the center of the city which his imagination foresaw. To make it conspicuously the center, he gave a sweeping curve to the street in front of it, and radiated thence, southwestwardly to the lake, the street we know as Erie, but which he named Vollenhoven Avenue, and northwestwardly, to the Niagara, a street which has surrendered to our Niagara Street its formidable name of Schimmelpennick Avenue. At right angles with the frontage of his lot, from the middle point in its curve, he ran another street westward to the lake and called it Stadnitzki Avenue. It is the Church Street of to-day. For the main thoroughfare from which these centralizing street-lines were drawn he intended two names: Willink Avenue in the part south of the interrupting curve, and Vanstophorst Avenue in the northward part. This, subsequently straightened into

our Main Street, determined the course of one system of streets, which paralleled it or crossed it at a right angle, while Niagara Street determined in the same way the course of another system on its side of the town; the two systems connecting at angles which give a singular irregularity to our "west-side." Mr. Ellicott began the plotting of the Niagara Street system by laying out a Busti Avenue (our Genesee Street) at right angles with Niagara, then a Cazenove Avenue (Court Street) at right angles with Main, and a Delaware Street parallel with Main, the three to cross Niagara at the same point, thus creating the somewhat bewildering maze of Niagara Square.

Mr. Ellicott's intention to build a stately residence on "outer lot 104" is said to have been abandoned because of action taken in 1809 by village trustees and highway commissioners, who forced a straightening of the street he had curved. Dr. Ellicott Evans, a grandnephew of Mr. Ellicott, states in a paper which he read before the Buffalo Historical Society, that the purpose of the latter had been to create a place of beauty in the heart of the future city and bequeath it to the public at his death. Had this fine design been fulfilled, and if a mile-long Ellicott Park had been preserved with fidelity till now, from encroachment by railroads and manufacturing plants, what a different "East Side" of our city we should have!

If Buffalo can be said to have a definable birth-year, it was 1804, when definite settlements on residential property were begun. The village was visited that year by the Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, who wrote in his "Travels in New England and New York" that it "is built half a mile from the mouth of the Creek, and consists of about twenty indifferent houses;" that "the spot is unhealthy, though of sufficient elevation, and, so far as I have been informed, free from the vicinity of stagnant

waters;" that "the inhabitants are a casual collection of adventurers, and have the usual character of such adventurers thus collected, when remote from regular society, retaining but little sense of government or religion;" and that "New Amsterdam is at present the thoroughfare for all the commerce and travel interchangeably going on between Eastern States (including New York and New Jersey), and the countries bordering on the great western lakes." Not a flattering account of the infant emporium; but the travelling scholar, in his brief stay at a frontier tavern, was not likely to see the best of the few inhabitants.

He cannot have seen Mons. Louis Stephen Le Couteulx de Caumont, scion of an excellent family in Normandy, who had bought ground and built a house in New Amsterdam that year of the visit of Dr. Dwight. Coming to the United States on a business mission in 1786, M. Le Couteulx had stayed in the country, obtaining citizenship and purchasing an estate not far from Philadelphia. He had spent two years in extensive horseback travels, visiting many Indian tribes and keeping a journal of his observations, which, most unfortunately, was lost. He had also been engaged in business at Albany for a time; and, while going through Canada with merchandise to Detroit, in 1800, while England and France were at war, had been arrested, as a suspicious Frenchman, and imprisoned for nearly nine months. His business was broken up and his fortune impaired by this mishap. The fair prospects of the little settlement on Buffalo Creek drew him then to settle here, and Mr. Ellicott appointed him local agent for the sale of lands. On the formation in 1807 of the large county of Niagara (out of which Erie County was not taken till 1821), he became its first clerk. After the burning of Buffalo, 1813, he removed to Albany, but returned in 1821 and remained till his death, in 1839. Mr. Le Couteulx was in every way a

most valuable citizen, and his example as a gentleman of French culture must have been a refining influence in the young community, of no little force. He was the strongest of the early supporters of the Roman Catholic Church in Buffalo, and gave it extensive lands, on which two of its church edifices and several of its humane institutions now stand.

Another important settler of the year 1804 was Captain Samuel Pratt, who established one of the families of leading influence in the town. Captain Pratt, returning to his home in Vermont from a fur-buying trip to Detroit, had passed through Buffalo in the fall of 1803 and noted the commercial advantages of the place. The next year he brought his family in a coach, built for the long and difficult journey, which was the first vehicle of its description ever seen in these parts. Captain Pratt was one of the energetic and enterprising pioneers of Buffalo till 1812, when he died, in the prime of his life.

A political commission had brought Mr. Erastus Granger to the new settlement in the previous year. He was of the family of Gideon Granger, Postmaster-General under President Jefferson, and he came to be both Postmaster and Superintendent of Indian Affairs at this point. Subsequently he was appointed Collector of Customs, when the Collection District of Buffalo Creek was formed, and was thus a most emphasized representative of the Federal Government and of the Jeffersonian (Democratic Republican) party in this end of New York. A majority of the other settlers at the time were of the Federal or Hamiltonian party, and Mr. Granger's arrival was a politically stimulating event. The establishment of a post-office was a notable mark of advance, though mails came and went but once a week.

The slow increase of population in the village and the neighboring country is traced, with much personal particu-

larity, in Turner's "History of the Holland Purchase," Ketchum's "History of Buffalo," and Crisfield Johnson's "Centennial History of Erie County,"—all painstaking works, full of information, derived largely from original records and from the lips or pens of surviving pioneers. Not much repetition of that detail would be fitting in this sketch.

Turner lists fourteen owners of property in New Amsterdam in 1804. Five only were added in 1805, one of whom, Samuel Tupper, afterward Judge Tupper, gave his name to a street at the corner of which, on Main Street, he built his house. Six took up lots in 1806, and among the arrivals of that year was Ebenezer Walden, the first licensed attorney who practiced in this part of the State. He was subsequently a judge, and one of the early mayors of the city. He bought extensively of land during his life, and sold none; consequently he left a large, well-known estate. A daughter of Judge Walden became the wife of Colonel Albert J. Myer, who organized the Signal Service and the Weather Bureau of the United States.

Among eight lot-buyers of 1808 were the fathers of Charles Ensign, Chandler J. Wells and William Wells, all prominent in the "dock business" of the Buffalo of the next generation. In that year or the previous one came Amos Callender, whom everybody learned to call "Deacon Callender," and who exercised for many years a notable religious and moral influence, sometimes as the teacher of a school, and always as an active worker for the betterment of character and life in the town.

The most important new-comers of 1809 were Dr. Ebenezer Johnson and Mr. Oliver Forward, two men who made and left strong marks of themselves. Dr. Johnson practiced his profession for a few years only, and then engaged in business, first mercantile and finally banking, with

great success. His picturesque stone mansion on Delaware Avenue, known still as "the Johnson Cottage," and its spacious grounds, of which a remnant is preserved in Johnson Park, were the pride of the community, in the days when Buffalo had become a chartered city and Dr. Johnson was its first mayor, for two terms. Mr. Forward, brother-in-law of Mr. Granger, held many offices of trust in his subsequent life, including that of judge, and ranked notably among the leading citizens of the place.

By act of the Legislature, in 1808, Buffalo was made the county seat of a large Niagara County, then set off from Genesee County, and the first session of court in this place was in June of that year, with Augustus Porter as First Judge. Two of his four associates were Erastus Granger and Samuel Tupper, of Buffalo. The court was held at Landon's tavern; but the Holland Company began at once the building of a court house, near the "Old Court House" site of a later day, on which the Buffalo Public Library now stands.

Judge Porter, who held a high place in the early history of Western New York, had not been bred to the law, but had the practical qualities and the abilities that were called upon often, in the pioneer organization of American society, to serve without legal training on the bench. He came from Connecticut to the Genesee country as a young surveyor, in 1789, and was employed in that profession for more than a dozen years, first on the Phelps and Gorham lands, then on the Holland Purchase, and finally as chief surveyor of the Connecticut Land Company, on the "Western Reserve," in Ohio, where he laid out the city of Cleveland and gave it its name.

In 1805, Mr. Augustus Porter and his younger brother, Peter B. Porter, joined two other gentlemen, Benjamin Barton and Joseph Annin, in purchasing from the State of

New York a tract of about 400 acres of land within the Niagara "Mile Strip," at and above the Falls. At the same time they leased the landing places, at Lewiston and Black Rock, which had been the termini, for many years, of the portage of goods around Niagara Falls and of boating above them, for commercial transportation between the two lower lakes. This was preparatory to the organization, by the two brothers and their partners, of an extensive carrying trade between tide-water and the military and trading posts and settlements in the West. By this engagement in business both of the Porters were drawn from their professions,—Augustus from surveying and Peter B. from the law, which he had studied in Connecticut and practiced at Canandaigua for a number of years. Augustus Porter removed his family from Canandaigua to a residence near Niagara Falls in 1806; Peter B. Porter, then representing the district in Congress, came to reside at Black Rock in 1810.

The part of Buffalo, stretching along the Niagara River, which is still known locally as Black Rock, has been absorbed in our city so long, and by so complete an incorporation, that its distinctness from and rivalry with the Buffalo of that day is hard to realize now; but the fact was emphasized in the history of a good many years. Both the name and the rivalry had their origin in an outcrop of darkly colored limestone rock, so shaped and placed by nature as to afford a singularly favorable landing place on the American shore of the Niagara, near its head. As the landing of a ferry, to and from Fort Erie, it had been in use from some early day. In an interesting paper on "The Old Black Rock Ferry," prepared for the Buffalo Historical Society in 1863, the late Mr. Charles D. Norton gave the following description of the rock: "In 1800 there was a tolerable road * * * to the river margin over a flat or plateau of land about two hundred feet in width. Upon the northern

extremity of this plateau there was a black rock, in shape an irregular triangle, projecting into the river; having a breadth of about one hundred feet at the north end, and extending eastward and along the river for a distance of three hundred feet, gradually inclining to the southeast, until it was lost in the sand. The rock was four or five feet high, and at its southern extremity it was square, so that an eddy was formed there, into which the ferry-boat could be brought, and where it would be beyond the influence of the current. From this rock teams could be driven into the boat, over a connecting lip or bridge. The natural harbor thus formed was almost perfect, and could not have been made by the appliances of art a more complete dock or landing place for a boat."

Buffalo Creek and the Buffalo village of the Holland Purchase had nothing in the nature of a port to compete with this small natural harbor and wharf, which belonged within the Mile Strip and was foreign to the Hollanders' domain. Entrance to the Creek from the open lake was unsheltered from storms, and was obstructed so badly, moreover, by a sand-bar, that, according to the recollections of one old resident, "even canoes were sometimes shut out, and footmen walked dry shod across the mouth." Hence the systematic carrying trade opened by Porter, Barton & Co. gave an importance to the Black Rock which started a growth of settlement around it, quite threatening to the prosperity of Mr. Ellicott's ambitious town. The character of the commerce then developed will be described in a later chapter, and something of the story of the commercial struggle between the Buffalo Creek and the Black Rock villages will be told.

Before establishing his residence at Black Rock, Congressman Porter had applied, in 1809, for the removal of the customs port of entry from Buffalo Creek to that point.

The Collector of the district, Mr. Granger, wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Secretary of the Treasury, in which he claimed for Buffalo a population of forty-three families, besides unmarried men, while crediting to Black Rock no more than one white and two black families, in addition to a temporary ferry-house and tavern "under the bank." But that was very early in the infancy of "the Rock."

Despite the rivalry of the Rock, the Creek village maintained so good a growth that one who came to it for residence in 1811, Charles Townsend, wrote in later life (when he was known as Judge Townsend) that he found a population of some four or five hundred, with "less than one hundred dwellings," three taverns, a stone jail, an unfinished wooden court house, and a small building which served for schoolhouse, meeting house, and public purposes of every other sort. In partnership with Mr. George Coit, Judge Townsend established a mercantile firm that was important for many years, and both members of which left families of note. Another firm founded in 1811, by Abel M. Grosvenor and Reuben B. Heacock, gave highly honored names to the city. In the same year came Heman B. Potter, as a young, college-bred and well-trained lawyer, from the East.

Distinction was given to the year 1811 by the appearance of a small weekly newspaper, the *Buffalo Gazette*. It was the second to be printed further west in the State than Canandaigua, a small sheet having preceded it at Batavia in 1807. The publishers were two brothers from Canandaigua, Smith H. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury, both of whom maintained a connection with journalism at Buffalo and at Black Rock for many years. With their printing equipment the Salisburys brought a small stock of books and stationery and opened a little shop which contributed in no trifling way to the raising of the standard of life in the place.

And now we approach the outbreak of war with England,

which had such grave consequences for Buffalo as to put the town in total eclipse for a time. The Honorable Peter B. Porter, who represented the Western New York district in Congress, belonged in that body to the vehement group of "War Hawks," as they were styled at the time, who followed the lead of Clay and Calhoun in demanding armed resistance to the domineering use of British power at sea. As chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs he prepared the report of December, 1811, which recommended war, and he was active in bringing about the declaration of hostilities, made formally on the 18th of the following June. That he satisfied a majority of his constituents in this course is open to some doubt. For his own part, he was ready to bear his share of what came from it. He resigned his seat in Congress, was appointed Quarter-Master-General of New York, and received command of a body of troops, composed in part of Indians from the Six Nations, who made common cause with the United States.

A little of military preparation on the northern frontier had preceded the declaration of war, but considerably less than the British authorities had made on their side. Since 1807 there had been an organization of militia in the western part of the State, and it was commanded in 1812 by General Timothy S. Hopkins, resident near Buffalo, in one of the country towns. Two hundred and forty men from General Hopkins's brigade had been ordered out for service, and a Colonel Swift, from Ontario County, had arrived at Buffalo on the 17th of May to take command on the Niagara frontier. The first detachment of militia, on its march to Lewiston, came through the village next day. By the 23d of June Colonel Swift, who had fixed his headquarters at Black Rock, was reported to have 600 militia under his command, and Fort Niagara was garrisoned by a small number of regular troops. The British had a larger force,

of regular soldiery, with a strong equipment of artillery, on the opposite shore.

General Porter arrived at his home on the 27th of June, bringing the first news of the declaration of war. The British authorities in Canada had received the information some hours before, and acted on it so promptly that, before the close of the day, they had captured a little schooner which lay at anchor near the head of the river, waiting for a favorable wind to take her to Black Rock. At once General Porter took a vigorous direction of measures for bringing needed arms and ammunition to the frontier. On the 30th it was announced in the *Buffalo Gazette* that "Major Frederick Miller, of this town, has been appointed major commandant of the forces at Black Rock;" that "Colonel Swift has taken command at Lewiston;" that "several companies of militia, of General Hopkins's brigade, have been ordered *en masse* to Black Rock;" and that "the light infantry company of Captain Wells and militia company of Captain Bull are embodied, and rendezvous in this village to protect the town." Major Miller had been the proprietor of the ferry and keeper of the ferry tavern at Black Rock till 1810. Since that time he had been the landlord of a tavern in Buffalo, out Main Street, at "the Cold Spring." The companies of Captain Wells and Captain Bull appear to have been formed independently, for home defence.

Evidently there was no lack of spirited response to the military calls of the emergency, but the want of military knowledge and experience was very great. The history of the war as a whole is the story of a reckless undertaking, unprepared for and little understood. This part of the Canadian frontier became its principal theatre; but Buffalo was not much involved in the operations of the first few months. Batteries erected on both sides of the river defied

each other by occasional shots, but did not come into active use till October, when Lieutenant Elliott, U. S. N., who had been sent to assist in fitting out the little armed fleet with which Commodore Perry would win, next year, the naval command of the lakes, struck an aggressive blow. Two armed vessels, one of which had been captured by the British at Detroit, were lying near Fort Erie, and Elliott, on a suggestion, it is said, from Farmer's Brother, the Seneca Chief, planned to cut them out. With three boat-loads of men, one of them commanded by Dr. Chapin, he surprised them, before dawn of the morning of October 9th, and brought both vessels and crews away. In running down the river the prizes were exposed to a heavy fire, and one of them, after being brought to Squaw Island, was pounded to pieces by the batteries on both shores; the other was beached at Black Rock. Fifty-eight men taken from the enemy, twenty-seven American prisoners released from duance on the ships, and two twelve-pounder guns, were the gains from this brilliant exploit, in which four of the attacking party were wounded and one was killed.

About seven weeks later the animating effect of Elliott's success was more than destroyed by a disgraceful fiasco, having nearly the same scene. The Americans had suffered their disastrous repulse at Queenston; General Van Rensselaer had retired from the command on this frontier; General Alexander Smyth, from Virginia, had succeeded him, and strenuous efforts of preparation had been made for another invasion of Canada, to be launched from this point. Thirty-five hundred men had been massed at Buffalo and Black Rock; General Smyth had addressed a bombastic proclamation to them, in the Napoleonic style; and, on the 27th of November, the embarkation of the whole force, in boats provided amply, was ordered for the following morning. Two detachments sent over in advance of the main

body, to take batteries and destroy a bridge, did blundering work; yet one of the two accomplished enough to open a safe landing for Smyth and his army on the soil he had been so eager to invade. But his eagerness was gone; he had spent his valor in proclamations and had none left. He wasted the day in hesitations, sent over a ridiculous summons to the British commander to surrender, and then disembarked his men. By next morning he had composed a new proclamation, appointing "to-morrow at eight o'clock" for a fresh start, which "neither rain, snow nor frost will prevent." Then, said he, with thrilling eloquence, "the music will play martial airs; Yankee Doodle will be the signal to get under way; the landing will be made in spite of cannon. Hearts of War! to-morrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States." And so it was. Both the yesterday and the to-morrow of the performance were memorable days of shame. The enemy had made such good use of the time wasted by Smyth that a direct landing by daylight was possible no longer. General Porter proposed a crossing some miles below, to be made the next night, and the commanding general acquiesced. Again the men were embarked; again there were hours of hesitation, ending in orders to disembark, and the whole movement was given up. Everybody was sick with disgust and rage. Many of the men in the ranks threw down their arms and went home. General Porter expressed his opinion of Smyth so plainly in a published card that a duel, on Grand Island, resulted, with no harm done, except to the moral law. Dr. Chapin, serving as an independent volunteer, but soon to be commissioned by Governor Tompkins as Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, put still plainer words into print. General Smyth found it expedient to resign the command, and, presently, he was dismissed.

Not long after these occurrences a rough company of

soldiers from Baltimore gave Buffalo an alarming experience of riot. With that exception the town seems to have been undisturbed till the summer of 1813 when, on a Sunday morning, the 11th of July, the first invading visit of the British was made. Just before daylight they landed, about two hundred and fifty in number, at some distance below Black Rock, surprised a small navy-yard which had been established at Scajaquada Creek, burned several barrack buildings and a block-house, and came near to capturing General Porter, who was then at home. The General made his escape through the woods to Buffalo and assisted in rallying the militia and volunteers, who, with the help of thirty Indians, led by Farmer's Brother, met the invaders at about the point where Niagara Street makes its turn on reaching the river, and drove them back. Their retreat was disorderly and they were hotly pursued. They lost no less than a hundred men, killed, wounded and missing, while the Americans lost five wounded and three killed.

Five months later the enemy repeated their invasion, and then there was no such happy escape for the town. The Niagara frontier had nearly been stripped of troops, to strengthen an abortive expedition against Montreal. Since the previous May the Americans had been in possession of Fort George, on the Canadian side of the Niagara at its mouth. Early in December the officer commanding there found it prudent to evacuate the fort and retire to Fort Niagara, on the American side. On doing so he burned the adjacent village of Newark, on the site now occupied by the pretty town of Niagara-on-the-Lake; but he failed to burn the enemy's barracks and tents. He claimed afterwards to have acted on orders from the Secretary of War; but his orders had been to destroy the surroundings of the fort, if he undertook its defence. The British were now eager to retaliate his wanton barbarity, and the weakness of the

American forces along the whole river gave them opportunity to do so with ease. One week after the burning of Newark, on the 19th of December, they surprised Fort Niagara, killed eighty of its almost unresisting garrison, and swept the whole shore of the river from Youngstown to Niagara Falls with the besom of fire. Ten days later their second attack on Buffalo was begun. According to an announcement made subsequently, in general orders from the British military headquarters at Quebec, the attack was made by "detachments of the Royal Scots Eighth (or King's Forty-first) and the flank companies of the Eighty-ninth and One Hundredth regiments—the whole not exceeding one thousand men." This mentions no Indians; but it is certain that a very considerable body of Indians, —estimated at not less than two hundred,—were in the affair. James, the English historian of the war, mentions "Indian warriors, not exceeding one hundred and twenty," and indicates not less than fifteen hundred as being in the regimental force. American militia and volunteers to the reported number of two thousand and eleven had been assembled hastily at Buffalo and Black Rock by General Hall, of Ontario, who was in command. The number was ample, but the training, the experience of battle, the arms and the ammunition, were all insufficient to make a trustworthy force.

The invaders came in three detachments, one, on the night of the 29th, landing below Black Rock, the other two crossing early the next morning, at and above Black Rock. The first column had repulsed an attack and disordered the militia which made it before the appearance of the second and third. These latter, some of whose boats ran aground near shore, were opposed stoutly for a time, and most of the British losses were suffered there and then; but their opponents gave way on the approach of the first column, from down river, and most of the American troops were soon in

scattered flight. A few retired slowly down the Niagara Street road, and some ineffective use was made of a couple of pieces of artillery, to check the British pursuit; but Colonel Chapin stopped the useless firing, and took the responsibility of showing a flag of truce. As the result of his parley with the enemy it was understood that the town was surrendered and that private property should be spared; but General Riall, the British commander, repudiated the agreement when he found that Colonel Chapin was not in command.

Meantime the British-Indian warriors had swarmed through the woods from Black Rock to Main Street and begun to plunder and burn. Most of the inhabitants had fled in haste, some into the forest, others by roads to neighboring towns. A few were captured, and nine, including one woman, were slain, after fighting had ceased. The murdered woman, Mrs. Lovejoy, is said to have offered some resistance to the savages who were pillaging her house, and one of them buried his tomahawk in her brain. Her near neighbor, Mrs. Gamaliel St. John, a widow,—a woman of strong character,—was the one resident of the village who saved her home. Sending her children away, in the care of other fugitives, Mrs. St. John remained, and was able to secure an Indian guard who protected her house. The small dwelling thus spared, the stone jail, a blacksmith shop, and the frame of a barn, were the only structures left to represent Buffalo, at the end of the work of destruction, which went on at intervals for three days.

In the fighting which preceded massacre the British reported a loss of 31 killed, 72 wounded, 9 missing; the American general reported about 30 killed, 40 wounded and 69 taken prisoner. Dr. Chapin was among the prisoners taken away.

No sooner had the enemy departed than a few fugitives

returned and began to make what shift they could for temporary shelter through the winter; but the greater number were provisionally quartered at Williamsville, Willink, Batavia, and other hospitable places, near and far. The winter was one of suffering and of constant fear of fresh savagery, along the whole Niagara frontier. Liberal help came from public and private sources to relieve the needs of the devastated region, and supplies from the commissary department of the army were furnished for a time. By early spring there were encouraging tokens of a resurrection of the stricken town. The Salisburys had effected a timely removal of their type and press to Harris Hill, and the publication of the *Gazette* went on. On the 5th of April, 1814, it was able to announce that Buffalo village "is rising again," and to say: "Several buildings are already raised and made habitable. Contracts for twenty or thirty more are made, and many of them are in considerable forwardness. A brick company has been organized by an association of the most enterprising and public spirited citizens, with a sufficient capital, for the purpose of rendering the price of brick so reasonable that the principal streets may be built up of that article. All that is required to establish Buffalo in its former prosperity is ample remuneration from government, and peace." Peace came within the year; the ample remuneration from government to indemnify losses in the war was much slower in coming; and, during some years of the renaissance of the town, there was hard struggling for its new footing in life.

The immediate rebuilding that went on in 1814 was much stimulated and helped, no doubt, by the military operations of that year. Buffalo became the center of action in General Jacob Brown's campaign. Excitements were plenty; regiments were coming and going; business of several kinds must have thrived. The capture of Fort Erie, the battles

of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, the long siege and the heroic deliverance of Fort Erie, in which General Porter had so brilliant a part, filled the summer with great events, enacted under the eye of the people of the town.

Buffalo was rarely fortunate in one or two accessions to its citizenship at this time. As a Chautauqua County militiaman, Samuel Wilkeson had been here on the memorable 30th of December, and had stood and fought manfully in defence of the town. The next spring he came again, to stay, bringing his family by lake, on a boat which brought also the frames and other makings of a house and a store. House and store were soon put together and occupied, and the quality of the new citizen was recognized so quickly that, almost at once, he was asked to serve as a justice of the peace. He was the kind of man needed in the office at that time, to put restraints on a lot of lawless characters which the war had added to its other evil gifts to the place. He did what was expected of him, in a way that was never forgotten, and was called Judge Wilkeson thereafter, to the end of his days. As one of his sons wrote in after years, "he swept Buffalo clean of the lees of the war."

In Judge Wilkeson's "Recollections," which he put in writing for publication in a Cincinnati journal, 1842-3, and which are reprinted in the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, he describes the conditions that he found at Buffalo when he came to it, in 1814. "The war which had swept over the Niagara frontier," he says, "had impoverished the inhabitants of the little place that has since grown into the City of the Lakes. Their property had been destroyed,—they were embarrassed by debts contracted in rebuilding their houses which had been burned by the enemy; they were without capital to prosecute to advantage mechanical or mercantile employments; without a harbor, or any means of participating in the lake trade, and were

suffering, with the country at large, all the evils of a deranged currency. In the midst of these accumulated embarrassments, the construction of the Erie Canal was begun, and promised help." No other man seems to have done so much as the writer of these words to lift the little resurrected community out of the state they describe. His energetic agency in making a harbor for the town, and thereby securing to it the commerce that would come with the coming of "the Grand Canal," was a contribution to its prosperity which exceeded that from any other man. There will be much to say of him hereafter on this point.

The building of the Erie Canal, under discussion since 1807, became an adopted undertaking in 1817, and work on it was begun in July of that year. There were eight years of waiting for its waters to reach the lake; but the expectation of it was stimulating; each lengthening of its navigable channel, as the work advanced, increased the commerce between East and West, and all business was helped.

Meantime the re-growth of Buffalo went steadily on. New men of importance to its future came to it in 1815. Albert H. Tracy, who rose rapidly to a high standing in public life and at the bar; Dr. John E. Marshall, whose personal value to the town was enhanced by that of the son whom he gave to it; David M. Day, who came to found a second newspaper, the *Niagara Journal*, which appeared in the spring of that year. In the following July the *Gazette* was able to say that nearly as many houses as the British had burned were finished already or being built. A new court house was begun the following spring. In 1817 a post-office was established at Black Rock.

The year 1818 brought several important events; among them the building at Black Rock, by capitalists from New York, of the first steamer put afloat on Lake Erie, or on any of the upper lakes. She took her queer but appropriate

name, of "Walk-in-the-Water," from a Wyandotte or Huron chief. The first experience of the little steamer when completed, in August, gave a grave intimation that Black Rock would not be able to retain its past standing, as the port of commerce at the foot of Lake Erie; for the Walk-in-the-Water could not stem the swift current of the Niagara, and had to be dragged by oxen, as sail vessels were, up to still water in the lake. This helped, no doubt, to rouse determination in the Buffalonians that their natural deprivation of a harbor should be overcome by artificial means. It had now become manifest that Black Rock would outgrow their town if this were not done; for the coming canal would terminate there, unless a sheltered port at Buffalo could be offered to the shipping of the lakes. The Canal Commissioners had reported that they found it expedient to connect the canal with Lake Erie through Buffalo Creek, rather than through the Niagara; but this conclusion hinged upon the creation of a "safe harbor, capable, without much expense, of sufficient enlargement for the accommodation of all boats and vessels that a very extensive trade may hereafter require." This gave the start to an undertaking which became, in the course of the next few years, nothing less than heroic and extraordinary on the part of a few men, Judge Wilkeson inspiring and leading them all. The story of the achievement will have its proper place when the development of the present grand harbor at Buffalo is traced as a whole.

The appearance which Buffalo presented in that year, 1818, has been described by one who visited it, in May. The visitor was Millard Fillmore, afterward President of the United States. He was a youth of eighteen years, and had been teaching a country school during the previous winter, at the head of Skaneateles Lake. Three years before his death Mr. Fillmore, on the request of the Buffalo His-

torical Society, wrote a sketch of autobiography, coming down to 1830, which he deposited with the society, under seal, not to be opened during his life. In this sketch he says, of the time mentioned above: "After my school closed, finding nothing better to turn my hand to, I attended a saw-mill for a month or two, and then shouldered my knapsack and came out to Buffalo, to visit some relatives and see the country. That was in May, 1818, and Buffalo then presented a straggling appearance. It was just rising from the ashes, and there were many cellars and chimneys without houses, showing that its destruction by the British had been complete. My feet had become blistered, and I was sore in every joint and muscle; and I suffered intensely. I crossed the then Indian reservation to Aurora, and recollect a long rotten causeway of logs extending across the low ground from Seneca Street nearly to the creek, over which I paddled myself in a canoe. I stayed all night at a kind of Indian tavern about six miles from Buffalo."

Among the relatives in this region whom young Millard Fillmore came to visit was an uncle, the Rev. Glezen Fillmore, a Methodist minister, who had been preaching in the neighboring towns since 1809, but who was appointed this year to a regular circuit which included Buffalo and Black Rock. There was no church building yet in the town; religious services were held in the court house and in the small house that was used for a school. The Methodists in Buffalo numbered only four; but Mr. Fillmore determined that a meeting-house should be built. With help from Joseph Ellicott and from New York the needed money was raised, and the first of Buffalo churches was dedicated early in 1819.

In that year the boundary line between Canada and the United States, as prescribed by the Treaty of Ghent, was run through Niagara River, under commissioners of whom General Porter was one, and by surveyors of whom Colonel

William A. Bird (who became resident at Black Rock) was the chief.

General Porter, in the next year, was wedded to a lady of the Breckenridge family in Kentucky, who brought five young slaves to her new home. Under the New York law of 1818, which gradually extinguished slavery in the State, they would become free when they reached the age of twenty-five. Evidently these were not the first slaves on our soil, for the *Gazette* of January 27, 1818, had advertised one for sale,—“a young, healthy black woman and child,” who “understands all kinds of house-work and cooking, and is perfectly honest.”

In 1820 the inhabitants of Buffalo and Black Rock welcomed their first daily mail from the East. In a paper read long afterwards to the Buffalo Historical Society, Judge Nathan K. Hall, who had been Postmaster-General, it will be remembered, in President Fillmore's administration, described the arrangements of the Post-office Department for that daily service between Buffalo and New York, as it was carried on from 1820 to 1824. Giving the schedule time from point to point on the route, he concluded the statement by saying: “It will thus be seen that a letter which left New York on Monday morning at 9 o'clock would reach this city at 6 o'clock the next Sunday evening, and Erie three days later, if the mails were not behind time. This frequently happened in bad weather.”

It was not until 1820 that the second church building in Buffalo was erected by the Episcopalian Society of St. Paul. In 1821 the county of Erie, as now existent, was set off from Niagara County; Joseph Ellicott (long resident at Batavia, and taking little part in Buffalo affairs) resigned the agency of the Holland Purchase; the Walk-in-the-Water steamboat was driven ashore in a storm and wrecked. In 1823 the great question of the western terminus of the Erie Canal was

decided in favor of Buffalo, a sufficient channel for the shipping of the day having been opened from its creek.

This brings us to the year of years in the early history of the city,—the year of the opening of the great canal throughout its length,—the year 1825. "Buffalo in 1825" was the subject of a proud description that year, in a historical and statistical pamphlet, printed by H. A. Salisbury and written and published by S. Ball. Time has made his statistics more interesting than the writer could have expected them ever to be. I must afford space for a selected few:

The census of the previous January had found 2,412 inhabitants in the village on the Creek, and 1,039 at Black Rock. In the former population there were counted 4 clergymen, 17 attorneys, 9 physicians, 3 printers, giving employment to 10 hands, 2 bookbinders, 4 goldsmiths, 51 carpenters and joiners, 19 masons and stone-cutters, 7 blacksmiths, etc., etc.; but the lack of a single shipwright was remarked with surprise and regret. Trade was now supporting 26 dry-goods stores, 36 groceries, 7 dealers in clothing, 3 in hats, 6 in shoes, 4 in drugs, 3 in jewelry, 1 in hardware, 2 in books. Manufacturing industry was represented by 3 tanneries, 1 rope-walk, 1 brewery. The village could now offer "11 houses of public entertainment" to the bodily man, with a public library, a reading room and a theatre for the entertainment of his mind. The Presbyterians had added a meeting house to the two mentioned heretofore, and two new religious societies, of Baptists and Universalists, had been formed. A bank had come into existence; an insurance office had been opened, and the weekly journals (one religious) had increased to four. Of shipping that belonged to the port 1,050 tons were reported, including 1 steamboat, 1 brig, 3 schooners, 1 sloop, and 4 "transportation boats," averaging 25 tons each; but, says the reporter, "there are upwards of 60 sail of good, substantial and safe vessels owned

upon this lake, 42 of which entered this port last season." "There are also," he adds, "9 regular lines of stages arriving and leaving here every day; 3 to the east, 3 to the north, and a morning and evening line to Black Rock (meeting and transferring their passengers to a stage from the Canada shore), and 1 to the west; the carriages are principally post coaches." "There is also the steam brig 'Superior,' of 346 tons burthen, whose accommodations have not been surpassed, making a trip to Detroit, a distance of nearly 300 miles, every 8 or 9 days."

Such was the town of Buffalo, and such the measure of lake commerce, when the second epoch of their history was opened for both by the opening of the Erie Canal. It was not a bad showing of growth, under adverse conditions, for the town which had been destroyed twelve years before. To the writer of this pamphlet of 1825 the future of the town was not dazzling in prospect, but full of promise and hope. His view was remarkably sane. "That it will, at no very remote period," he wrote, "rival the largest inland town in America, in point of business and opulence, seems to be a point conceded; but that it will mature with the rapidity of a mushroom, or rise in magnificence like the enchanted palace (as many imagine), I am not credulous enough to believe."

On the 26th of October the Erie Canal was opened to Lake Erie with ceremonies as imposing as they could be made. Governor De Witt Clinton, with committees of distinguished men from other parts of the State, had come to Buffalo, to take passage back on the first boat that would traverse the full length of the canal. On the morning of the 26th they were escorted in procession to a handsomely fitted packet-boat, the "Seneca Chief," where brief addresses were made, by Mr. Jesse Hawley, who had been the first (as early as 1807) to advocate the building of a canal the full length

of the State, and by Judge Forward, who spoke for the town. At ten o'clock the "Seneca Chief," drawn by four grey horses, slipped from her wharf and, leading three other boats in procession, started on her memorable voyage. That moment a cannon was fired; an instant later the faint sound of another report was heard from far down the canal; and so the starting of the Governor's boat was signalled from gun to gun, planted at proper distances apart, till the inarticulate announcement reached Albany, and a responsive signal came back. The teletonic message (if we may call it so) was three hours and twenty minutes in making its circuit of some seven hundred miles.

Further speeches in the court house, banquets at the two leading taverns and a grand ball in the evening completed the celebration of the day at Buffalo; but, some time later, a committee which had accompanied the Governor to New York brought water from the ocean and it was poured into the lake, with a degree of ceremony that expressed the real ecstasy of feeling which so pregnant an event might reasonably excite.

CHAPTER II

IN THE ERA OF THE WATERWAYS:

1825—1850

THE effect upon Buffalo of the opening of the Erie Canal appears to have been all that people as reasonable as the pamphlet-writer, Mr. Ball, could expect. It did not flood the port with a sudden great access of commerce; because the western country, to and from which the streams of lake and canal trade would flow abundantly in due time, had first to be furnished with the people who could buy and sell. The primary business of the canal was to bring such people forward from the East, and deliver them to the shipping of the lakes, for carriage to all the shores from which they might spread over the empty Northwest. How empty the lake-bordering regions of the Northwest were at this time may be judged from a few statistical facts.

The most populous part of the lake border was between Buffalo and Cleveland, on the southern shore of Lake Erie; but even there the settlement was still scant. Erie, the Presque Isle post of the French in the middle of the eighteenth century, had been, thus far, the most important port on the lake; but west of it there was nothing that could contribute much to trade. Ohio had acquired at this time a considerable population, but gathered almost wholly in its southern half, brought into the State by the river route; and the settlement of Indiana and Illinois was proceeding along the same lines,—by the Ohio River to the Mississippi, and distributed along the tributaries of those great streams. Cleveland had but 600 inhabitants in 1820, and the number would not grow to 1,000 till ten years from that time. Toledo and Milwaukee had no existence even in name. Chi-

cago was represented by the military post of Fort Dearborn, and, as described by Major Long in 1823, by a "few huts, inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indians, from whom they are descended." Detroit, as a French settlement, was old, and it had been an actually incorporated city since 1815; but its population in 1820 was but 1,442, increasing in the next decade to 2,222. The back country of Michigan was so bare of white inhabitants that the census of 1820 had counted in the whole territory but 8,591. By 1830 the count had risen to 31,346; and most of the increase must have been in the last half of the decade. Judge Cooley, in his volume on Michigan in the series of the "American Commonwealths," says of the opening of the Erie Canal that it was "the great event of the period, which had most to do with giving sudden impetus to the growth of Michigan. It was not long after this before steamers were abundant on the lakes, no less than seven on Lake Erie in 1826, and four years thereafter a daily line was running between Buffalo and Detroit." Illinois had acquired a population of 157,000 by 1830, but it was spread, says Ford's history of the State, "north from Alton as far as Peoria, principally on the rivers and creeks," and "a large wilderness tract was still to be peopled between Chicago and Galena."

There were not many people, it will be seen, in the lake region of the West, to trade with, when the Erie Canal was opened; and, excepting furs, they had almost no product to spare. They could not yet raise food sufficient for themselves, and were receiving supplies of breadstuffs from eastern points. Before Buffalo could handle much commerce between canal and lake it would have to give attention to westward emigration, and that was its principal and most profitable business for the next few years. The multiplication of steamboats between Buffalo and Detroit from one to

seven, in 1826, shows how quickly the stream began to flow. By 1830 the arrival of emigrants at Detroit was put at 15,000 for the year. By 1836 they were flooding that distributing town. In Farmer's History of Detroit it is said of that year that "a careful estimate in June by a citizen showed that one wagon left the city every five minutes during the twelve hours of daylight;" and "there was an average of three steamboats a day, with from 200 to 300 passengers each."

Evidently it was the business incident to this movement of people from the East to the West, more than anything derived from new commercial interchanges, that raised the population of Buffalo in 1830 to 8,668, and to 15,661 in 1835. No statistics of that passenger movement on the canal are to be found; but, as late as 1833, the freight shipments from Buffalo by canal, as measured by the collection of tolls, were far below those at Rochester and Syracuse.

In some interesting reminiscences recorded not long before his death by Mr. James L. Barton, son of Benjamin Barton, of the early transportation firm of Porter, Barton & Co., he relates that in the spring of 1827 he came to Buffalo from Black Rock and formed a partnership with Judge Wilkeson in the forwarding business, which they carried on together for two years. The Judge then retired and Mr. Barton continued the business for a few years more. "While the partnership continued," wrote Mr. Barton, "and afterwards when I was alone, we had the agency of a large line of boats on the canal and vessels on the lake; yet so scarce was the western freight that it was difficult to get a full boat-load, although the boats were then of light tonnage. A few tons of freight was all that we could furnish each boat to carry to Albany. This they would take in and fill up at Rochester, which place, situated in the heart of the wheat-growing district of Western New York, furnished

nearly all the down freight that passed on the canal. Thus we lived and struggled on until 1830."

The commerce of large fields was not yet creatable; but local trade must have been having a rapid growth; for the neighboring country was fast filling with people. Erie County in 1825 had 24,310 inhabitants; in 1830 they numbered 35,710; in 1835 they were increased to 57,594. The advance of settlement in the county was promoted greatly in 1826 by a purchase from the Senecas of large tracts from the south and east sides of their Buffalo Creek Reservation, amounting to a total of 33,637 acres of land. At the same time the Senecas sold considerable parts of their Tonawanda and Cattaraugus reservations to the same purchasers, a combination called the Ogden Company, who marketed the land.

Thus far in its history Buffalo had had no citizen whose celebrity in the world equals that of Red Jacket, the Seneca orator, whose cabin, on the edge of the Indian reservation, was within the present limits of the city. His sad intemperance had robbed him of his impressive dignity and lowered him in the esteem of his own people, as well as in that of the whites; but his death, in 1830, took a notable figure from the town. It left no name or personage in the place that was or would be of wide fame. But another was soon given; for Millard Fillmore came from East Aurora to Buffalo that year, to pursue the practice of law. Since his visit of twelve years before Mr. Fillmore had struggled through a trying period of legal study, supporting himself by school teaching and other labors, and had practiced the profession at East Aurora since 1823. In Buffalo he entered at first into partnership with Joseph Clary; but in 1834 Mr. Nathan K. Hall, who had been a student in his office at Aurora, became his partner, and, two years later, the famous law firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven was formed. All

three members of the firm were subsequently connected with the government of the United States at the same time, Mr. Fillmore as President, Mr. Hall as Postmaster-General (and eventually as a Justice of the United States District Court), and Mr. Solomon G. Haven as the Representative of this district in Congress.

In one of the volumes of the publications of our Historical Society, Mr. Ismar S. Ellison has told us that the first considerable immigration of Germans into Buffalo began in 1828, and that the arrivals in that and a few following years gave the city a number of its most honored German names. It was then that the Urbans, Beyers, Hauensteins, Greiners, Mesmers, Goetzes, Haberstros, Feldmans and Dellenbaughs made their homes here. Of the political emigration from Germany in 1848 Buffalo does not seem to have received much; but considerable numbers came during 1839 and a little after, in consequence of religious discontents in Prussia, as will be told in a future chapter of church history.

Buffalo became a chartered city in 1832, and its first mayor was Dr. Ebenezer Johnson, as mentioned heretofore. If the assumption of a new civic dignity afforded pride to the community, an overwhelming sorrow and fear came with it; for this was the black year of the first visitation of Asiatic cholera to the western world. The disease was brought into America in May or June by English emigrant ships which landed their passengers at Quebec. Thence it travelled up the St. Lawrence, through Lake Ontario, and so, by the Niagara, to Buffalo, whence it was conveyed to the upper lakes. It raged in this city through most of the summer weeks, fought with most valiantly, by every method that good sense could suggest, at a time when the disease was a terrifying mystery, the secret of its nature and propagation unknown. Four courageous and able men took on themselves the trying duties of a board of health. They were

the mayor, Dr. Johnson, acting with Roswell W. Haskins, Lewis F. Allen, and Dyre Tillinghast, assisted with equal courage and self-devotion by the health-physician of the city, Dr. John E. Marshall, and by an undertaker of notable intrepidity, Loring Pierce, who seems to have been as helpful with the sick as with the dead.

The fourth volume of the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society contains a vivid account of the pestilence of 1832, from the pen of Mr. Lewis F. Allen, who tells a pathetic tale in connection with the emergency hospital which was established with promptitude by the board of health: "Pierce took partial charge," writes Mr. Allen, "so far as moving the destitute cholera patients into it and supervising arrangements. But corpses were almost daily carried out, and, but a few days after its opening, the chief nurse and factotum died. That was a calamity, and the board were appalled. What was to be done? After casting about for one to refill the place, Mr. Pierce found a stout, good-looking, healthy Irish girl of five and twenty years, or thereabouts, who offered her services, and he brought her to the meeting of the board. She looked cheerful, spoke hopefully, and appeared the very embodiment of health and good spirits. When asked if she had no fears of the disease she answered in the negative, and went energetically and faithfully to work. Within the space of four days afterwards that cheerful, kind, devoted girl was carried out of the hospital to her grave. There were sad hearts in the board of health that day. Pierce laid her shrouded body tenderly in her coffin, and gave her a hurried yet respectful burial in the High Street field of graves. All that the board of health knew of her history or name, was 'Bridget.' "

Mr. Allen gives no statistics of mortality from the cholera visitation, but Mr. Crisfield Johnson, in his *History of Erie County*, states the deaths to have been 80 in number and the total of cases 184.

Without consciousness of the fact, one small part of the city was obtaining at this time the most essential safeguards against intestinal diseases like cholera, by the distribution to it of pure water through pipes, from a spring, avoiding the use of wells. Since 1826 the Buffalo and Black Rock Jubilee Water Works Co. had been laying wooden pipes from the Jubilee Springs, on Delaware Avenue near Cleveland Avenue, and in 1832 it had sixteen miles of such pipes laid down.

By 1834 Chicago had become a commercially recognizable place. The sand bar at the mouth of its river had been cut through, a pier had been built, and a schooner, for the first time, sailed into the port. The village had acquired a newspaper, the *Democrat*, which announced in June of that year that "arrangements have been made by the proprietors of the steamboats on Lake Erie, whereby Chicago is to be visited by a steamboat from Buffalo once a week until the 25th of August."

The flow of emigration to the Northwest was now swelling to a flood, and ship-building on the lakes was taxed to supply the demands it made. In 1837, according to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* (then in the third year of its daily publication), there were forty-two steamboats in active employment on Lake Erie, and six more on the stocks. Indicating the profits of steamboating at the time, it was said: "The 'James Madison,' a splendid boat, left here a few days ago for Chicago. The *Gazette*, printed in Erie, where the boat is owned, says she will clear this trip \$20,000."

It was soon after this time (in 1839) that Captain Augustus Walker introduced on the lakes the first steamboat constructed with an upper cabin. It was regarded as a perilous and reckless experiment, most people expecting so top-heavy a craft to "turn-turtle" in the first Lake Erie storm she had to meet. Captain Walker's "Great Western," however, soon

silenced her critics, and offered a model of comfort to passengers which steamboat builders had to follow thereafter.

Since 1835 the whole country had been yielding itself to the orgy of land speculation which had its ruinous consequences in the great collapse of 1837. In another work, the present writer has given a brief account of that national distemper and its causes, and cannot explain the experience of it in Buffalo better than by some quotation from his former writing: "Since recovery from the crisis of 1819 [when all business had been stimulated to excess after the three stagnant years of the War of 1812-14] the increase in population, the spread of western settlement, the rise of new towns and growth of older cities, the eager activity of public and private enterprise in every field, had had no precedent in the modern history of the world. * * * They had been stimulated immensely by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, and quite as much, perhaps, by the rapid multiplication of steamboats on rivers and lakes. No other country in the world had utilized the steamboat so rapidly, or gained so much from it; for no other had such waterways opening into such expanses of undeveloped land. Railways, with steam locomotion, had their beginning in 1830, and 1,275 miles had been built in the United States within the next six years. In the rush of this unparalleled progress it is not at all strange that even sober-minded people lost their heads, and saw no limit to the continued working of the new agencies of travel and transportation that were driving it on. It seemed possible to mark a thousand spots where new towns would spring up in the next few years; and no less possible to forecast the growth of existing cities and towns.

"It was just at the time when this fever of speculation was prepared for by the circumstances of the day that a mischievous stimulant was given to it, by President Jackson's removal of government deposits from the Bank of the

United States to a large number of State banks. For a short time, while the change was going on, it gave business a check; but that soon passed and was followed by quite opposite effects. Naturally there was a scramble for the deposits, and a fresh output of State charters for new banks, soon running into a new era of 'wild-cat' banking, worse than that which followed the War of 1812. Again there was an inflated and depreciated paper currency, an inflated credit system, and the speculative spirit was intoxicated still more. Then came another measure of government which helped the mischief on. The last of the public debt having been extinguished in 1836, and a surplus exceeding \$42,000,000 having accumulated in the national treasury, an act was passed which ordered the distribution of all but \$5,000,000 of this surplus, as a loan without interest, in four quarterly instalments, among the States. The prospect of that large addition to funds in the States, for all sorts of public improvements and other purposes, gave still another impulse to speculation."

For reasons which have been indicated already, there was probably no town in the country where the mania of the time raged more extravagantly than in Buffalo. In a fine paper, read at a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1865, the Rev. Dr. George W. Hosmer, long pastor of the Unitarian Church, described the local stimulants of speculation in those wild years: "The mania of speculation here," he wrote, "was not strange,—there was foundation to stand upon. From the opening of the canal, in 1825, there was a *rush* of western emigration through Buffalo; each year it grew greater than before; the canal was crowded; hotels all full; warehouses groaned under their burdens; vessels and steamers could not be built fast enough for the demands of business. I was here in the autumn of 1835, and one morning I was at the dock, with many other strangers, gazing

upon the mighty heaving western tide. There was a pile of goods and furniture all along Joy & Webster's wharf, more than thirty feet high, and upon the top of it sat as many as a dozen Senecas, men and women, they, too, with the rest of us, gazing with astonishment at this sudden flood of life sweeping over them, coming they knew not whence, and going they knew not whither. It was marvellous! Land was wanted; land to stand upon, land to speculate with; land was gold! And *then* it seemed that all the opening West was to come with its harvest contributions floating right to Buffalo. Railroads then were not much thought of for carrying freight. To this point came the lake,—from this went the canal; and here might be the New York of the West; and so it would have been, but for the coming of railroads to compete with vessels for the carrying trade. It was not strange that men here made a great mistake,—got wild with hope."

In his large-hearted way, the Reverend Doctor goes on to say: "I love to think what those men of Buffalo, in 1835, in their great hope, meant to do here. The merchants were to have an exchange filling Clarendon Square,* with a towering dome 225 feet above the pavement. Commodore Perry was to have a monument of white marble in front of 'the churches,'† one hundred feet high, with graceful carving, armorial bearings and emblematic statues. Education was to have the University of Western New York, with magnificent endowment, and the foremost men of the country in its various departments. Nor were the good intents all on paper merely; one of the wildest of the hoppers did actually start a free public school for sixty scholars, children of the poor, and kept it open and flourishing for several years."

Among those who lived through that period of delirium

* The block between Main, Washington, North and South Divisions Streets.

† On Main Street, between Niagara and Erie Streets.

and took its lessons to heart was Guy H. Salisbury, the delightfully wise and gentle-natured son of Smith H. Salisbury, the pioneer printer and journalist of these parts. In 1863, when the greenback inflation of an irredeemable currency was threatening a repetition of the experience of 1837, Guy Salisbury wrote a chapter of historical warning, in which he gave some particulars of the "craze" he had been witness to in those days. "The most singular feature of the speculative mania," he tells us, "was the blindness that seemed to have come over the common sagacity of men who, in the ordinary affairs of life, had sense enough to look to their own interests. They purchased land of persons whose responsibility was often unknown, without knowledge of title or protection against prior incumbrances. Men of straw bought blocks on credit, giving mortgages for the purchase money, and then sold them out in lots with no provision for releases from the lien which covered the whole.

* * * A very curious illustration of the recklessness produced by the wonderful success of some of the operators, who fancied their luck would turn everything they touched to gold, was the buying out of individuals by the lump, without inventory or estimate, which was gone into in a few instances. 'I'll give you \$150,000 for all your property, except your wife and babies and household furniture,' would be the bantering proposition over a bottle of champagne. 'Done,' says the other, and the bargain was made. The buyer took possession of the lands, tenements, mortgages, notes, book accounts, choses in action, etc., and paid over the small amount of cash agreed on for the down payment, giving mortgage security on the property for the balance. * * *

The sad sequel to the career of that wholesale purchaser, in the transaction above referred to, remains to be told. I met him day before yesterday on his way to the poor-house, with a certificate in his hand from the Overseer of the Poor, en-

titling him to the shelter of that last refuge of the unfortunate! Yet he figured in '36 as worth three-quarters of a million; and so extensive were his transactions that he kept a branch office in New York. * * * It should not be forgotten that, in the affluent season of his prosperity, he supported for five years a free school for orphan boys and girls, of whom twelve from each of the five wards of the city had thus the privilege of a good education, and were furnished with books and stationery free of charge."

The person referred to in this strikingly dramatic case was Alanson Palmer, known as Colonel Palmer in the days of his glory, when he travelled in a six-horse coach, and as "Lance" Palmer in the more familiar speech of later days.

Mr. James L. Barton, in his *Reminiscences*, relates an incident of his own experience which illustrates the intoxication of the time. He was the owner of two lots at Black Rock which cost him originally \$250, but which he thought to be worth \$3,000 in the fall of 1835. Early in 1836 he was absent from the city for a few weeks, and, on the morning after his return, he was met, as he walked down Main Street, by three men in succession who asked what he would take for his lots. To the first one he said \$6,000; to the second \$7,500; to the third one, "\$20,000, ten per cent. down, the balance in four annual payments." "Say six annual payments and I will take it," said the latter; and the bargain was concluded before they parted, Mr. Barton receiving \$2,000, with bond and mortgage for the remainder. The ultimate of the transaction he does not disclose.

The king of the speculators was Benjamin Rathbun, a man described as Napoleonic in appearance as well as in action, who handled large affairs in a powerful way. He began his career in Buffalo as landlord of the Eagle Tavern, to which he gave great fame. From this success he went on to enterprises which had no limit so long as the bubble of

inflated expectation and credit went unpricked. Says Mr. Welch in his "Recollections:" "He contracted to build houses, stores, factories and public buildings, which he accomplished with vigor and skill. He bought lands for building purposes. He multiplied his industries and workmen. As his work widened out he brought to his aid the most competent and skilled assistants, superintendents, foremen and experts. He made large contracts for building materials, opened stone quarries, established brick yards, machine shops, and several stores for supplying the various needs of his workmen, as well as those of the public." He owned stage lines, and introduced a grand line of omnibuses on Main Street, with conductors in uniform. "It was said that at his failure he had 3,000 men in his employ, and no partner. This, in a small city of 15,000 to 20,000 population, is an enormous number, relying on one man's uncertainties."

Rathbun's breakdown, which came in the summer of 1836, was made worse by the discovery that he had been staving it off recklessly for some time by extensive and daring forgeries of endorsement on paper upon which he negotiated loans. He was promptly arrested, but, notwithstanding the criminality of his doings and the wide-spread distress that his failure produced, the man had so won the friendship of his fellow citizens that it seems to have been thought useless to bring him to trial in Buffalo. For two years his trial was postponed and he lay in jail. Finally, at Batavia, he was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for five years. After serving his term he went to New York, engaged there in hotel-keeping, and ended his life in a prosperous way.

One of the achievements of the booming enterprise of the time was a railroad from Buffalo to Niagara Falls, opened in the fall of 1836, when a locomotive was seen for the first time in this part of the world.

Rathbun's failure brought speculation in this region to a halt in advance of the general collapse, which came in 1837. The prostration that ensued was greater nowhere, probably, than here. "We tumbled," says Mr. Salisbury, "from the zenith to the nadir—and it was a nine-days' fall;" and he asks: "Did no good grow out of all this evil?" "There were, indeed, stately edifices built, innumerable stores, warehouses and mammoth hotels erected, canals dug, railroads projected, ships and steamboats put afloat, under the impulses of '36, which remained and were of some use after. But what was gained by this precocity of growth?" In Mr. Salisbury's view, looking at the "pecuniary distress and stagnation of business" which followed, there was no gain, even remote. For a few years Buffalo must have been at a standstill in growth, if it did not recede. The census of 1840 showed only a population of 18,215,—an increase of a little more than 14 per cent. since 1835.

The depression of business and the distresses of the time were not allowed to stagnate life in Buffalo throughout the whole year of 1837. Excitements in plenty were stirred up before it closed by the rebellion in Canada, most commonly spoken of in that day as the Patriot War. The leaders of the discontented Canadians, failing in their first revolutionary demonstrations, on Canadian soil, escaped to this side of the boundary, and found hosts of Americans ready to lend some help and abundant sympathy to new attempts.

Buffalo became the center of plotting and organizing for a serious campaign. William Lyon Mackenzie, the head and front of the revolt in Canada West, arrived here on the 11th of December, 1837, and was received with warmth. Mass meetings gave enthusiastic expression to public feeling in favor of the cause for which he spoke. Volunteers were enrolled, arms and munitions of war were collected, and Mackenzie, with a small following, took possession of Navy

Island, on the Canadian side of the Niagara channel, to make it the rendezvous and base of operations for the deliverance of Canada from British misrule. A provisional government, headed by Mackenzie, was proclaimed; public lands and bounties, to be realized at a future day, were offered to volunteers; government bills were issued and became current to some extent on the American side. Confidence in the undertaking grew fast, and a patriot force was soon assembled on the island, which the loyalists on the neighboring shore, at Chippewa, were in no haste to attack.

On the 29th of December a little steamer named the "Caroline" was hired at Buffalo and taken down the river for ferry service between Navy Island and Schlosser, on the American shore. She made two trips that afternoon, and that was the end of her service. In the course of the ensuing night seven boat-loads of armed men came over from Chippewa and made a successful seizure of the little steamer, killing one man in the melee, towed her into the middle of the stream, set fire to her and sent her blazing down the rapids and over the great Falls.

Generally in the country, and especially on this border, there was great excitement over this invasion of American soil. Public clamor for angry measures by the government was such that a president less sensible and cool-headed than Van Buren might easily have been pushed into action that would lead to war. As it was, the situation held grave danger for a time, and not merely in the first treatment of the affair, but three years afterward, when one Alexander McLeod, who boasted of having taken part in the seizure of the "Caroline," and of having been the slayer of Amos Durfee, the single victim of the fight, was caught on the American side of the river, imprisoned and tried.

The American government seems to have acted with proper vigor against the undertakings of the rebellious Ca-

nadians and their sympathizers within its jurisdiction. General Scott was sent to the frontier, and a brigade of New York State militia was called out. Further reinforcement of the Patriots on Navy Island from this side of the river was stopped. No effective rising in Canada invited them to the other shore, and they evacuated the island on the 14th of January, after holding it a month. Some further attempts at mere raiding into Canada were made in this region during the next few weeks, by small bands, which planned to cross the frozen lake where it narrows, near the foot; but they were all broken up, and Buffalo soon ceased to be a center of interest in the Patriot War.

Once more, however, in the summer of 1838, a daring company went over from Schlosser to Navy Island, and thence to Chippewa, from which point they marched a few miles into the bowels of the land, burned a tavern and captured a detachment of lancers; but this intrepid army was composed of but twenty-four Canadians and one American youth. The people they wished to deliver would not rally to their support, and they were forced to break ranks and fly. Most of them suffered capture, and some were condemned to long captivity in the penal colony of Van Dieman's Land. Some years afterward, one of the latter number, Benjamin Wait, published his experience in a little book which was classic for a generation in this part of the world.

During the next three years there were secret filibustering societies, called Hunter Lodges, in a number of American towns, which occasionally found an opportunity to seize and burn a Canadian steamer, to the cry of "Remember the Caroline," or to commit some other wanton and useless outrage on the Canadian border. It was not till after the trial and acquittal of McLeod, in October, 1841, that such sputterings of the Patriot War were entirely stopped.

Despite the recent crash of business, the loss of many for-

tunes, and undoubtedly "hard times" in general, there was no lack of animation in the social life of these days. It is pleasantly pictured in a paper contributed to the eighth volume of the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society by Mrs. Martha Fitch Poole, who came to Buffalo in 1835. She describes Buffalo as she saw it then: "Indians walked the street in blankets and moccasins, cows were grazing at the roadsides, and pigs roamed at their own sweet will, only kept out of beautiful gardens by stout fences, usually of the picket variety. Yet Buffalo was a very beautiful city, notwithstanding. There was little or nothing to pull down, and buildings of the better sort were rapidly filling up the open spaces. The elegance with which the city was laid out, though the area was limited at that time, was ever admired. It was noted for the magnificent trees that bordered every street and lane, while the views of river and lake, uninterrupted for miles by the smoke of railroads or business structures, were superb. Birds sang from morning till night in the most populous sections of the city, and such gardens of flowers and nurseries of fruit-trees in this locality as could then be seen are things of the past.

"Buffalo was a bustling business place eight months of the year, say from April to December. The other four were given up quite generally to social enjoyment. The winter of 1836-1837 was the coldest and the longest I have ever experienced. Navigation did not open until the end of May, and the ice did not entirely disappear from the lake until June 10th. We were literally ice-bound that winter, and as there were no means of transportation except by stage-coach or sleighing, everybody stayed at home, contributing to the general pleasure. Buffalo was at this time preëminently a social center. The guests were often not a few from Batavia, LeRoy, Lewiston, Niagara-on-the-Lake and Niagara Falls."

The social gayety of the city was much enhanced, late in the '30s or early in the '40s, by the military post then established by the government, on the tract of ground between Main, Delaware, Allen and North streets, and maintained there for several years.

Hitherto in its municipal existence, the city of Buffalo had remained a part of the old Buffalo township or town. Now, in the spring of 1839, city and town were made identical, and all which the chartered city did not cover became the town of Black Rock, the latter enveloping the city by a circuit of territory from the river to the lake.

The Indians seen by Mrs. Poole in the streets of Buffalo, in the later '30s, were soon to disappear. From 1838 to 1842 the combination known as the Ogden Company was engaged in strenuous efforts to acquire for white settlement the lands still held by them in Western New York. In the first named year the company obtained from a council of chiefs a doubtful conveyance of all the remaining reservations, for the sum of \$202,000, and an equally doubtful ratification of a treaty with the government of the United States, which would give to the New York Indians 1,820,000 acres of land in Kansas, for their settlement there. Scandalous methods of bribery and intoxication were reported to have been used in procuring signatures of assent to these documents, and the genuineness of the chieftainship of many who signed them was brought into dispute. So much public feeling was roused in defence of the rights of the Indians, and the greater number of them were so determined not to be driven out of their old homes, that the Ogden Company did not attempt to enforce its claim to the lands. It pressed new propositions upon the Indians, however, and succeeded at last in securing a cession of the Buffalo Creek and the Tonawanda reservations. This was accomplished in the spring of 1842, and the Indians departed from those lands in the course of the next two or three years, some going to

the other reservations in Western New York and some to the West. Buffalo was benefited by the change of country neighbors, along the course of Buffalo Creek, which this brought about.

Ten thousand acres of the Creek Reservation, at its westerly end, were bought for a communistic colony from Germany, having the name of The Ebenezer Society, which improved and cultivated its lands most thriftily for nearly twenty years. It then sold the whole property in parcels, and established a new settlement in Iowa.

Buffalo was now prosperous again; and it had come to a point of beginning in many things, among the agencies, the instrumentalities and the attendant conditions of its further development, which have worked on their several lines so continuously and importantly since that they need to be treated with more distinctness than in a general sketch of history like this. In future chapters there will be an endeavor to give them such treatment as will exhibit the varied lines and processes of evolution, along which and by which our city has come to be what it is to-day. Meantime such matters will be passed with no more than the occasional mention of some primary fact, to thread them with other events.

The event of supreme importance in 1843 occurred in its first month, when railway connection of Buffalo with Albany was completed by the opening of the Buffalo and Attica Railroad, which added the last link to a chain of connected roads, stretching across the State. Eleven years had passed since the first of these roads, running from Albany to Schenectady, was built. The second, from Schenectady to Utica, was finished in 1836; the third, from Utica to Syracuse, in 1839; the remaining links were added more rapidly, within three years. The day of stage coaching from Lake Erie to the Hudson was already at an end; travel

by the packet boats of the canal would dwindle and soon pass; but the freight traffic of the canal was not yet much disturbed; for the State exacted equal tolls for some years on all freight transportation, whether by railroad or canal.

It has been stated sometimes that the chain of railroads which reached Buffalo in 1843 was identical with the line afterwards consolidated by the New York Central Company; but that is not the fact, so far as concerns the western extremity of the line. From Batavia to Buffalo the New York Central acquired a distinct line of rails. The Buffalo and Attica part of the original chain passed into the possession of the Buffalo and New York City Railroad Company, and was extended to Hornellsville, to connect with the New York and Erie Railway, then in progress from New York to Dunkirk, for straight connection with the lakes.

The lake and canal carrying trade was now fairly entering the period of its greatest growth. Even the Far West of the '40s,—the West, that is, of the Upper Lake country,—was beginning to offer large products to the markets of the East. The first cargo of grain from any part of Lake Michigan had come to Buffalo in 1836; the first from Chicago in 1839. Prior to 1843 the loading and unloading of grain, by handling it in bags, baskets and barrels, and hoisting it with ropes and pulleys, was expensive and slow. In that year the business was revolutionized by the introduction of what has been known since as the grain elevator, which scoops the loose grain from the holds of vessels by the operation of large cups or buckets on a revolving endless belt, and carries it to the top of storage and transfer warehouses for easy distribution thence, by gravity, through pipes and chutes. The first grain elevator in the world was constructed and brought into use at Buffalo by Mr. Joseph Dart, in 1843.

An indication of the new importance and the new charac-

ter that business operations were assuming is in the fact that a Board of Trade was organized in 1844. The full wakening of a city spirit in the town was marked, we may say, by the introduction of gas-lighting in 1848.

The presidential election of that year, 1848, was made specially interesting to Buffalo by the Whig nomination of Millard Fillmore for Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Fillmore had been much in public life since 1829, serving several terms in the State Assembly and three terms in Congress, and he was holding the office of Comptroller of the State when called from it to the second place in the national government. By the death of President Taylor he became President in July, 1850.

The great national Free Soil Convention of 1848, assembled in Buffalo on the 9th of August, lent further local interest to the political campaign of that year. According to estimates at the time, there were 40,000 people in the gathering, from every free State and from three States in the South. They included a remarkable number of men who were eminent already or who became so in the politics of the next twenty-five or thirty years. They were seceders from both of the old political parties, joined by many abolitionists, in the premature inauguration of a movement against further extensions of slavery, or, as the cry of the day expressed it, for "free soil, free speech, free labor and free men." With great enthusiasm they nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President; but in the ensuing election they carried no State, and the only immediate consequence of their undertaking was the election of Taylor and Fillmore. Nevertheless it had great ultimate results. Its defeat gave encouragement to increasing aggressions in the slaveholding interest, which speedily reanimated the defence of free soil, embodied its motive in the Republican party, and drew success in 1860 from the seeming failure of 1848.

A very different memorability was given to the year 1849, by the recurrence of cholera, which made its first appearance on the 30th of May, in a single case, occurring on one of the screw propellers in the port. At the end of the next week five cases had been reported, with one death, and the roll lengthened rapidly from that time. By the 12th of July there had been 356 cases reported, and the deaths numbered 103. The board of health began then to publish daily reports, giving the names and residences of the dead. Its first bulletin announced 31 new cases and 13 deaths in the previous twenty-four hours. Next day the stricken numbered 38, and again there were 13 deaths. This time the victims included the health physician of the city, Dr. Charles C. Haddock, whose heavy labors had worn out his strength and made him an easy prey to the disease. On the day of his death the *Commercial Advertiser* had said: "The cholera prevails to a great extent among that class who are unable to procure medical aid, and they are therefore compelled to rely upon the city physician," and it called upon the Common Council to authorize the appointment of two assistants, at the least. In further remarks it estimated that three-fourths of the deaths had occurred among foreign residents, and located them most extensively in that eastern section of the city (surrounding the junction of Swan Street with Seneca) known then as "The Hydraulics," where the water in a short length of canal, dug for manufacturing uses, had been imperfectly drained off and allowed to stagnate. A week later, the same paper raised its estimate of the deaths among foreign laborers in the city to nine-tenths of the whole; and explained that work in progress on the enlargement of the Hamburg and Erie canals had brought a large number of such laborers to the city, and that many of them were living in temporary shanties in the lower parts of the town.

The worst day of the deadly epidemic was the 24th of July, when the new cases rose in number to 103 and the deaths to 32. This followed a heavy shower of rain, after a prolonged drouth, which increased, of course, the infecting of wells,—the general source at that time of the domestic water-supply. This chief agency in the spreading of the disease does not seem to have been suspected in the least. The main danger was supposed to lurk in foods, and warnings against the eating of green vegetables were most strenuously urged.

Signs of diminution in the spread and virulence of the disease began to appear in the latter part of August, and on the 7th of September the board of health made its last report, having no death to announce that day. It had recorded in all, from the beginning, 2,535 cases of the cholera and 877 deaths; but the tale may not have been complete. "It has been asserted," said the *Commercial Advertiser*, in subsequent comment on the trying experience, "that there were between 50 and 60 interments in the course of twenty-four hours at the height of the disease, and there were undoubtedly deaths from cholera of which the board had no knowledge, as many persons had no physician, and were buried by their friends without any notice to the authorities."

The census of 1850 found a population in Buffalo numbering 42,261, against 29,773 in 1845, being an increase of about 42 per cent. in five years, which is rapid growth. In that year the enterprise of supplying the city with water from the Niagara, to be drawn through a tunnel passing under the Erie Canal and Black Rock harbor, was undertaken by a company which completed its works within the next two years. In 1853, under a new charter, Buffalo was expanded by the annexation to it of the township of Black Rock, which gave the city an area of about forty square miles.

CHAPTER III

IN THE ERA OF THE RAILWAYS:

1851—1908

WE have come to a time when railroads were beginning to be of importance in the development of travel and trade. For twenty years there had been a slow building of railway lines in the Atlantic States, but only to the extent of 9,000 miles in the entire country, and the West had hardly felt this new quickener of life. Now, for a brief period, there was a suddenly vigorous push of railway building westward. In 1851, by the opening of the Hudson River road to Albany, and the finishing of the New York and Erie to Dunkirk, New York City obtained two complete connections by rail with our lake. From Buffalo a westward extension of rails along the southern shore of the lake, as far as the Pennsylvania boundary, was opened by the Buffalo and State Line Railroad Company in February, 1852. In that year two railways from the western end of Lake Erie to Chicago were brought into operation; and the needed links between our State Line road and Toledo were filled in the next year, completing a railway connection of Chicago with New York. In 1854 the chain was stretched from Chicago to the Mississippi, and it was lengthened to the Missouri in 1859. Before that time a halt in all business enterprise had been called by the financial crash of 1857, and the halt was prolonged by the ensuing Civil War.

Meantime, in 1852, Buffalo had been doubly connected with the New York and Erie Railway, by a line to Corning, built by the Buffalo and New York City Railway Company, and by a second line to Hornellsville (now Hornell), produced by an extension of the Buffalo and Attica road, which the New York and Erie had leased. In this year, moreover,

the railway connection of Buffalo with Canada and with the West through Canada was undertaken, by the beginning of a Buffalo and Brantford road, which, being extended to Goderich, in 1858, took the name of the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway. In 1853 the consolidation of the several connecting roads between Buffalo and Albany, in the New York Central Railroad, was effected; and, in 1855, the Buffalo and Niagara Falls road was taken into the New York Central system.

Generally in the country a similar activity of railway construction prevailed, and all industries were stimulated in a corresponding degree. In the nine years which ended at the close of 1857, 21,000 miles were added to the railroads of the United States, representing an expenditure of \$700,000,000, largely from abroad. At the same time, the great increase of gold production, since the discoveries of 1848 in California and of 1851 in Australia, was lowering the standard of values, and opening a period of rising prices throughout the world. The two causes combined, putting strains upon capital, on one hand, and stimulating production and trade on the other, were working, in both Europe and America, to bring about the conditions which have always resulted in a monetary panic and commercial collapse. The influences so tending were exaggerated in America, as they had been in the period between 1825 and 1837, by the immensity of the allurements to speculative ventures in illimitably tempting fields.

All the preparations for panic were complete in the summer of 1857, and it was started with suddenness on the 24th of August by a crashing failure at Cincinnati, of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, an important corporation, so expanded in its operations as to break many lesser ones in its fall. At this signal of alarm the usual scrambling of the timid and nervous for self-saving began. Deposits

were drawn from banks to be hoarded; money disappeared from circulation; prices dropped. On the third day following the Cincinnati failure the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* announced "a long row of banks, many of them in the land of steady habits," as having "gone down, or been thrown out by the brokers;" but it could add: "Thus far Buffalo has mostly escaped. Right here in the largest grain market in the world, where transactions are more frequent and heavier than at any other port on the round globe, our produce men have thus far endured the rapid decline in the price of breadstuffs without any failure to meet their obligations."

But failures in Buffalo were only postponed. On Monday the 31st the *Commercial Advertiser* reported "quite a panic this morning, occasioned by the suspension of the Reciprocity Bank on Saturday. This was increased by the news that the Hollister Bank would not open its doors;" and, "owing to the excitement, a run was commenced on several of the banks as soon as they were opened." Next day (September 1st), the panic was said to have "entirely subsided and confidence is restored;" but the suspension of Oliver Lee & Co.'s Bank was announced on the 4th, and the failure of two large produce houses was made public on the 5th. On the 8th there was casual mention, without explanation, of the fact that 800 mechanics had been thrown out of employment, and a policy of reticence on such matters was intimated a few days later in the remark that "we have protested against publishing as 'failures' the temporary inability of sound men to meet their acceptances."

Late in September fresh waves of panic began to sweep over the country and strew it with wrecks. Railroad corporations went to the wall; Michigan Central, Illinois Central, New York and Erie among the rest. The panic was carried over sea, especially into Great Britain, which was

estimated to have \$400,000,000 invested in the United States. There were serious bank suspensions in Scotland, in October, and the Bank of England was only saved by a suspension of the operation of the banking act. The *Commercial Advertiser* could still say of Buffalo, on the 2nd of October, that she "is going along at a slow rate, with the burden of her immense commerce upon her. * * * The class of private failures which have occurred are not bad. They are in most instances rather suspensions than failures. * * * We have no runs, no excitements, and only the general gloom and depression indicates the peril of the times." Nevertheless, the 12th of October brought announcement of the suspension of the local Pratt Bank, followed by that of the important iron and hardware house of Pratt & Co.

The published list of broken banks in the country now numbered 182. On the 13th of October, by agreement, specie payments were suspended by all the banks in New York City which had held out against it hitherto, and their example was followed the next day by all the banks in the State. This relieved the strain of the situation, and all business in the country settled down to an experience which had no more of excitements in it, but only the grim endurance of a painfully benumbing half-palsy in the whole social frame. "The caulker's hammer," said the *Commercial*, describing Buffalo conditions on the 15th of October, "is not heard in the shipyards; the vessels and steamers which should be now busily engaged in forwarding the harvest lie chafing at the wharves; the foundries which live upon the shipping interests are some of them closed and others almost idle. So, too, in every department of industry, there is a benumbing paralysis."

From such prostration there was not much emergence of industrial and commercial activity in the country during the next two years. It was said to be at the worst in 1859. In

1860 there were marked beginnings of recovery, notwithstanding the distractions of the great political struggle of that year, and the menace of national disruption that followed.

No community in the country was interested in the election of 1860 more profoundly than this. In the politics of the epoch that came then to its close, Buffalo had been, from its first days, with little varying, a stronghold of the Federalists in their time and of the Whigs in theirs. In the latter-day division of the Whig party it had given a large following to Fillmore and the Silver Grays, even into the American or Know Nothing movement of 1852-6. But now a majority of its voters had broken their old political affiliations, both Whig and Democratic, and had come into the new Republican party, organized to resist the encroachments of slavery on free soil. In the main, that party divided Erie County and Buffalo with the Douglas Democracy; for not many relics of Mr. Fillmore's former following went with him to the support of the Bell and Everett nominations of 1860. Abraham Lincoln received a majority over Douglas in the local vote. His nomination had been a grievous hurt to Republican feeling, at first, here as in other parts of New York, which desired Mr. Seward; but confidence in him grew with increasing knowledge, and there was abounding enthusiasm in the campaign.

On the journey of the President-elect to Washington, for his entrance upon the appalling task to which he had been called, he arrived in Buffalo on the afternoon of Saturday, February 16, 1861, and had a reception at the railway station so tumultuously enthusiastic and ill-controlled that he and his party were nearly crushed. From the balcony of the American Hotel he made one of the brief and cautious speeches of his tour, and that evening he went through the ordeal of handshaking with a multitude of visitors, Mrs.

Lincoln receiving many at the same time. The Presidential party spent the Sunday in Buffalo, and Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln accompanied ex-President Fillmore to the Unitarian Church, of which the latter was a member. In the evening, Mr. Lincoln attended Mrs. Fillmore to a meeting at St. James Hall, to hear an address in the interest of some of the Indian tribes of the West.

The city had now a population exceeding 81,000, having nearly doubled its numbers in ten years. It could send a strong contingent of citizens to the defense of the Union, when rebellious slavery opened its wicked attack a few weeks later,—and it did so. News of the opening of the bombardment of Fort Sumter came to the morning papers of the 13th of April, and little more was known till the morning of Monday, the 15th, when tidings of the surrender of the fort set passion aflame. There were no political parties that day. Crowds swarmed to a public meeting in the evening, overflowing, first the Court House, then Kremlin Hall, and finally massing itself in the public street. A Democrat, the Hon. Eli Cook, presided, and speeches from Democrats and Republicans were all in one tone. An enrollment of volunteers for tender of service to the government was begun at once.

A second public mass meeting, more formally planned, was held the next evening at the Metropolitan Theatre, with ex-President Fillmore in the chair. Mr. Fillmore spoke with no uncertain feeling of the duty of the hour. "We have reached," he said, "a crisis in the history of this country when no man, however humble his rank or limited his influence, has a right to stand neutral. Civil war has been inaugurated, and we must meet it. Our government calls for aid, and we must give it." Judge Clinton, Judge Daniels, Dr. Brunck, H. K. Viele, A. M. Clapp, and others, spoke to the same purpose with warmth, and resolutions of cor-

responding spirit, reported from a committee of which Joseph Warren, editor of the Democratic organ, the *Daily Courier*, was chairman, were adopted with acclaim.

On the 18th the organization of enrolled volunteers in companies was begun. The three militia regiments of the city and county lost no time in recruiting their ranks and preparing for any duty to which they might be called. The Common Council appropriated \$50,000 to provide for families of volunteers, and private subscriptions added \$30,000 more. Prominent elderly citizens formed a company, with ex-President Fillmore for their captain, to perform escort duty, paying honor to the soldiery of the field. It took the name of the "Union Continentals," and wore the uniform of the Continentals of the Revolutionary War.

On the 3d of May four companies were sent forward to the rendezvous at Elmira, followed on the 11th by six more, with cheers and tears, and the whole city out to bid them God-speed. Many members of the militia regiments, seeing little prospect of active service in them, went into these companies of volunteers. The ten companies became an organized regiment at once, as the 21st New York State Volunteers, Colonel William F. Rogers commanding, and were mustered into the service of the United States for two years. From Elmira the regiment went forward to Washington on the 18th of June. It had no part in the disastrous Bull Run battle of the next month, being stationed at Fort Runyon, near Alexandria, at the time. In August it was assigned to Wadsworth's brigade in McDowell's division, and went through months of drill and training, with the rest of the Army of the Potomac, till McClellan's movements began in the following spring. Being in McDowell's Corps, the 21st Regiment escaped the Peninsular campaign, but had its share of the suffering and disaster of the succeeding battles, fought under General Pope. In the second Bull

Run fight, of August 30, 1862, it lost, in killed, two officers and fifty-one enlisted men, who died on the field or subsequently from wounds then received. In the next month the shattered regiment followed McClellan to Maryland, for the driving back of Lee, and fought at both South Mountain and Antietam, with further losses of twenty killed and fifty-one disabled by curable wounds. Its last severe campaigning was under Burnside, in the fatal assaults on the entrenchments of the enemy at Fredericksburg, but its losses were small. The last few months of its two years' term of service were spent in provost-guard duty at Acquia Creek. Late in April it was dismissed and received a great ovation on its arrival home.

From first to last of its service the losses of the 21st Regiment by death were 2 officers and 50 enlisted men who were killed in action; 23 enlisted men who died of wounds; 2 officers and 40 enlisted men who died of disease and other causes. The wounded officers who recovered were 7 in number, the enlisted men 140. The two officers who met death on the field were Captain Jeremiah P. Washburn and Lieutenant William L. Whitney, both at the Second Bull Run. The two who died of disease were Captain Elisha L. Hayward and Surgeon Charles H. Wilcox. Among the severely wounded at Bull Run was the young artist, John Harrison Mills, who, afterwards, wrote the history of the regiment.

Soon after the 21st Regiment left Buffalo, Captain Daniel D. Bidwell, of the 74th Regiment of State Militia, obtained authority to enlist another regiment in the city, and the enrollment went rapidly on. Before the ranks of the regiment were filled it was ordered to New York (September 16), and there it was made up as the 49th New York Volunteers, composed of four companies from Buffalo and Erie County, four from Chautauqua County, and one each from the

counties of Niagara and Westchester. Late in September, 1861, the 49th, with Daniel D. Bidwell as its Colonel, was ordered to the front, and was in camp till the following spring, embodied in the Sixth Corps. It then went through the Peninsular campaign, suffering slight losses in the battles of Lee's Mills, New Bridge, Garnett's Farm and White Oak Swamp Bridge. On returning from the Peninsula it fought at Antietam, with a loss of 8 killed and 16 wounded, and at Fredericksburg, where nine were wounded, one officer of whom died. In the following spring it was in battle at Marye's Heights and Salem Church, and gave 6 more of its number to death and 11 to wounds. By a long forced march it reached the field of Gettysburg in time to have some part in that terrible struggle, but only at the cost of 2 wounded men. The spring of 1864 found the regiment with Grant, in the awful battles of May, from which it came a mere wreck. In the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, at Cold Harbor, it left 9 officers and 61 enlisted men dead on the field; while 2 officers and 22 in the ranks died of the wounds they received, and 4 officers, with 122 enlisted men, were wounded, but lived. In July the Sixth Corps was detached from the army besieging Petersburg and sent to the defence of Washington, where special distinction was won at Fort Stevens by the 49th. In that engagement its Lieutenant-Colonel, George W. Johnson, received a mortal wound. At Cedar Creek, in the succeeding campaign of Sheridan against Early, the regiment bore an heroic part; and there its former Colonel, Daniel D. Bidwell, lately promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, was killed. Of its officers 2 were wounded; of its enlisted men 27 were wounded and 11 were killed. The three years' term of most men remaining in the regiment had expired on the 19th of September, one month before the battle of Cedar Creek was fought; but all save 89 of the number had accepted re-enlistment and

fought on. They were consolidated in five companies, and, returning to Petersburg, went through the last scenes of the war, even to Appomattox Court House and the surrender of Lee. When, on the 20th of June, 1865, their thinned ranks and their tattered flag were brought home, under the command of Colonel George H. Selkirk, they had the reception they deserved.

In the whole period of its service the regiment had received into its ranks about 1,350 men. Of its officers, 10 had been killed in battle, 5 had died of wounds, 5 had died of disease, 14 had recovered from wounds. Of enlisted men, 84 had been killed in action, 42 had died of wounds, 147 had died of disease, 23 had died while prisoners in the enemy's hands, 5 from other causes, 230 had recovered from wounds. The officers killed in action were Captain William T. Wiggins and Lieutenants Henry C. Valentine and Reuben M. Preston, in the battle of the Wilderness; Captains Reuben B. Heacock and Seward H. Terry, Lieutenants Herman Haas, Mortimer L. V. Tyler, and J. P. McVean, at Spottsylvania; Lieutenant David Lambert, Jr., at Washington; Lieutenant Charles A. Sayres, at Winchester. The officers who died of wounds were Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Johnson, Lieutenant-Colonel Erastus D. Holt, Major William Ellis, Captains Charles H. Hickmott and John F. E. Plogsted. Those who died of disease were Captains Raselas Dickinson and Charles H. Moss, Lieutenants William Bullymore, Henry D. Tillinghast, Frederick Van Gayle.

When the 49th Regiment left Buffalo, in the summer of 1861, recruiting for another regiment was already begun, under authority given to General Gustavus A. Scroggs, of the State Militia, to raise a full brigade within the State. Enlisting for the regiment to be formed in Buffalo was begun early in September, and in January it received its

designation as the 100th Regiment N. Y. Vols. Its men came to a large extent from neighboring counties and towns. Chautauqua County furnished its commanding officer, Colonel James M. Brown. It went to the field with full ranks, in March, reaching Washington on the 12th; was assigned to Casey's Division, Fourth Corps, and was pushed almost immediately into the trials, hardships and sufferings of the Peninsular campaign. Its first experience of battle, at Fair Oaks, was as terrible as new soldiers can ever have gone through, and it did not flinch. Its brigade was advanced to the extreme front of the Union lines, and ordered to charge through a tangled slashing of timber, in which the men of the 100th were exposed almost helplessly to the enemy's guns. Some one had blundered in the ordering of the useless charge, and they paid the cost of the blunder in 39 lives, 77 wounds, and 60 missing men, either prisoners or of unknown fate. Colonel Brown was among the missing. That he fell is certain; but his body was never found, and the circumstances of his death are not even to be guessed. Colonel George B. Dandy, of the regular army, was appointed to fill his place. Even before the battle, much sickness had thinned the regiment, and at the end of July it mustered only 15 officers and 436 men. Unless quickly filled up it would lose its identity by consolidation with some other, and Buffalo was appealed to, to save it from that fate. The Board of Trade of the city took upon itself the undertaking to restore the organization to its proper strength. Meantime the regiment had a period of comparative rest, at Gloucester Point, on the York, which lasted till Christmas Day, when it was embarked for transfer to service farther south. Its new field proved to be the South Carolina coast, where, after six months of varied movements and employments, it came to a second experience of the worst horrors of war. This was in the desperate assaulting of Fort Wag-

ner, on Morris Island, at the entrance to the harbor of Charleston. There the 100th suffered losses even heavier than at Fair Oaks. Four officers and 76 enlisted men came to their death in those assaults, either immediately or later, from wounds; 6 officers and 106 enlisted men received wounds from which they recovered; while the missing numbered 31. The succeeding seven months on Morris Island were uneventful. Then, in April, 1864, the regiment went north again, to pass for a time under the command of General Butler, at Bermuda Hundred, and to be engaged till the end of the war in the operations against Petersburg and Richmond. Its last fighting was on the 2d of April, 1865, in the storming of Fort Grig, at the rear of the Petersburg fortifications, the desperate defenders of which had sworn never to surrender. From that sanguinary victory it went to join in the pursuit of the retreating army of Lee, and saw the rebellion come to its end. It was not discharged from service, however, till the 28th of August, and was then, for some reason, sent to Albany to be mustered out, disappointing the wish in Buffalo to see it and honor it as a regiment on its home-coming from the war. Colonel Dandy, lately commissioned Brigadier-General, had commanded the brigade for some time past, and Lieutenant-Colonel Warren Granger held the regimental command. Captain George H. Stowits, who had resigned the principalship of one of the public schools of Buffalo to enter the regiment as a private, and who had been acting assistant adjutant general on the brigade staff, had been promoted to be major, in May, but resigned at the end of that month, before his commission was received. He wrote the history of the regiment a few years after his return home.

In its whole service the 100th Regiment had 8 officers and 115 enlisted men killed in action; 4 officers and 67 enlisted men wounded mortally, of whom 2 of the former and 11 of

the latter died in the enemy's hands. One officer and 186 men died of disease, 62 of the latter in Confederate prisons; 15 enlisted men died from causes not stated, of whom 6 were prisoners when they died. Of the members of the regiment who suffered capture and imprisonment and survived, 11 were officers and 185 were from the ranks.

The death-roll of officers is as follows: Colonel James M. Brown, Lieutenant Samuel S. Kellogg, Lieutenant John Wilkeson, Jr., killed at Fair Oaks; Lieutenant and Adjutant Herbert H. Haddock, Lieutenant James Kavanagh, Lieutenant Charles H. Runkle, killed at Fort Wagner; Major James H. Dandy, killed at Fort Grig; Lieutenant Azor H. Hoyt, killed at Drewry's Bluff; Captain William Richardson, died of wounds received at Deep Bottom, Va.; Lieutenant Cyrus Brown, died of wounds at Fort Wagner; Lieutenant James H. French, died of wounds received at Drewry's Bluff; Lieutenants Rodney B. Smith and Charles S. Farnum, died of disease.

Besides the three regiments whose history has been sketched, several companies which became attached to other organizations were raised wholly or partly in Buffalo during the first year of the war. The most important of the number was an artillery company of German citizens, formed originally in 1860, under Captain Michael Wiedrich, and connected with the 65th Regiment of State Militia. In January, 1861, soon after the secession movement began, its services were offered formally to the State, and accepted, but it was not called upon till October, when it was organized as Battery I, of the 1st New York Artillery. It left Buffalo on the 16th of October, and was attached to Blenker's Division, in Virginia. Few of the twelve batteries of the regiment were ever together in service, and, in many engagements, during the next three years, "Wiedrich's Battery" made a well-known name for itself. It began its

career in Fremont's encounter with Ewell at Cross Keys, June 8, 1862, where 3 of its members were killed and 6 received wounds. It was in six battles of Pope's campaign, including the Second Bull Run, where 1 of its officers and 13 enlisted men received wounds. It was with Hooker at Chancellorsville, and suffered 4 deaths there, 14 wounds, and lost 2 of its guns. It was with Meade at Gettysburg, and 3 killed, 9 wounded, were its losses there. It was with Grant at Wauhatchie and Lookout Valley and Missionary Ridge. It went with Sherman through his Atlanta campaign, through his "March to the Sea," and through his campaign in the Carolinas, to the end. Captain Wiedrich bore the more than well-earned title of Colonel when his Battery came home, to a proud reception, on the 23d of June, 1865.

For a regiment of Engineers (the Fiftieth) organized in the summer of 1861, under the command of Colonel C. B. Stuart, three companies, E, L and M, were enlisted in part at Buffalo. Its service was in the Virginia field.

An Independent Battery, the 11th, was raised partly in Buffalo by Captain Albert von Putkammer, during the first year of war. It served in the Pope campaign, at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and in Grant's Virginia campaign.

Company G, of the 33d Regiment N. Y. Vols., was enlisted at Buffalo between May and July, 1861, taking the name originally of "The Richmond Guards." The service of the regiment was in Virginia and Maryland.

At about the same time, Company D of the 35th and Company A of the 36th N. Y. Vols. were partly enlisted in the city, and went to two years of service in Virginia.

Buffalo and Erie County were raising, also, that summer, a company for what became the 44th N. Y. Vols. This regiment was planned to be a special undertaking of all

parts of the State, as a memorial of Colonel Ellsworth, the young officer whose regiment was the first to enter Virginia, at Alexandria, and who was shot when taking down a rebel flag. It was called "The People's Ellsworth Regiment."

Later in the year, some considerable part of one company (K) for the 69th Regiment, destined for the Irish, or Meagher's, Brigade, was enlisted in Buffalo and went to take part in the Virginia campaigns.

Three companies of the 8th Cavalry and several of the 10th were also made up, to some extent, in this city, at that time, and served, the former in Virginia, the latter in Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland.

Between the fall of 1861 and the spring of 1862 Buffalo contributed a company (E) to the 78th N. Y. Vols., which served subsequently in Virginia, Tennessee and Georgia, and which suffered heavily at Chancellorsville.

Between these two years, also, there were parts of three companies raised for what was designated as the First Regiment of Mounted Rifles, which had active service in Virginia and North Carolina.

No enlistments were made in Buffalo for the 94th N. Y. Vols., but the regiment was raised by Colonel H. K. Viele of Buffalo, and went into service under his command. It was ordered in the first instance to Alexandria, and Colonel Viele was appointed military governor of that city, with command of a brigade of the forces stationed there. Ill health compelled him to resign at the end of a few months. Some time later, Colonel Adrian R. Root, of Buffalo, was appointed to the command of the 94th.

Then, in July, after the failure of the Peninsular campaign, came the call of the President for 300,000 more volunteers, and the requisition on Buffalo for a regiment, to be organized under the supervision of a committee of citizens appointed by the Governor of the State. Major Edward P.

Chapin, of the 44th (Ellsworth) Regiment, then invalided by a wound received at Hanover Court House and on recruiting duty at Buffalo, was invited to the colonelcy of the proposed regiment, and obtained permission to accept it. On his request, Lieutenant John B. Weber, of the 44th, was made his Adjutant. Both Major Chapin and Lieutenant Weber had entered the Buffalo Company of the 44th. The regiment, soon designated as the 116th N. Y. Vols., was filled so rapidly that nearly a thousand men were ready for the orders which came on the 5th of September to proceed to Baltimore, where it went into camp for some weeks. In due time it was shipped to New Orleans, became part of General Emory's Division of the 19th Army Corps, and entered upon the Mississippi and Red River campaigns of General Banks. Colonel Chapin was soon called to brigade command, and the regiment was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Cottier. Its first experience of battle was during the advance on Port Hudson, at Plain Store (May 21, 1863), where it won distinction by a vigorous charge, under the lead of Major George M. Love, which broke the enemy and saved the day. On the 27th of the same month it took part in the first of two ill-judged assaults on the bristling defences of Port Hudson, which sent hundreds of men to useless death. Colonel Chapin, commanding the brigade, was one of the first to fall, killed instantly by a shot through the brain. The losses of the regiment were 18 enlisted men killed in the action, one officer and 10 enlisted men wounded mortally. One officer and 3 enlisted men were killed and 2 of the latter wounded mortally in the second assault, of June 14th. Three officers and 99 men who were disabled in the two assaults recovered from their wounds. Lieutenant-Colonel Cottier, prostrated by malarial fever, died at Baton Rouge, and Major George M. Love, suffering from a severe wound, became Colonel of the

regiment and commander of the brigade. On the surrender of Port Hudson, following that of Vicksburg, the 116th went to service in Western Louisiana, against the Confederate General Dick Taylor, and went afterwards into camp at Franklin till the following March. Meantime Adjutant John B. Weber had been commissioned to form a colored regiment, which became the 89th U. S. Colored Infantry, mustered into service October 8, 1863. Colonel Weber was placed also in command of the brigade to which his regiment belonged. Subsequently the treatment of the regiment by General Banks was deemed so unjust by the officers that all resigned, in June, 1864. At that time the 116th, called to the field again in March, had been through the ill-managed Red River Expedition, and was nearing the end of its service in the southwest. In July it came north and was sent immediately into the Shenandoah Valley to take part in Sheridan's brilliant campaign. At Opequon, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek it fought and paid its toll of lives. Its last fighting was at Cedar Creek. It remained on duty in the Valley till the next spring, but its duties were light. In March, 1865, Colonel Love was commissioned Brevet Brigadier-General, and the command of the regiment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Sizer, Lieutenant-Colonel John Higgins, who succeeded Cottier, having resigned in the previous September. In April the 116th went to provost duty in Washington; in June it came home, and its reception at Buffalo, on the 13th, was such as should be given to a regiment of which Sheridan, in officially endorsing a report made by Colonel Love (before his promotion), had said: "The regiment of Colonel Love enjoys the reputation of being the best in the Nineteenth Army Corps." The history of the regiment, written by Captain Orton S. Clark, was published in 1868.

From first to last, the losses of the 116th were as follows:

Killed in action, 3 officers, 58 enlisted men; died of wounds, 2 officers, 36 enlisted men; died of disease, 2 officers, 119 enlisted men, 4 of the latter while in the enemy's hands; wounded, but recovered, 9 officers, 243 men; captured by the enemy, 1 officer, 61 enlisted men.

The officers who died in the service were: Colonel Edward P. Chapin (commissioned Brigadier-General after his death), Lieutenant Timothy J. Linnahan, killed at Port Hudson; Captain David W. Tuttle, killed at Donaldsville; Lieutenant Charles Standart, killed at Sabine Cross Roads; Captain David Jones, died of wounds received at Port Hudson; Lieutenant Charles Borusky, died of wounds received at Plain Store; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Cottier and Captain James Ayer, died of disease.

During the later years of the war many parts of organizations for all branches of the military service of the government were made up in Buffalo. In August, 1862, Colonel John E. McMahon received authority to recruit a regiment for the Irish Legion, or Corcoran's brigade, with headquarters in this city. On its first organization the regiment was designated as the 155th N. Y. Vols.; but a subsequent reorganization of the brigade caused some shifting of companies, and the bulk of what had been the 155th became the 164th Regiment, with Colonel McMahon in the command. Two of its companies, C and D, were enlisted in Buffalo. In November the regiment entered service at Newport News, Va., where it was mustered in, and it served in Virginia throughout the war. During the campaign of 1864, under Grant, it was among the frightful sufferers at Cold Harbor, from the mistake of the assault made there on impregnable lines. Four of its officers and 28 others were killed in the assault; 3 officers and 27 enlisted men died of wounds received; 1 officer and 41 enlisted men recovered from wounds received; besides these there were "missing"

3 officers and 50 enlisted men. Colonel John E. McMahon had died previously of disease, at Buffalo, in March, 1863. His successor, Colonel James P. McMahon, fell in this deadly assault. The heroic death of the latter is memorialized in one of the finest of the poems of the late David Gray, entitled "How the Young Colonel Died."

Three companies, D, G and H, of the 132nd N. Y. Vols., recruited in 1862 for the Spinola Brigade, were raised partly at Buffalo. Their service was in North Carolina during 1863-4.

One company, K, for the 151st N. Y. Vols., went partly from Buffalo to service in Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland.

Another company, also K, was contributed by this city and county to the 160th N. Y. Vols., which had severe service at Port Hudson, in the Red River campaign of General Banks, and in Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign.

Of the 11th Regiment of Cavalry, known originally as "Scott's Nine Hundred," two companies, L and M, were raised partly in Buffalo during 1862. The service of the regiment was in Virginia, West Virginia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee.

In the later months of 1862 the 27th Independent Battery of Light Artillery, often described as the Buffalo Light Artillery, was recruited and organized in the city by Captain John B. Eaton, and mustered into service December 17th. Its service was in Virginia, where it lost, in the operations before Petersburg, 2 men who died of wounds, and 5 who recovered from their wounds.

Late in the same year and early in 1863 no less than six companies, D, E, H, K, L and M, were enlisted wholly or partly in Buffalo for the 12th Cavalry ("Third Ira Harris Guard"), which served in North Carolina till the end of the war.

A still larger contribution was made in 1863 from Buffalo to the 16th N. Y. Cavalry, Colonel Henry M. Lazelle. Companies B, C and D were enlisted almost fully in this city, and Companies E, G, H and L were recruited here in part. The service of the regiment was in Virginia.

Between July and September, 1863, the 33d Independent Battery of Light Artillery was enlisted, principally at Buffalo, and served in Virginia till the war closed.

One company for the 13th Cavalry and one for the 18th went partly from the city the same year, both to their first service against the rioters of New York. The former went afterwards to Virginia, the latter to Louisiana and Texas.

In the late months of 1863 and early in 1864 parts of five companies, C, D, F, K and M, were recruited in Buffalo for the 24th N. Y. Cavalry, and had service in Virginia during the remainder of the war.

In the same period, nine of the twelve companies of the 2d Regiment of Mounted Rifles were recruited in part at Buffalo. The regiment left the State in March, 1864, and had severely active service in the Virginia operations of the last year of the war, losing, in all, by death, 9 officers and 209 enlisted men.

The last three-years regiment that was raised in the State, the 179th N. Y. Vols., obtained its Company E and parts of four other companies by enlistments at Buffalo in 1864. It went to the field in time to take part in the operations before Petersburg and the final actions of the war. On June 17th, soon after its arrival at Petersburg, Captain Daniel Blatchford of Company E was killed in a desperate charge.

On the 1st of September, 1864, Colonel William F. Berens received authority to raise a new regiment, the 187th N. Y. Vols., with headquarters for the enlistment at Buffalo, and six companies, mustered in for one year, were ordered to the

field in October, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Myers. Three companies went later,—the last one in May, 1865. The incomplete regiment took part in engagements at Hatcher's Run and White Oak Bridge, Virginia. Many of its members were volunteers from the 65th Regiment of State Militia.

The final recruiting in Buffalo was in the winter and spring of 1865 for two companies in a regiment, the 194th, which did not reach the field.

Of the naval service rendered from Buffalo there seems to be no available source of information. That it was considerable there can be no doubt. It happened that the first of the dead of the war to be brought home to our city, and to receive impressive public obsequies (April 6, 1862), was a naval officer, Captain Thomas A. Budd, killed in the preceding month while commanding the U. S. Steamer *Penguin* in an engagement at Mosquito Inlet, on the east coast of Florida. Captain Budd had been formerly in the U. S. Navy, had commanded the flagship of Commodore Wilkes in his Southern Exploring Expedition, and had resigned. At the outbreak of the Rebellion he offered himself to the government at once.

The men-folk of the city were far from alone in the patriotic services of the time. What women could do for the national cause, by softening the hardships, soothing the suffering, cheering the hearts of its defenders in the field, they did, with unsparing labor, unceasing thoughtfulness, overflowing gratitude and love. A great concentration of the womanly energies of the city for such service was effected in November, 1861, by the organization of the Ladies' General Aid Society, under the presidency of Mrs. Horatio Seymour, and its establishment as a branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, conducting the local work of that noblest humane agency yet seen, at that day, in the world.

Later, a Ladies' Christian Commission, locally representing the United States Christian Commission, was organized, and performed similarly energetic work. It was under the auspices of the latter that a grand Central Fair, opened on the 22d of February, 1864, was conducted for nine days with such success as to realize a net fund of \$25,607 for undertakings of army relief.

One of the notable features of the Fair was an Old Settlers' Festival, at which many survivors of the village period of Buffalo, even back to the destruction of it in 1813, joined in giving exhibitions and illustrations of life as it was in the primitive days. With daily changes of programme, the festival was conducted for a week, at American Hall, while the bazaar section of the Fair occupied St. James Hall, on the Washington Street side of the site of the present Iroquois Hotel. The unique fête of the Old Settlers was enjoyed so greatly that it was repeated annually for a number of years.

Everything of helpfulness to the government and the army had liberal support from the business men of Buffalo. Generally they were prospering throughout the period of the war, and generally they gave to the cherished cause with a free hand. In all its main departments the business of the city appears to have derived more benefit than injury from the war. Buffalo had had little dealing with the Southern States in the past; lost, therefore, few customers or debts; while the closing of southward channels turned a considerable new movement of western trade into the highway of the lakes. This fact was noted in the Buffalo *Express* of May 21, 1861, when it said: "Buffalo sees the commerce of the lakes, of which she is mistress, multiplied and increased by the disorders of the Southwest and the derangements of the border. Trade turned northward from the channels it has pursued heretofore takes the course which leads it into her hands." Four months later, on the 5th of September,

it could still say: "The conditions of business have remained with us scarcely affected by the turmoil of our civil war, and what depression we have experienced has been almost wholly due to the moral influence of the nation's troubles." And again, on the 23d of September: "The business of Buffalo is thus far more stately in its proportions than in the brightest years of the peaceful past."

In the Civil War period Buffalo grew in population from a count of 81,129 in the National census of 1860 to 94,210 in the State census of 1865. The succeeding five years carried the enumeration of 1870 up to 117,714. The prosperity which these figures suggest came to the city as the opening of a period of broader and more energetic development along every line of its advance. The historic incidents of progress hereafter can all be arranged best in a classified way, on those various lines, and not much outside of them remains for mention in this general sketch.

A brief recurrence of war excitements was produced for the city in 1866, by the crazily planned invasion of Canada by a few hundreds of Fenians, who chose Buffalo as their rendezvous and place of crossing the Niagara River. They entered the Dominion in the early morning of June 1, advanced a few miles inland, and were encountered the next day by Canadian and British forces at Ridgway, where a sharp but brief engagement was fought, with some loss on both sides. The invaders retired from it, but were taken prisoners by the authorities of the United States on their recrossing of the river. Fenian reinforcements which swarmed to Buffalo for some days came too late. General Grant arrived in the city on the 2d, and placed General William F. Barry in command on the frontier; Fort Porter received an artillery garrison; but the affair was at an end. The authorities dealt leniently with the violators of international law, and Fenianism, which had more show than substance in it, soon expired.

In Buffalo, as elsewhere, prosperity was checked seriously by the conditions that produced the financial crisis of 1873; and business on most lines showed a heavy decline from 1871 to 1876. Apparently, however, the disturbance in many other commercial centers was considerably greater than here. Notwithstanding the general depression of industries, an increasing stream of foreign immigration flowed to the city in these years, and from other lands than Germany and Ireland, which had sent us hitherto nearly all that we had in our citizenship that was alien in blood. The first considerable planting of the great colony of Poles which has now taken almost entire possession of a large district of the city occurred in this period. Somewhat later the Italians began coming in numbers. Between 1870 and 1875 the city population advanced from 117,714 to 134,557, and in 1880 it had risen to 155,134.

The most serious labor strike that had then troubled Buffalo occurred in 1877, as part of a general demonstration among railway employees in many sections of the country against a reduction of pay. The rioting and destruction of property that attended the strike were more violent in this city and in Pittsburg than elsewhere. Mobs of ruffians of all sorts improved the opportunity for lawlessness, and were practically in possession of the railroad yards for four days, from the 22nd to the 25th. Not only were the local regiments of militia called out, but neighboring companies were ordered to the scene.

There came now a time of remarkable stimulation in every department of activity, as will be seen in the exhibits of development that are reserved for subsequent pages. This led up to the only inflation of real estate values that Buffalo has ever given way to since the instructive experience of 1836-7. A remarkable conservatism in the pricing of city ground had prevailed for fifty years; and it

resisted for a long time the infectious fevers of booming speculation that were running through the country in the eighties. At last, in about 1888, it succumbed, and real estate speculation rioted for the next four or five years. Buffalo was equipped in that period with street-extensions and new streets, generally sewerred, paved and gas-lighted in advance of settlement on them, which more than twenty years passed since have hardly filled; and our city map was fringed with a surrounding of projected suburbs, most of which exist only in a memory of lost fortunes to-day. The losses attending the collapse of the inflation were widespread, and depressed the whole spirit and capability of the city for a number of years.

A second railroad strike, of more seriousness locally than that of 1877, occurred in 1892. It lasted longer, beginning on the 15th of August and collapsing on the 25th. The situation became so grave that a large part of the State Militia, even from the eastern extremity of the State, was ordered to Buffalo by the Governor. By refusing to join it the organizations of trainmen and firemen brought it to an end.

The project of an All-American exposition of arts and industries, to promote trade and social relations between the countries and peoples of North, South and Central America, and to be held on the Niagara frontier, was conceived and urged in 1896 by Captain John M. Brinker, of Buffalo. A number of enterprising capitalists and business men became interested in the scheme, and a Pan-American Exposition Company was incorporated in June, 1897. In the following September the directors of the company selected Cayuga Island, at La Salle, about two miles from Niagara Falls, for the site of the proposed exposition; but prospects of war with Spain and other discouragements brought a halt in the undertaking and it went not much farther at the time. The idea, however, was kept alive.

When the war with Spain had come and gone, Mayor Conrad Diehl, of Buffalo, was induced to revive the proposition, as one which our city should take in hand. He did so in a special message to the Common Council, which called out an effective response. A new company was incorporated, originally capitalized at \$1,000,000, but having that amount raised quickly to \$2,500,000. The company was authorized to issue bonds to the amount of its stock, and both stock and bonds were taken, mostly at home. Appropriations of \$500,000 and \$300,000 for National and State exhibits were obtained at Washington and Albany, and agencies for wakening interest in the enterprise worked actively in other parts of the Union and abroad. Cayuga Island was discarded as a practicable site for the exposition, because of inadequate railway facilities, and the use of large grounds on the northern edge of Delaware Park, with some use of the Park and its beautiful lake, was obtained. The Spanish style of architecture for buildings was adopted as appropriate, in view of the extent to which the Spanish-American peoples were expected to participate.

When all preparations were in working order, the organization of chief officials of the Pan-American Exposition was as follows:

President: John G. Milburn.

Secretary: Edwin Fleming.

Treasurer: George L. Williams.

Directors: Frank B. Baird, George K. Birge, Herbert P. Bissell, George Bleistein, John M. Brinker, Conrad Diehl, W. Caryl Ely, H. M. Gerrans, Charles W. Good-year, Harry Hamlin, William Hengerer, Charles R. Huntley, John Hughes, William H. Hotchkiss, J. T. Jones, F. C. M. Lautz, John G. Milburn, E. G. S. Miller, H. J. Pierce, John N. Scatcherd, R. F. Schelling, Carleton Sprague, Thomas W. Symons, George Urban, Jr., George L. Williams.

Executive Committee: John N. Scatcherd, Chairman; George K. Birge, Conrad Diehl, Harry Hamlin, Charles R. Huntley, J. T. Jones, Robert F. Schelling, Carleton Sprague, Thomas W. Symons.

Director-General: William I. Buchanan.

Commissioner-General and Auditor: John B. Weber.

Director of Concessions: Frederick W. Taylor.

Board of Architects: John M. Carrere, Chairman; George F. Shepley, R. S. Peabody, Walter Cook, J. G. Howard, George Cary, Edward B. Green, August C. Esenwein.

Director of Color: C. Y. Turner.

Director of Sculpture: Karl Bitter.

Director of Works: Newcomb Carleton.

Landscape Architect: Rudulf Ulrich.

Chief of Building Construction: J. H. Murphy.

Chief Engineer: S. J. Fields.

Chief of M. and E. Bureau: Henry Rustin.

Director of Fine Arts: William A. Coffin.

Superintendent of Electric Exhibits: George F. Sever.

Superintendent of Graphic Arts, Machinery, etc.: Thomas M. Moore.

Superintendent of Liberal Arts: Selim H. Peabody.

Superintendent of Ethnology and Archaeology: A. L. Benedict.

Superintendent of Live Stock, Dairy, etc.: Frank A. Converse.

Superintendent of Horticultural and Food Products: F. W. Taylor.

Superintendent of Mines and Metallurgy: David T. Day.

Superintendent of Manufactures: Alger M. Wheeler.

As happens generally in such undertakings, the appointed day for opening the Exposition, May 1, 1901, found much

incompleteness of preparation for it, but mostly in matters which general managers cannot control. Some States and some foreign countries had been late in their building undertakings, and great numbers of exhibitors were unready to make use of the space they had engaged. Something of this tardiness was due, without doubt, to the dispiriting effects of a wet and cold spring. The opening of the Exposition to the public took place, nevertheless, on the appointed day, but the formal ceremonies of its inauguration were postponed until the 20th. Exercises held then in the Temple of Music included addresses by Vice-President Roosevelt, Lieutenant-Governor Timothy L. Woodruff, of New York, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Mayor Conrad Diehl; with noble poems read by Robert Cameron Rogers and Frederick Almy.

The United States Government interested itself most heartily in the Exposition, and realized most perfectly in its finely organized exhibits the instructive main purpose in view. Every department of the government contributed something interestingly representative of the functions and public services it performs, or of the national resources and activities over which it presides. The three buildings of the group in which these exhibits of governmental work were arranged became the centers of a more substantial attraction than any others on the ground.

Thirteen of the States of our Federal Union were represented by handsome buildings under official care. The fine permanent building of New York State, in marble, on public park grounds, is now the property of the Buffalo Historical Society. The New England States were joined in the erection of a beautiful building for their common use. The other States represented by governmental buildings were Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Illinois. Porto Rico, alone, of the outlying possessions

of the United States, presented exhibits in a building of its own. Other American countries which contributed admirably, not only to the Pan-American display of resources and products, but to the housing of them, were Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Honduras and the Dominican Republic.

That Buffalo was benefited by the Exposition will hardly be disputed; but in immediate financial results it was not a success. A late-coming spring and a singularly unfavorable state of weather throughout most of the months following were blighting in themselves; but the fatal stroke came in the awful tragedy of the assassination of President McKinley, which occurred on the 6th of September. While holding a reception in the Temple of Music, on the Exposition grounds, the President was shot by a Polish anarchist, who approached him in the passing line of people, with a pistol hidden by a handkerchief in his hand. Death was not immediate; there were eight days of suffering, heroically endured, while the country was thrilled with hopes and fears. Death came on the 14th, and Vice-President Roosevelt immediately took the oath of office as President, at the residence of Mr. Ansley Wilcox, who was his host at the time.

To many thousands of people the Pan-American Exposition is a delightful memory; but it was not thronged as it needed to be for an immediate repayment of its cost. The total admissions were 8,120,048; the total revenue from admissions \$2,406,875.80. The total expenditures upon it were \$9,447,702.93; the total income, including payments on capital stock and proceeds from the sale of bonds, was \$8,869,757.20. The loss to stockholders (\$1,643,203.50 in amount) was entire. First mortgage bonds were paid, but nothing was received by the holders of the second issue, of \$500,000. Towards the payment of unsettled accounts, which amounted to \$577,945.73, a Congressional appropriation of \$500,000 was obtained.



The house was built early in the development of Buffalo, was occupied and owned from 1884 to 1904 by John G. Milburn, the leading attorney, and a close friend of President McKinley. When the President was shot on September 6, 1901, he was taken to this house, where he was tenderly cared for until his death on September 14th. Mr. Milburn removed to New York about 1904, and afterward parted with the house.

The house is a small, two-story building, with a gabled roof, and is situated on the corner of the street and the avenue.

HOUSE WHERE McKINLEY DIED.

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Since the interesting year of the Pan-American Exposition the annals of the city have been eventful in little beyond such incidents of development and growth as will have their proper place in chapters that follow this general sketch. In these last years there have been marked improvements of civic character appearing. A different public spirit, more generalized and more purposeful, has been making itself felt. An effective marshalling of civic forces,—the concentration of public effort to well-chosen public ends,—has become more practicable from year to year.

Falling in with a custom then prevalent, Buffalo, in 1907, set apart the first days of September as an "Old Home Week," during which its sons and daughters who had gone from it to other abodes were invited to a festive reunion with their old neighbors and fellow citizens. They came in large numbers from far and near, received abundant entertainment, both public and private, and the city enjoyed a happy week.

The census of 1900 had found 352,000 inhabitants of Buffalo, against 255,664 in 1890, showing an increase of nearly 38 per cent. The enumeration of 1910, announced late in the year, makes the present population 423,715,—an increase in the last decade of but little more than 20 per cent. The gain is so disappointing as to raise doubts of the correctness of the census.

The increase of foreign population has been very great, and its racial lines have been greatly changed. The former predominance of the German stock is being disputed by the immense accession of Poles, whose present (1910) number in the city is estimated to be not less than 80,000. This estimate is the result of a very careful and thorough "Social Survey," conducted in 1909-1910, under the direction of Mr. John Daniels, whose report of his findings and conclusions as to the condition of that part of the city population was

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The census of 1900 had found 352,000 inhabitants of Buffalo, against 255,664 in 1890, showing an increase of nearly 38 per cent. The enumeration of 1910, announced late in the year, makes the present population 423,715,—an increase in the last decade of but little more than 20 per cent. The gain is so disappointing as to raise doubts of the correctness of the census.

The increase of foreign population has been very great, and its racial lines have been greatly changed. The former predominance of the German stock is being disputed by the immense accession of Poles, whose present (1910) number in the city is estimated to be not less than 80,000. This estimate is the result of a very careful and thorough "Social Survey," conducted in 1909-1910, under the direction of Mr. John Daniels, whose report of his findings and conclusions as to the condition of that part of the city population was

published June 4, 1910, in the *Survey*, the weekly "journal of constructive philanthropy," issued by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. The 80,000 were found to have come into Buffalo since 1870, the census of that year having shown no more than 135 natives of Poland within its bounds. Soon after that date the tide of Polish immigration began to rise. In 1873 the Polish Catholics could build a church for themselves, on ground, at the corner of Peckham and Townsend Streets, which was given to them by an enterprising dealer in real estate, Joseph Bork. This Church of St. Stanislaus, — originally a frame building, but superseded by a structure of stone in 1884, — received as its pastor a young Polish priest, Father Jan Pitass, who has been in charge of the parish ever since. "The founding of St. Stanislaus," says Mr. Daniels in his report, "marked the certain beginning of the rise of Buffalo's Polish colony. Father Pitass may be regarded as the godfather of the Poles in Buffalo, but Joseph Bork played the part of nurse to the colony in its infancy. In partnership with others, he owned a large tract of land in that district. He built little one-story wooden dwellings in the St. Stanislaus neighborhood—400 of them in three months — which he sold to the Poles on the basis of twenty-five or fifty dollars down and the rest payable under mortgage. The hard times following the panic of 1873 struck the colony and put a stay to immigration for several years. But * * * by the close of the year 1881 there were about 10,000 Poles in the city. Few of the immigrants were penniless, but few had more than enough to keep them a short time until they could get work. * * * The Charity Organization Society, the Catholic Diocese, and the city itself were forced to take remedial action. The city built barracks, which provided shelter for several hundred of the most needy. * * * Gradually the immigrants secured work. Joseph Bork had resumed his building

operations in the open region east of St. Stanislaus, and the newcomers were moving thither as fast as he could supply them with houses. In due course the barracks were cut up into firewood. * * * And so a little Poland has grown up in Buffalo, only it is not so very little. It covers an entire section of East Buffalo, extending a mile and a half east from St. Stanislaus Church and a mile north and south at its mean width. This section is now almost solidly Polish. There are two small outlying colonies, one to the southeast near the city line and the other at Buffalo's northwest corner."

Mr. Daniel's Survey brought facts to light from which the following estimates were derived: That the Poles contribute a fifth of the entire labor supply of the city, and fully a third of the rough labor in manufacturing. "They are in Buffalo's elemental industries." "Sixty per cent. are common laborers; thirty per cent. semi-skilled; nine and five-tenths per cent. skilled; three-tenths of one per cent. highly skilled." "Sixty-four per cent. receive in wages not over \$1.75 per day," and their yearly earnings are considerably less than is required for proper family subsistence. These enter as large factors into the gravest social problems of the city. As a people the Poles are emphatically pronounced to be "industrious, thrifty, pertinacious, home-building family-founding." The more fortunate class among them are finding good opportunities for rising in life. They own taxable property of the assessed value of \$5,505,890, mostly in homes; and have deposits in the savings banks to the estimated amount of \$2,500,000. Many important manufacturing and commercial establishments are owned and conducted by Poles, and a Polish physician, Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, now fills the important office of Commissioner of Health.

Necessarily such bodies of foreign population become formed into quite distinct organizations of society, and this has taken place very markedly among the Poles. They have

emphasized their organization especially by what may be called a social center, in a large, well-appointed building, known as the Dom Polski, erected in 1905, at the corner of Broadway and Playter Streets. Here many clubs and societies,—literary, musical, benevolent, patriotic and commercial,—hold their meetings. The Public Library has one of its branches in the building, and this is supplemented by a distinctly Polish library of 4,000 volumes — the Czytelnia Polski — maintained independently, and in connection with which frequent lectures are given. Teaching, too, in cooking, sewing, and other practical matters, is carried on; and the Dom Polski, altogether, is a very busy and useful institution, significant of a spirit which makes for good citizenship.

A stream of immigration less swelling than the Polish, but greatly increasing, has poured in from Italy in recent years, taking possession of another quarter of the city, on its western and southwestern edges, and giving it another and different foreign stamp. Out on its southern side, mostly beyond its municipal bounds, the great steel works of recent creation have been drawing colonies of Hungarian, Croatian, and other labor-seeking peoples from southeastern Europe, to struggle for a footing in the life of the New World. The industrial depression that came upon the country in the autumn of 1907 caused great hardship and suffering among these, considerably beyond the general experience of distress.

Of the total 352,387 inhabitants found in Buffalo by the census of 1900, 248,135 were native-born, but only 92,202 were of native parentage — having both parents, that is, of native birth. It appears, then, that scarcely more than one-fourth of the population of the city at the opening of the twentieth century was of native American stock. Of the census of 1910 detailed statistics have not yet been made known.

Within the last two years (1909-1910) of the period covered by this historical sketch a number of municipal projects long contemplated and discussed have arrived or approached closely to their realization. These include two important proceedings for recovery of considerable parts of the city's lost command of its water fronts. By action in one case, through condemnation proceedings, the municipality is taking possession of the land lying between Georgia and Jersey Streets, on the Niagara shore, for excursion dockage and other uses that will satisfy a great public need. In the other instance, a complicated tangle of claims concerning the land known as "the sea-wall strip," between Buffalo River and the outer harbor, and connected also with disputed rights affecting the old turnpike road to Hamburg, is at the point of being straightened out. The old sea wall, built in 1841 and after, along the stretch of peninsula between Buffalo River and the lake, lost usefulness when the great outside breakwater was built, but the strip of land which held it, and to which the city had acquired title, was given an important value by the creation of the outer harbor, and by the development of the steel and iron industries of Lackawanna, at the extremity of the long harbor, on the southern shore of the lake. By legislation in 1898 the city's use of the strip appears to have been limited to "highway purposes;" but it was needed very greatly for that use, because it offered, by easy connection with the Hamburg turnpike road, the only available direct highway between the Lackawanna industrial suburb and the central and western parts of the city. Grants of privilege to various railroad companies, made carelessly, without forethought, long before, and affecting not only the sea wall but the turnpike, interposed such obstacles to this opening of a most important communication that the city has been barred from it down to the present day. By legislation in 1902, amending that

of 1898, negotiations for an adjustment of the disputes involved were authorized and have been in tedious progress throughout most of the eight years since. They may now be considered to have attained success. In his message to the Common Council on the 3d of January, 1911, Mayor Fuhrmann announced that agreements with all parties concerned had been perfected and would be signed in a few days.

A third undertaking, pressed on the city by a distressingly urgent need, but held long in suspense by conflicts of interest and opinion, has been brought at last to a promising stage, by the adoption of a conclusive plan for the improvement of the upper stretches (within the city limits) of Buffalo River. By having two objects in contemplation, namely, the ending of floods, from which a large section of the city suffers frequently, and the enhancing of the commercial usefulness of this part of the crooked stream, the improvement has been hindered for years by struggling differences of plan. These seem now to have been effectually compromised, and the letting of contracts for the work has been announced as a consummation to be expected early in 1911.

Still another important project of long standing is to be realized fully in the coming spring, by widening the narrower part of Elmwood Avenue, between North and Virginia Streets, and extending it thence to a junction with Morgan Street, at Chippewa Street, thus opening the straight downtown communication which the "Elmwood District," so called, has needed for many years. The widening work was completed in the fall of 1910, and the extension is expected to be finished in the coming spring.

CONSTRUCTIVE EVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

THE MAKING OF A HARBOR

AS shown in the first chapter of this volume, Buffalo, during the first quarter of its existence, had no connection of trade with any part of the world outside of a small circle of near neighbors, more Indian than white. The community which bore the name then derived no commercial benefit from its advantageous position at the foot of the navigably connected Great Lakes. Those advantages went wholly to the profit of the rival village, at two or three miles distance, which Buffalo, after years of hard struggle, overcame and absorbed. Ultimately, the commerce of Black Rock was to be indistinguishable from the commerce of Buffalo, but the distinction was a very positive one in early days.

On the surrender, in 1796, of the forts which the British had held since the end of the War of Independence, there sprang up at once a movement of supplies to the American garrisons at those posts in the West, which gave an opening to other enterprises in trade. In one of the chapters of Judge Samuel Wilkeson's historical writings, to be found in the fifth volume of the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, this first trickling of a little stream of East-West traffic into the channel of these lakes, and its quite curiously roundabout course, are described. A prominent citizen of Pittsburg, General James O'Hara, entered into contract with the government to supply Oswego with provisions, which "could then be furnished from Pittsburg," wrote the Judge, "cheaper than from the settlements on the

Mohawk. General O'Hara was a far-sighted calculator; he had obtained correct information in relation to the manufacture of salt at Salina, and in his contract for provisioning the garrison he had in view the supplying of the western country with salt from Onondaga. This was a project which few men would have thought of, and fewer undertaken. The means of transportation had to be created on the whole line; boats and teams had to be provided to get the salt from the works to Oswego; a vessel built to transport it to the landing below the Falls; wagons procured to carry it to Schlosser; then boats constructed to carry it to Black Rock; there another vessel was required to transport it to Erie. The road to the head of French Creek had to be improved and the salt carried in wagons across the portage, and finally boats provided to float it to Pittsburg. It required no ordinary sagacity and perseverance to give success to this speculation. General O'Hara, however, could execute as well as plan. He packed his flour and provisions in barrels suitable for salt. These were reserved in his contract. Arrangements were made with the manufacturers, and the necessary advances paid, to secure a supply of salt. Two vessels were built, one on Lake Erie and one on Lake Ontario, and the means of transportation on all the various sections of the line were secured. The plan fully succeeded, and salt of a pretty fair quality was delivered at Pittsburg and sold at four dollars per bushel; just half the price of the salt obtained by packing across the mountains. * * * In a few years Pittsburg market was supplied with Onondaga salt at twelve dollars per barrel of five bushels."

This salt trade of Syracuse with Pittsburg appears to have been the mainstay for a good many years of the river and lake shipping business which, for reasons already explained, gave importance to Black Rock. It furnished the bulk of the freight handled there, after 1805, by Porter,

Barton & Co., the creators of Black Rock as a port of trade. Mr. Charles D. Norton, in his paper on "The Old Black Rock Ferry," describes the business of "the Rock" as it was witnessed by one who came to the place in 1810: "A few batteaux were moving sluggishly up the stream, laden with salt. These constituted the commercial marine of the river, the principal business of which was the transportation of this commodity from Porter and Barton's dock, at old Fort Schlosser, to their warehouse at Black Rock, or their wharf under the lee of Bird Island, to be conveyed thence to Erie, then the principal commercial port on our lake. * * *

Four or five vessels were engaged in this business on the river, each carrying from 125 to 150 barrels of salt, owned by Porter, Barton & Co.; their proprietors residing at Black Rock and Syracuse. When the wind was blowing down the lake, the vessels running from Black Rock to Erie were frequently wind-bound at the former place for a long time, and then there would grow an accumulation of five or six thousand barrels of salt, which were piled in tiers upon the shore of the river, under the bank, and remained stored in this way till they could be carried to Erie. 'The Black Rock' was a great salt exchange; and the witnesses upon whose statements I narrate these facts say that it was not a rare occurrence for the Rock to be covered with traders from Pittsburg, captains of vessels and boatmen, who met there to talk about business and interchange views. The Black Rock was a sort of commercial center for the salt merchants in those early days, and the old tavern was quite as distinguished along the frontier as the Fifth Avenue and the St. Nicholas are in our time."

Porter, Barton & Co., however, were carriers of other freight from the East than salt. In the Reminiscences of Mr. James L. Barton, son of one of the members of the firm, he tells of their connection with lines of transportation that

reached to the Hudson, by way of Wood Creek and the Mohawk, from Oswego. They received merchandise brought by lake from Oswego, at Lewiston, conveying it thence to Black Rock, "where they had vessels to carry it over the lake." The short passage of vessels from Black Rock into the lake, against the swift current of the Niagara, could not be made with sails, and the office of the modern tug was performed for them by long trains of ox teams, eight to fourteen in number, which towed them by hawsers attached to the ship's masthead and buoyed to shore by a number of boats. It was a dexterous operation, which Captain Sheldon Thompson superintended with great skill.

The small quantity of freight delivered to lake vessels from the village of Buffalo in those days was taken out to them on scows, as they lay at anchor in the bay. But until 1821 Buffalo had next to no part or lot in the handling of whatever commerce of the lakes had come to existence at that time. The Buffalo Creek (dignified since by much enlargement and recognized as a river) offered no harborage, even to the smaller shipping of the day, because nothing larger than a canoe could cross the bar at its mouth. During those first two decades of the village its business loss from this cause cannot have been great, but the undertaking of the Erie Canal opened a prospect of trade movements into and out of Lake Erie which gave seriousness to the situation at once. Whether the western terminus of the canal should be at Black Rock or at Buffalo was a question of great importance, for the time being, to the latter town. Ultimately it would make no difference; for the final harbor and entrepot, it is plain, would have to be where they are now; but the harborage then created and creatable at the Rock might have kept traffic-handling there, and drawn the growth of our city in that direction for many years.

From the beginning it was apparent to intelligent Buffa-

JOHN EDWARD THOMPSON

Born Dec. 2, 1782. His first ancestor in the country was Anthony Thompson, who came in 1636 and was one of the founders of New Haven. In 1810, Shelby Thompson came to Lewiston, New York, as one of the firm of Townsend, Brown & Company, one of the earliest firms in the forwarding business on the lake. He married Catherine Barton at Lewiston, April 6, 1811. Moved to Black Rock 1817, and to Buffalo 1830. In 1840 he was elected mayor of Buffalo, being the first mayor elected by the people. He was one of the founders of St. Paul's Church in 1817, and a member of the first vestry; died at Buffalo, March 13, 1851.

SHELDON THOMPSON.

Born Derby, Connecticut, July 2, 1785. His first ancestor in the country was Anthony Thompson, who came in 1636, and was one of the founders of New Haven. In 1810, Sheldon Thompson came to Lewiston, New York, as one of the firm of Townsend, Bronson & Company, one of the earliest firms in the forwarding business on the lakes. He married Catherine Barton at Lewiston, April 6, 1811. Moved to Black Rock 1817, and to Buffalo 1830. In 1840 he was elected mayor of Buffalo, being the first mayor elected by the people. He was one of the founders of St. Paul's Church in 1817, and a member of the first vestry; died at Buffalo, March 13, 1851.



Sheldon Thompson

lonians that the State would not extend its canal to their creek unless they made the creek serviceable as a port, and demonstrated their ability to do the business for which the canal was being built. This required an expenditure of money which the pockets of the citizens could not supply; for those were days when the largest fortunes were exceedingly small. At a public meeting it was determined that the State should be appealed to for a loan. This was done, and the Legislature, in April, 1819, responded favorably to the appeal, authorizing a loan of \$12,000 for twelve years, to be secured by bond and mortgage in double the amount. The year 1819 was the first of those black years in our financial and commercial history to which 1837 and 1857 belong. All business was flat and everybody was poor. For months it seemed impossible to furnish the necessary security for the loan. At length, in the winter of 1820, three public-spirited citizens, Judge Samuel Wilkeson, Judge Oliver Forward, and Judge Charles Townsend, took upon themselves the entire responsibility, becoming sureties to the State for \$8,000 each. On this the loan was procured, and a man of reputed experience in the work required was engaged to superintend operations, at a salary of \$50 per month. A few weeks of his service convinced the three judges who had so much staked in the undertaking that their superintendent would spend the \$12,000 more certainly than he would open the port. They discharged him, but found no one to take his place. With great reluctance, as a matter of almost desperate necessity, Judge Wilkeson was induced to take the direction of the work. He knew nothing about it; he had never even seen a harbor; but he had brains and will and energy far beyond common limits, and he was a born leader of men. He was engaged, as he states, in "business that required his unremitted attention," but he seems to have thrown it practically aside during most of the next two years.

Then, in the early spring of 1820, this indomitable man and his few earnest helpers began a contest with winds, waves, currents and shifting sands which might in older times have furnished stuff for a hero-myth.

On the first morning after he took the task in hand the Judge had his men out by daylight, "without suitable tools, without boats, teams or scows." "Neither the plan of the work nor its precise location was settled; but the harbor was commenced." It was determined to attempt the making of a pier of hewn timber, filled with stone, and three cribs were put down the first day. During that day and the next the lake was calm, but in the course of the second night a heavy swell arose which undermined the sunken cribs and threw them out of line. Accidentally, a part of the work was saved from this disturbance by the drifting against it of a little tangle of brushwood, which caught and held a protecting cover of sand. This hinted a lesson in engineering that was seized at once. Thereafter, every crib was sunk upon a bed of brush, and stayed quite firmly in its place. From daylight to dark, through sunshine and rain alike, the superintendent toiled daily with his men, in every part of the work, under water or above, besides conducting all details of contract and purchase, without clerk or assistant, and without even a carpenter to lay out the framing of the cribs during the first two months.

When autumn storms began the pier had been carried to a depth of seven and a half feet of water in the lake, having a length of about fifty rods. Work on it was then suspended till the following spring, and attention turned to another very difficult part of the task. The creek at that time entered the lake about a thousand feet north of its present mouth, running nearly parallel with the lake shore. A new channel for it must be opened, on the line of the present outflow of its waters, by cutting through the intervening spit of sand,

which had a width of some twenty rods. The plan was to dam the stream at that point, scrape out a beginning of the new channel and trust that spring floods would scour it to a sufficient depth. In November the attempt was begun, by volunteer labor of many citizens, and discouraged very soon by the discovery of stones and gravel at a little depth which floods seemed unlikely to carry to deep water in the lake. So the problem of the new channel went over to the next spring.

On the 20th of May the problem was attacked; the pier meantime having stood the test of winter storms and ice, coming out unmoved. The creek was dammed on a line with the right bank of the desired channel, raising the water in it about three feet, and, by opening one narrow sluiceway after another through the bed to be opened, the ingenious amateur engineer of the work did succeed in almost accomplishing the cut desired. Then nature played one of her mischievous tricks, sending, on what had seemed to be a calm day, a sudden extraordinary blast of wind across the lake, which drove an irresistible wave down upon the Judge's dam and reduced it to a total wreck. A northeast storm of rain soon followed, with threatenings of a flood that might spoil all that had been done if it ran uncontrolled. The whole town was then appealed to for help in restoring the dam, and a large number of citizens turned out in the downpour of rain. "They were distributed in parties, some getting brush, others collecting logs, some placing materials in the dam, while others aided in working the pile-driver. Their labor was continued during the day, except a few minutes' relaxation for dinner, which consisted of bread and beer, and was taken standing in the rain." Twelve hours of this fine rally of public effort turned the half-disastrous storm into a helpful force, which went beyond all that had been hoped for in cutting the new channel through. It cre-

ated a flood that swept no less than 20,000 cubic yards of gravel from its path, "to remove which," wrote Judge Wilkeson, "would have required a greater amount of money than all the harbor fund." From that day, Buffalo had a harbor for vessels of five feet draught.

This, of course, did not suffice, and much difficult work remained to be done. The pier must be extended to deeper water, which required additional funds to the amount of \$1,000 to be raised. With great difficulty the money was collected, and the pier was lengthened to 1,300 feet, reaching water about twelve feet deep. It was now believed that the next spring freshet would so deepen and widen the entrance that even the Walk-in-the-Water, the solitary steamboat on the lakes, could come into the creek.

But the Walk-in-the-Water was not destined to make a trial of the new port. Late that year (1821), on her final trip for the season, she was driven ashore, a short distance above Buffalo, and was lost. Her New York owners proceeded, however, to replace her at once. They contracted with a New York firm to build a steamboat at Buffalo, if they could turn it out there as cheaply as at Black Rock, where the Walk-in-the-Water had been built; but when the chief contractor came on to make his arrangements for the work he passed through Buffalo to the Rock and entered into engagements and agreements which nearly tied his hands before anybody in Buffalo knew what was going on. He had been told that the Buffalo harbor was a failure, and was acting on that belief. Being caught that night by the enterprising spirits of the newly opened port, they contracted with him to furnish timber and lumber for his steamboat at prices a quarter less than the Black Rock offers, and executed a judgment bond to pay the steamboat company \$150 for every day's detention of the boat in the creek after the 1st of May. This was a daring venture; for they

were trusting the spring freshet to make a sufficient channel for the new boat. The freshet came in due time and did its expected work, but a malicious grounding of ice outside caused the washed-out gravel to be dropped, most unfortunately, just where it created a new bar.

And now came the crucial test of spirit and power in the harbor-makers. The first of May was approaching rapidly, and the new steamboat, the "Superior," was nearing completion, in Buffalo Creek. A forfeit of \$150 a day, if she could not be got out of it when ready, would quickly impoverish them all. They had no dredging apparatus of any kind. What could they do? Judge Wilkeson was out of town, but he hastened home as soon as he heard of the situation. Next morning he had twenty-five men at work, without waiting to know how expenses were to be paid. He had scrapers made of oak plank, with bevelled edges shod with iron. These were loaded with iron to sink them, and dragged to and fro across the bar, by means of ropes and windlasses on the pier and on scows held in place by driven piles. The rude device answered well, and all looked promising for several days. Then came a storm which drove masses of ice in from the lake, destroyed the scows, and so nearly wrecked the pile-driver, on which everything depended, that it was saved only by great risk of life.

A general meeting of citizens was now summoned by Judge Wilkeson, who declined to go further in the undertaking unless funds for it were raised at once. A subscription list was opened and \$1,361 was pledged, mostly to be paid in labor or provisions or other goods. With this pledge the invincible superintendent got his scrapers again at work, and when the 1st of May came, the pilot of the steamer, Captain Miller, who had, says Judge Wilkeson, "made himself acquainted with what channel there was," ran her out into the lake. Whereupon the formidable bond was can-

celled, and the triumphant Buffalonians could go on with easy minds to the finish of their work.

In the history of Buffalo there has been nothing since that first harbor-making that matched it as an exhibit of energetic public spirit, or as an illustration of what powerful leadership in a community can do. Had the same spirit lived always in the city, and equal leadership been always in readiness for emergencies and opportunities in its career, the rank and repute of Buffalo among American cities would have been higher than it is.

The termination of the canal at Buffalo was now secured. The canal commissioners, meeting at Buffalo in the summer of 1822, after examining the situation and hearing all parties concerned, announced their decision to that effect. A contract for the extension was soon let, and on the 9th of August there was a great celebration of the beginning of the work. Judge Forward, as chairman of the board of village trustees, threw out the first spadeful of earth, and all the principal citizens then started the excavation with shovels and plows.

The harbor of Buffalo, as planned and constructed by its citizens, under the lead and superintendence of Judge Wilkeson, served the commerce of the lakes for the next five years. Then, in 1826, it was taken under the care of the Federal Government, which had done nothing for it previously except to establish a "primitive light" at the head of its pier. General Macomb, the United States Engineer, took possession of the pier that year and made it a government work. With an initial appropriation of \$15,000, the substitution of massive stone work for the original timber structure was begun. From the records of the United States Engineer's Office, one of the recent successors of General Macomb, Major Thomas W. Symons, has compiled the history of the construction and improvement of the harbor down to the end of the nineteenth century, and it has an

appropriate place in the volume of the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, which contains Judge Wilkeson's papers. "It took some years and much experience," says Major Symons, "to demonstrate that only a structure of tremendous strength could withstand the fierce onslaught of the lake when lashed into fury by a southwester. To secure a structure of adequate strength consumed a great part of the government appropriations up to 1839, when the south pier was finally reported completed. It was in this interval of thirteen years (1826-'39) extended, straightened and strengthened. The old timber work gradually gave place to stone work of heavy cut stone well cemented." "The pier as thus built stood unchanged, except for repairs to the stone sea-slope and strengthening in weak places from time to time, from 1839 to 1848, in which year the Blackwell (City) Ship Canal was constructed by the city, commencing at the government land on the south side of Buffalo Creek, and running in a general southerly direction to the south side of the (proposed) south channel." Meantime the north pier was also reconstructed; but, being sheltered by the more important south pier, "did not need the care and attention given to the latter," and "no records of the work appear to exist."

As for the entrance channel, it had a depth of eight feet in 1826. Between 1832 and 1835 it was deepened to ten feet. "Soon after this, nature favored lake commerce and its interests by bringing on a period of high water level which prevailed from 1838 to 1848." "By 1850 the entrance channel, its piers, and the inner harbor had taken practically the shape in which we find them to-day." "The Erie Canal was in full operation. The Erie Basin existed as it does to-day (the stone breakwater forming this basin was built by the State shortly after the completion of the canal); the Blackwell or City Ship Canal was in existence, but afterwards

twice extended until it culminated in the Tiffit Farm basins, in 1884." Nothing of harbor work beyond needed repairs was done for the next eighteen years. In 1868 the south pier was extended 318 feet, to check a gradual filling of the channel "by the littoral drift," and the channel was deepened to fourteen or fifteen feet of water at low stage. A little later the city took the dredging of the channel in hand, and by 1890 the depth of water had increased to eighteen feet. Then began the extraordinary development of size and draught in the lake shipping, requiring deeper water in the harbors. In 1900, as Major Symons relates, "the United States Government again assumed control of the entrance channel, from the outer harbor to its junction with the Buffalo Creek and the City Ship Canal, and dredged the channel so as to provide twenty-two feet of water at mean level, and about twenty feet at low water. This is the channel through which now [1902] annually ten thousand vessels, with ten millions of entering and clearing tonnage, pass on their way to and from the busy wharves and elevators in the inner harbor."

From this allusion to the harbor of Buffalo Creek as an "inner harbor" readers unacquainted with the port would learn that it had acquired by this time an outer harbor, as well. The creation of that outer harbor by the construction of what Major Symons characterizes as "one of the great breakwaters of the world," is the most extensive work of its kind on the lakes. It was begun in 1868, plans for it having been under discussion many years. The breakwater was "so located and built as to cut off a portion of the lake in which ships could find safe anchorage or moorings, and which could be reached under any conditions of weather." In the beginning it was constructed of timber cribs, filled with stone. Between 1868 and 1872 there had been 2,500 feet of this construction put in place; the original plan calling for

4,000 feet, running southerly on a course generally parallel with the shore line. Then a storm occurred which threw some 315 feet of incomplete crib-work out of place. On the recommendation of a board of engineers a larger plan was then adopted, extending the breakwater to a length of 7,600 feet, leaving at its southern end a "fine-weather opening of 150 feet," and running "a shore arm," "at an angle of 45 degrees to the shore line, until it reached the sand-catch pier prolonged to meet it." The main structure was completed on this plan in 1893, but a storm that year wrecked, hopelessly, all that had been done on the proposed shore arm. This consequence was due to a soft clay bottom on which it was built. The seeming disaster was fortunate, since it brought about the creation of a greater harbor, more commensurate with the growing needs of the commerce of the lakes. The Government was persuaded to extend the great breakwater to Stony Point, and this was done on plans recommended by Major Symons, then in charge of the work, modifying the plans of a board of engineers. They added 10,000 feet to the length of the breakwater, bringing it to a "south harbor entrance 600 feet wide." Beginning at the south side of this entrance they called for a "timber crib breakwater about 2,800 feet long, to the shore at Stony Point." The southerly extremity of the outer harbor was thus to be fully enclosed, except at the entrance opening of 600 feet. Work on these perfected plans was begun in May, 1897, and completed in 1903.

This perfected for Buffalo its great outer harbor on the lake front south of the inner harbor entrance, but much of the lake front north of that entrance was too exposed for any commercial use. The State breakwater, on that side, which formed the Erie Basin, protected about 2,400 feet of shore line, sufficiently for coal and lumber docks, but between the northerly end of that breakwater and what was

known as Bird Island Pier, there were 2,300 feet of storm-beaten shore. The Bird Island Pier was also an old State work, built to extend the protection given by Squaw Island to the Black Rock harbor that was created in connection with the building of the canal, and to shelter a short section of the canal itself. In 1899 Congress authorized the building of a North Breakwater at Buffalo, to make the protection of its lake front complete, and to improve the Buffalo entrance to Erie Basin and Black Rock Harbor. This was done within the next two years. It was followed, in 1902, by an act authorizing the deepening to twenty-two and twenty-three feet of channels from the Buffalo main entrance channel to Erie Basin and to Black Rock Harbor. This work was begun in the spring of 1903, and at the time of the present writing is nearly complete.

In 1905 an appropriation was made by Congress for beginning a great extension of the above described deepened channel, the object being to improve the navigation of Niagara River from Lake Erie to Tonawanda, where an important commerce has grown up. The proposed channel is "to extend westerly and northerly, through Black Rock Harbor and the Erie Canal combined, to the present lock, where a ship lock of the requisite capacity is being built; the channel to extend from the foot of the ship lock through the Niagara River to deep water above Tonawanda, 400 feet wide and 23 feet deep at mean river level. The estimated cost is \$4,500,000."

This work will create a continuous, well-protected river harbor, stretching along more than ten miles of shore, quite at one side of the swift Niagara current. Added to the spacious outer harbors on the lake front of Buffalo, and the extensive inner harbor of the Buffalo River and its connected basins and canals, the new improvement will perfect commercial facilities that can have no equal on the lakes, and

none superior in the United States. Great manufacturing plants are rising already along the Niagara shore between the city lines of Buffalo and Tonawanda, and not many decades are likely to pass before those lines will be obliterated by the filling of the intervening space, and one municipality will cover the whole.

As a whole, the works of defense at Buffalo against the storms of the lake give it, according to Major Symons, "a greater length of breakwater than any other city in the world. From Stony Point to the end of the North breakwater there are 22,500 feet of breakwater, very nearly double that at Cherbourg, France." The total expenditure of the government for the improvement of the harbor, from 1826 to 1901, was a little in excess of \$5,000,000. As stated in Bulletin No. 12, of the "Survey of Northern and Northwestern Lakes," the resulting outer harbor contains "about 605 acres of water with 20 feet and over in depth," and, additionally, about 700 acres between the breakwater and the established harbor line which coincides generally with the 18-foot curve, all good anchorage ground."

While Buffalo is thus seen to be possessed of the greatest area of sheltered waterfront on the lakes, behind works of extraordinary construction, the main part of its grand outer harbor, lying behind the long breakwater which breasts the lake, remains almost undeveloped in commercial use at the time of the closing of this record. The unfortunate fact is resultant from complications of long dispute over questions of ownership and right of use connected with a narrow strip of land, between the lake shore and Buffalo River, on which, in 1841 and after, a stretch of old sea-wall was built. As stated in the closing paragraphs of the preceding sketch of general history, these disputes are at the point of settlement, and a proper development of dockage on the outer harbor front may be expected ere long.

CHAPTER II

OUTER COMMUNICATIONS

AFTER La Salle's little Griffon made her voyage, in 1679, from the Niagara River to Green Bay, and was lost in attempting to return, the French, during the period of their ascendancy, launched but one vessel, larger than their batteaux, on the lakes above Niagara Falls. The British were more enterprising when they took possession of the lakes, and soon had a number of small craft afloat. Mr. Henry R. Howland has traced the record of these "First Successors of the Griffon" very carefully, in an interesting paper contributed to the sixth volume of the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The French shipbuilder was *Sieur de la Ronde Denis*, who took command of a post on Lake Superior in 1727. At some time prior to 1735 he constructed at his own expense a barque of 40 tons burden, with which he and his eldest son explored the coasts and islands of the lake, especially searching for the reported copper mines. His vessel appears to have been lost about the time of the British conquest of New France. In the year of the completion of that conquest (1760), Colonel Henry Bouquet, commanding a British force at Presque Isle (Erie), built there what he described as a "flatt," which is supposed to have been a large scow with masts and sails, for the carriage of military stores. In the course of the next year, on the recommendation of Colonel Bouquet, carpenters and materials were sent to Navy Island, in the Niagara, for the building of two vessels, one of which, the schooner *Huron*, was launched in August, that year. The other, a sloop, named the *Beaver*, was not finished till late in 1762. The *Huron* was to carry six guns, the *Beaver* ten. Both vessels bore a valiant part in the defence of the British garrison at Detroit, when beleaguered by Pontiac

in 1763. Both came back to Schlosser for provisions, and the Huron returned safely with supplies to the fort; but the Beaver, soon after she sailed out of the river into the lake, was driven ashore by a storm. Those on board got safely to land, and fought off hostile Indians, in an improvised camp, behind a slight stockade, until boats and soldiers from Niagara came to their aid. Remains of what must have been the stockade, with two cannons and other relics, were found nearly half a century afterward not far from the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek.

A busy shipyard was now well established by the British military authorities on Navy Island, and it turned out five vessels in 1763 and 1764, namely, the schooner Victory, carrying six guns, the schooners Gladwin and Boston, carrying eight guns each, the sloop Royal Charlotte, carrying ten, and another sloop of unknown name. The Royal Charlotte, says Mr. Howland, was the last of the King's ships built on Navy Island.

Of commercial vessels there were none yet on the lakes. In a communication to the *Buffalo Morning Express*, January 22nd, 1864, Mr. L. K. Haddock made the statement that a schooner Betsey, Captain Friend, was on Lake Erie in 1775; but his authority was not given. He also made the statement that "Com. Grant [at Detroit] controlled all vessels on Lake Erie;" which would indicate that they were all still connected with the British military service.

Judge Augustus Porter, who first visited Lake Erie and Niagara River in 1795, wrote some reminiscences that are quoted by Mr. Ketchum in the tenth chapter of his History of Buffalo, bearing on the origin of American commerce on the lakes. He remarks that, before the surrender, in 1796, of forts and military posts held by the British on the frontier, "boats had not been permitted to pass Oswego into Lake Ontario, and, as no settlements of importance had been

made previous to that time on the American shores of the lakes, * * * no vessels were required." The earliest American shipping on the lakes above the Niagara, so far as known to Judge Porter, were the schooner General Tracy and the brig Adams built at Detroit (the last-named for the government) some time between 1796 and 1800; the schooner Contractor, built at Black Rock in 1802-3 by contractors for supplying the military posts; the small sloop Niagara, built at Cayuga Creek in 1803-4 for the government; the Good Intent, a small vessel built at Presque Isle (Erie) about 1800; the schooner Mary, built at Erie in 1806; the schooner General Wilkinson, built at Detroit in 1811; the sloop Erie, built at Black Rock by Porter, Barton & Co. in 1810; the schooners Salina and Eleanor, built before the War of 1812, at dates which the Judge did not know, "and probably others that I do not recollect," he says; but this list represents substantially, no doubt, the marine of the lakes prior to the war with England. Some of these vessels were bought by Porter, Barton & Co., for the transportation they were then carrying on, making transshipments at Black Rock as described heretofore. Several, including the latter, were sold to the United States for naval service in the war, most of them returning to commercial uses at its close.

For years following, the story of lake navigation can be continued from information given in the papers of Captain Augustus Walker, which he deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society in 1864, the year before his death. Captain Walker came to the lakes in the spring of 1817, when a boy of seventeen, eager for a sailor's life. He found then five vessels lying in their winter quarters at Black Rock; three of them hauled into the mouth of Scajaquada Creek. Two of them were owned by Sill, Thompson & Co., of Black Rock, one by Townsend and Coit, of Buffalo,

and one by Jonathan Sidway. Three of them had been built at Black Rock in the previous year. Captain Walker made his first voyage on Mr. Sidway's brig, the *Union*, under Captain James Beard, father of the artist of subsequent fame, William H. Beard.

According to Captain Walker, there were but nineteen merchant vessels on the lakes above the Falls in 1817. "Only eight of these vessels were over 50 tons burden. In 1818 the number had increased to 28, with an aggregate of 1,586 tons, including the steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water*, which came out that year. The number of seamen then employed on board these vessels did not exceed 180, all told. The English at that time had a few vessels in commission upon the lakes, not to exceed six."

Captain Walker remarks that "from 1817 to 1820 sail vessels greatly increased in numbers, though not in size. These vessels varied from 18 to 65 tons burden, mostly built with slip keels, differing somewhat from the present style of centerboards. Each creek, river and port along the coast had its representative vessels." The *Red Jacket*, built at Black Rock in 1820, was the first merchant vessel built with bulwarks on the lakes. In 1823 the first chain cables were introduced on the lakes. "About the year 1824 or '25," says the Captain, "there was a marked improvement in the models and general construction of sail vessels, creating a new era in ship-building." In 1830 Captain Walker himself, in building the *Great Western*, made the first trial of an upper cabin structure on the lakes, and with great success.

"In 1832," says this good authority, "the number of our vessels had increased to 47, including 9 steamboats, with an aggregate of 7,000 tons. The whole number of steamers then afloat did not exceed in measurement the tonnage of our present [1863] steamer *City of Buffalo*, all combined

amounting to 2,026 tons." "From that period," he adds, "ship-building greatly increased, as immigration began to pour into the Western States."

An unnamed writer, quoted in an elaborate "History of the Great Lakes," published at Chicago in 1899, says: "About 1850 was the height of steamboat prosperity on the lakes. There was at that time a line of sixteen first class steamers from Buffalo to Chicago, leaving each port twice a day. The boats were elegantly fitted up, usually carried a band of music, and the table was equal to that of most American hotels. They usually made the voyage from Buffalo to Chicago in three or four days, and the charge was about ten dollars. They went crowded with passengers, four or five hundred not being an uncommon number, and their profits were large. The building of the trunk line railroads from east to west soon took away the passenger business, and the propellers could carry freight at lower rates than the expensive side-wheel boats, so they gradually disappeared. In 1860 their number was very small compared with what it was ten years earlier, while the number of screw propellers increased steadily."

Among the largest and finest "floating palaces" of that palmy decade,—as the grander steamboats were then styled,—were the *Western World*, the *Plymouth Rock* and the *Mississippi*, brought out in 1855; but, according to the above-named history, they plied but three seasons, and were brought to Buffalo in 1863 to have their machinery removed and to be dismantled otherwise. So quickly had the railroads stolen travel from the steamboats; for it was not till 1853 that the rail connection of Buffalo with Chicago was completed, and not till 1854 that the connected railways had a uniform gauge.

The first of Ericsson's screw-propelled steamers to be put afloat in the United States,—the *Vandalia*, built at Oswego

in 1841,—came through the Welland Canal to Lake Erie in the next year, introducing what has now become almost the only kind of steamboat on the lakes. First in freighting vessels, the screw at the stern superseded paddle-wheels on the sides of the lake steamers; then, when the railways had skimmed the cream of travel from the lakes and starved out the side-wheelers, the freighting propellers began to put on upper cabins and offer comfortable but not gaudy accommodations to summer tourists and travellers who preferred the water journey. Some thinned streams of lake travel were kept coursing in this modest way for a considerable period of years.

Meantime, several causes were working together to bring about a great economic revolution in the lake shipping business as a whole. The cause of most importance is found in works that were begun by the national government about 1855 for the improvement of channels connecting the upper lakes. The government had previously induced the construction of a ship canal around the Sault Ste. Marie rapids by a grant of public lands to the company which undertook it, and the canal was opened in 1855. It then began deepening one of the seven shallow outlets of the St. Clair River into the lake of that name, and by 1858 it had given eleven feet of water to vessels making that passage, instead of six. Eight years later it undertook the opening of a straight canal across the St. Clair flats, originally designed to be thirteen feet deep, but increased in plan from time to time till the final purpose was a depth of twenty feet; and this was realized about 1898. At the same time, the American government, having acquired possession of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal and made its use free, proceeded to give it two successive enlargements, completed respectively in 1881 and 1896, duplicating in the latter instance its stupendous lock; while the Canadian government,

to further satisfy the enormous growth of northwestern trade through Lake Superior, built another ship canal around the rapids on the northern side.

As these improvements progressed, larger and larger vessels were brought into use; and the enlargement of the shipping was not only stimulated by the introduction of iron, first, and then steel, as the main structural material, but the architectural development of ship-building was led by the use of these materials into new lines. The freight-carrier was simplified in form on economical principles, more and more, until it became in reality a huge floated bin for grain or coal or ores or lumber. This is the steel barge of commercial transportation on the lakes at the present day; sometimes dignified with an engine and screw of its own, but destined more often for helpless trailing behind the superior towing-barge. Introduction of the barge system is said to have begun in 1861. "Its result," said President Jewett M. Richmond, of the Buffalo Board of Trade, in an address to that body some years ago, "has been a wonderful reduction in the cost of freightage. It was first used in the lumber trade, where it was highly successful, and now nearly all the lumber brought to Buffalo and Tonawanda is carried in barges, in lines of four, five and six, towed by propellers or steam tugs. Thus a million and a half or two million feet are brought in one tow. It was not until 1871 that the use of a propeller with one barge attached for the carriage of grain on the Great Lakes was first introduced. It may be said to have revolutionized the business." The "whaleback," which justifies its name by its appearance, is a species of round-decked, tube-like barge which made its appearance about 1889.

These changes in freight-ship architecture broke up the combination of travel with commercial transportation which had been maintained for some years by the old-fashioned

propellers, and forced a revival of some separate provision for lake travellers, if the latter had numbers enough for an effective demand. Apparently there was growth rather than decline in the demand. Increase in the size of the lake-shipping added greatly to the comfort of voyaging on these fresh-water seas, and experiments in putting passenger steamers that rivalled ocean-liners in magnitude on routes to Lake Superior and between Buffalo, Cleveland and Detroit had excellent success. Such of these steamers as the Northwest, the Northland and the City of Buffalo are superb, in a style very different from that of the "floating palaces" of half a century ago.

Associations of vessel-owners on the lakes were formed at as early a time as 1833, when one was organized at Buffalo, of which Mr. James L. Barton, its secretary, gives some account. Large incorporated companies, consolidating numbers of competing interests in lake and canal transportation, were considerably later in date. The first to answer this description at Buffalo appears to have been the Western Transportation Company (named in after years the Western Transit Company) which obtained its charter in 1855 and was capitalized at \$900,000. It took in a large part of the previous lines of boats on the canal, together with many of the lake propeller lines. Its first president was P. L. Sternberg, with John Allen, Jr., for vice-president, George H. Bryant for secretary, and Levi H. Rumrill for treasurer. Later Mr. Allen became president and was at the head of the company for many years.

At present there are not only numerous incorporated companies operating lines of steamers between different lake ports, but a number of associations of such lines.

Early in the years when Black Rock, as a distinct village, represented the Niagara River side of what became the city of Buffalo, an important share of the lake ship-building of

the time was located there, as we have had occasion to see. Later, after the maritime development of the creek side of Buffalo was begun, by the creation of a harbor, that, too, secured and kept for many years its fair proportion of the ship-building industry of the lakes. The old ship-yard of Bidwell & Banta was a busy and important place for several decades. The first screw-propeller that was built on these lake shores went into the water from its ways; and it launched some of the grandest of the passenger steamers of half a century ago. Iron ship-building, too, as stated in another place, was introduced from Buffalo to the lake region by David Bell.

But all that is in the past. Buffalo performs a minor part in the ship-building for the lakes at the present day, as shown in the following remarks on the subject, contributed to this work by Mr. Edward Gaskin, whose knowledge is beyond dispute:

"Compared with the amount of tonnage built at other ports on the Great Lakes, the ship-building industry of Buffalo is not of much importance. The plants at Cleveland, Lorain, Detroit, Bay City, Toledo and Écorse (a suburb of Detroit) all do so much more than we that we can hardly be considered a factor. This, however, refers only to the building of new tonnage. The repairing branch of the business assumes very large proportions, and liberal sums of money are annually paid here for wages in that line.

"The industry in this city is carried on principally by the Buffalo Dry Dock Company, one of the branches of the American Ship-Building Company, which bought out the Union Dry Dock Company in 1900. This company does some new work, but most of its energy is spent on the repairs of the lake fleet.

"I suppose that many reasons might be given to explain why we do so little building; but one of the best that I know

is the fact that Buffalo has not been a good labor town for the ship-building business. All the other plants are able to do better in the matter of wages and hours of labor. This is a very large item in the cost of building ships. Another reason is the apathy with which the banks of our city have regarded the matter, and the difficulty encountered, in the early days of the development of the industry, in getting the financial men of this section interested in it.

"Our location was good; but all the timber for building the old wooden ships was transported to us from the West, and the business went nearer to the source of supply. When the day of metal ships dawned, the western builders were in good shape, with experienced workmen, established plants and money to control the industry. In other words, they could undersell us in almost all the markets, and they got the business and kept growing."

The economic effects of the opening of the Erie Canal were instantly revolutionary. Cost of transportation between the Hudson and Lake Erie was lowered from \$100 per ton to \$10, and presently to \$3, while the time of the movement dropped from an average of twenty days to ten. Lines of fast packet-boats soon reduced travel between Albany and Buffalo to a journey of ten days. For reasons that have been discussed in a former chapter, this latter use of the canal, as a highway of travel, concerned Buffalo much more than the commercial use, for a number of years. The westward movement of emigration in that period was far heavier, on the western section of the canal, than the movement of trade.

On the eastern part of the canal, where it traversed and was connected with older and more populous settlements, commerce was soon freighting it with more than it could carry in a satisfactory way. Before the end of the first decade of its service, there began to be demands for an en-

largement of capacity between Albany and Syracuse. In 1834 the Legislature authorized for that section an immediate doubling of the locks. The next year it recognized the rapid coming of larger needs, and gave authority to the canal commissioners to enlarge the whole prism of the canal, throughout its length. The original water-channel had been four feet deep and forty feet wide. It was now to be widened to seventy feet on the surface and deepened to seven feet. That work of enlargement was begun in 1836; but it was not finished till 1862. It was retarded, in the first instance, by the financial embarrassments of 1837 and the following years. In 1842 it was suspended entirely by what was called "the stop law" of that year, the State treasury being empty and the authorities unwilling to increase the public debt. Works of enlargement were not resumed until 1847, after the constitutional convention of 1846 had made provision for it, which the people, by the adoption of the revised constitution, had approved. In 1848 the plan of the canal prism was changed, to give a surface width of seventy-five feet instead of seventy feet. In 1852 work was again stopped, by a decision of the Court of Appeals adverse to the constitutionality of an act passed in the previous year which authorized a canal loan. In 1854 the undertaking was resumed, and in 1862 it was declared officially that the enlargement was complete; though much, it is said, remained then to be done.

During the next thirty years, while the canal was often improved by lengthening and doubling of locks, and other endeavors to make the most of its capacity, its general channel was unchanged. Meantime, the cheapening of railway transportation, consequent, in the main, upon the cheapening of steel, by the Bessemer process of manufacture, which brought that durable metal into use for rails, was diverting the carriage of even the grosser commodities of

trade from the canal, more and more. It lost its ability to compete with the railroads sufficiently to put any check on their rates. There began to be strenuous demands for such a new enlargement as might restore the economic usefulness of the great waterway of New York. This brought, in 1895, proposals of a plan of improvement, estimated to cost \$9,000,000, and promising to make the canal navigable by barges of a thousand tons burden. Legislative action in favor of the undertaking was approved by a popular vote at the election of that year, and work accordingly was begun in 1896. A rapid exhaustion of the nine-million appropriation soon revealed, either a scandalous deception in the estimates or extravagance or fraud in the conduct of the work, and it was suspended in 1898. Movements in the national interest had now led to action in Congress on the subject, and a survey to ascertain the expediency of undertaking a ship-canal connection of the Hudson River with the Great Lakes was ordered to be made, under the direction of Major Thomas W. Symons of the U. S. Engineers. The report of Major Symons was more favorable to a proper enlargement of the existing canals of New York, for navigation by large barges, than to the building of ship canals from the Hudson to Lake Ontario and from that lake to Lake Erie. No action to this end was taken by Congress, but the barge-canal project, with a proper conception of the magnitude it should have, was again taken up, in a spirit very different from that awakened in it before. New plans and estimates were prepared in 1900, and an act authorizing the expenditure of \$101,000,000, to reconstruct the Erie, Oswego and Champlain canals, making them navigable by barges of ten feet draft, twenty-five feet width and 150 feet length, was submitted to the people at the election of 1903, and approved by a majority of about 250,000 votes. That work is now in progress. Its completion will add immensely to the industrial and commercial advantages of Buffalo.

Such account as can be given here of the development of the railway connections of our city may be introduced fittingly by a brief mention of the work of William Wallace, the veteran engineer, who had something of importance to do with the creation of nearly every line of rails that entered Buffalo during the first forty years from their beginning. As projector, promoter, engineer, superintendent, or successively in all those capacities, Mr. Wallace was in some degree the author of seven out of the nine railroads first named in the subjoined chronological list.

He set in motion the undertaking of the Buffalo and Attica road, surveyed it, engineered it, and was its superintendent from the opening in 1845 till 1848. He was the chief engineer of the Buffalo and State Line road, and of the extension of the Buffalo and Attica to Hornellsville, to connect with the New York and Erie. He projected, surveyed and engineered the building of the Buffalo, Brantford and Goderich road, known subsequently as the Buffalo and Lake Huron, and finally as part of the Grand Trunk. Some years in advance of the building of the Canada Southern Railway, he recommended and surveyed the line on which, with little change, it was built. He surveyed, for Dean Richmond, the line of direct road from Buffalo to Batavia which became part of the Buffalo and Rochester Railroad, and went into the New York Central, as consolidated in 1853. Then Mr. Wallace began his long endeavor to draw Buffalo into an economic connection with the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Without any result at the time, he located and urged the building of a road on substantially the line adopted, years later, for the Buffalo stem of the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg road. His last effort had better success. He roused and rallied the local enterprise which enabled him, as chief engineer, to build what, originally, was named the Buffalo and Washington Railway, afterward

the Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia, and now has become part of the great Pennsylvania Railway system. Dying in 1887, Mr. Wallace left many monuments, which Buffalo should contemplate with grateful feelings; but how little they have served to keep his memory green!

In the order of their creation, the steam railroads now entering Buffalo date as follows:

1836. The Buffalo and Niagara Falls. Acquired by the New York Central Railroad Company in 1855, and extended to Lewiston.

1843. The Buffalo and Attica, which connected Buffalo with a chain of railroads through the State to Albany. The erroneous statement has often been made that this western link in the chain became part of the New York Central Railroad, in the consolidation of 1853. On the contrary, the Buffalo and Attica was acquired by the Buffalo and New York City Railroad Company and extended to Hornellsville, to connect with the New York and Erie Railway, then progressing toward Dunkirk.

1852. The New York and Erie Railway brought into connection with Buffalo, by the completed extension of the Buffalo and Attica road to Hornellsville, and also by the opening of a second line of connecting rails, from Buffalo to Corning. Both of these lines became integral parts of the New York, Lake Erie and Western system, as it now exists.

1852. The Buffalo and Rochester Railroad, completed to Buffalo by the building of a direct line of rails between Buffalo and Batavia. Included the next year in the consolidation of the New York Central line.

1852. The Buffalo and State Line Railroad, linked with the chain of roads then in formation along the southern shore of Lake Erie, and thence to Chicago, which, after some years, were to be forged into the consolidated Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad line.

1852. The Buffalo and Brantford. Extended a little later to Goderich, and name changed to Buffalo and Lake Huron in 1858. Leased in 1870 to the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, of whose lines it forms the Buffalo terminus. Under the auspices of the Grand Trunk Company the Niagara River was bridged at Buffalo by the International Bridge Company, in 1874.

1853. Organization of the consolidated New York Central Railroad Company, owning and operating a continuous line from Buffalo to Albany.

1854. Establishment of a uniform gauge on the connected roads from Buffalo to Chicago, in the line known ultimately as the Lake Shore and M. S.

1860. Consolidation of the New York Central and the Hudson River railroad companies in the N. Y. C. and H. R. R. Company.

1860. Consolidation of several connected roads by the organization of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Company. Since 1898 the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company has held a majority of its capital stock and controlled the management of the road.

1870. The Buffalo Creek Railroad. From William Street to Peck Slip and other connections on the south side of Buffalo River. Leased to the Erie and the Lehigh Valley railroad companies in 1880.

1873. The Canada Southern Railway, from Buffalo to Amherstburg, on the Detroit River. In 1878 the ownership of the road underwent a change. For many years past it has been under lease to the Michigan Central Railroad Company and is known by the latter name.

1873. The Buffalo and Washington Railway. Built from Buffalo to Emporium, Pa., opening direct connection with the sources of anthracite coal supply, and a shortened route to Philadelphia and Washington. A little later the

name was changed to Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia, and that name, in its turn, was extinguished by the absorption of the road in the great Pennsylvania Railroad system. For several years past it has been operated under contract as the Buffalo and Allegheny Valley Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

1875. The Buffalo and Jamestown. Reorganized in 1877 under a change of name, becoming the Buffalo and Southwestern Railroad. Leased to the Erie Railway Company in 1881, and now known as the Buffalo and Southwestern Division of the New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad.

1882. The New York, Chicago and St. Louis (known commonly as the Nickel Plate), completed to Chicago. Reorganized, after a foreclosure sale, in 1887. Large parts of its capital stock owned by the Lake Shore and M. S. Company and by the Vanderbilt interest. The road is operated in connection with what is known as the Vanderbilt system.

1882. The New York, Lackawanna and Western. Chartered under this name for the extension of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western from Binghamton to Buffalo. Opened for freight in 1882 and for passengers in 1885. Leased in 1882 to the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Company and operated under its name.

1883. The Buffalo, Pittsburg and Western. Built from Buffalo to Brocton, connecting there with a road to Oil City and Franklin. Constructed in the interest of the Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia, with which it was soon consolidated; passing, finally, with the latter, into the Buffalo and Allegheny Valley Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad system.

1883. The Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg. Chartered to connect with the Rochester and Pittsburg road at Ashford, N. Y. The company consolidated with that of

the latter in 1882. Opened to Buffalo in 1883, and acquired extensions the same year to Punxsutawney, Pa. Acquired, also, the franchises of the East Buffalo Terminal Railroad Company, but has not used the rights obtained in William and Clinton Streets. From the crossing of Buffalo Creek the trains of the company come into the city over the tracks of the New York Central. In 1885 the road was sold on a foreclosure, and reorganized under the names of the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg in New York, and the Pittsburg and State Line in Pennsylvania. The two companies were consolidated under the former name in 1887.

1884. The Lehigh Valley. During some years previously the Lehigh Valley Railroad had been delivering coal in its own cars at Buffalo by use of the tracks and engines of the Erie Railway from its junction with the latter. In 1884 it arranged to run its own coal trains on the tracks of the Erie. It had already, in 1882, acquired in Buffalo a right of way from the tracks of the Erie to a terminal of its own, at the corner of Scott and Washington Streets. In 1885 it acquired further rights of way to junctions with the Buffalo Creek Railroad and the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railway. In 1890, by a consolidation of several subsidiary organizations, a corporation having the name of the *Lehigh Valley Railway Company*, distinct from the *Lehigh Valley Railroad Company* was formed, which opened a new line of rails to Buffalo in September, 1892. In 1891 the *Lehigh Valley Railway Company* had leased this line to the *Lehigh Valley Railroad Company* for 999 years. The organizations consolidated in the L. V. Ry. Co. were the Geneva and Sayre, the Geneva and Van Ettenville, the Buffalo and Geneva, and the Auburn and Ithaca. Long before the construction of its own line to Buffalo, while still reaching the city over the tracks of the Erie, the Lehigh Valley had begun immense terminal improvements, cover-

ing in all about five hundred acres of ground, as is indicated elsewhere in what is told of the development of the coal trade of Buffalo.

1884. The West Shore, chartered and built as the New York, West Shore and Chicago; its line from New York City following the western shore of the Hudson River nearly to Albany, and running thence westward across the State on a line contiguous to that of the New York Central throughout most of its length. Reorganized under the name of the West Shore Railroad Company, and leased for 475 years to the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company in 1885.

1897. The Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo. Organized in 1892; opened through in 1897. Successor to Brant, Waterloo and Lake Erie Railway. The majority of stock owned by the New York Central and Hudson R. R. Co., but the road controlled jointly by the N. Y. C. and H. R. R., the Michigan Central and the Canadian Pacific railway companies.

1898. The Wabash. Under an operating agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, the Wabash Railway Company extended its train service to Buffalo, using the tracks of the Grand Trunk from Detroit to Black Rock and from Welland Junction, Ontario, to Suspension Bridge.

1907. The Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad, extended from Wellsville, N. Y., to Buffalo between 1904 and 1907, represents a remarkable development of creative enterprise from small beginnings in a Pennsylvania saw mill, dating back to about 1872. Some account of the growth of a private business which has arrived at this culmination will be given hereafter, in what is told of our lumber trade; but a few main facts must be recited here:

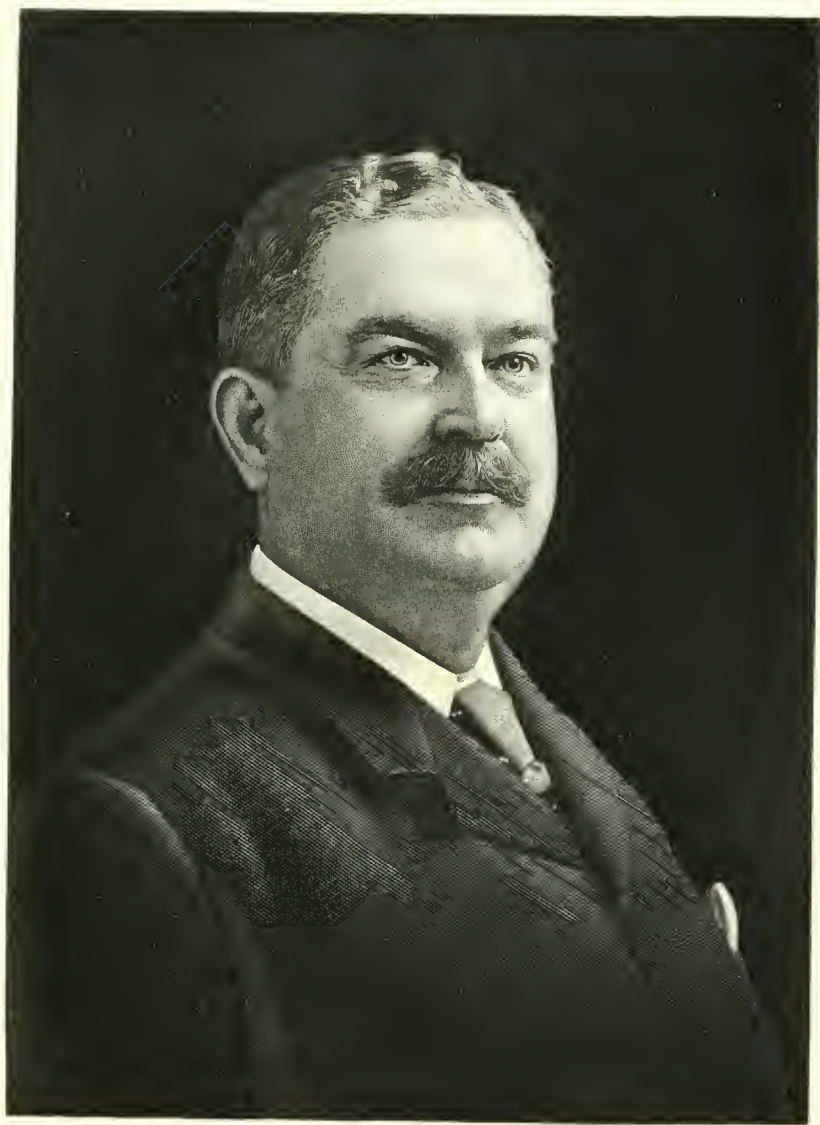
About 1872 Mr. Frank H. Goodyear began business with

a small saw mill, cutting hemlock lumber, at West Liberty, McKean County, Pa. The business had such growth in his hands that he was able in 1885 to purchase about 13,000 acres of timber land in Potter County, Pa., and to build a large mill, running two circular saws and a gang saw, at Austin, now a town of no small size, but represented then by a single house. In the same year, for the promotion of his own business, he began the construction of a railroad called the Sinnemahoning Valley R. R. at the time, which connected him with the Western New York and Pennsylvania road at Keating Summit, and was extended in the other direction about 13 miles to Costello, Pa., where a large sole-leather tannery had been built. This road was completed the next year. In 1887 he was joined by his brother, and the firm of F. H. and C. W. Goodyear was formed.

In the course of the next few years the firm made large additional purchases of timber lands, and extended its railroad connections to utilize them. Between 1891 and 1894 the Sinnemahoning Valley R. R. was extended to Ansonia, Pa., connecting with the Fall Brook Railway, and sending out a branch to Cross Fork. The whole system was then consolidated by a new incorporation under the name of the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad Company. Meantime, the Goodyear firm bought from Senator Thomas C. Platt what was known as the Addison and Pennsylvania Railroad, from Galeton, Pa., to Addison, N. Y., 45 miles, connecting with the Erie Railway. In 1895-6 the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad Company built an extension of its road from Galeton to Wellsville, N. Y., 37 miles, and in 1898 the company took over the Addison and Pennsylvania road. In 1901 it built an extension from Wharton to Sinnemahoning, connecting with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and this part of its line was extended still further, to a point south of

FRANK H. GOODYEAR.

Capitalist and coal operator; born Groton, Tompkins County, New York, March 17, 1849. Was president Buffalo & Susquehanna Railway Company; Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal & Coke Company; Buffalo & Susquehanna Steamship Company; New Orleans Great Northern Railroad Company; Goodyear Lumber Company, and Great Southern Lumber Company; director in above companies and Marine National Bank of Buffalo, United States Leather Company, etc. Member Buffalo, Country, Ellicott, and Transportation Clubs of Buffalo; Lawyers' and Manhattan Clubs of New York; Jekyl Island Club; and many other social organizations; Republican in politics; died May 13, 1907.



J. W. Evenden

Du Bois, Pa., in 1903-4. Between 1904 and 1907 the Buffalo and Susquehanna completed its present line, by extensions from Wellsville to Buffalo, 90 miles, at one extremity, and to a point about 50 miles south of Du Bois at the other. Financial embarrassments ensued, which culminated in 1910, when the company went into the hands of a receiver.

Buffalo, as can be seen, has become the center of an extraordinary radiation of commercial highways, by water and by rail, stretching with directness to every point of the compass of travel and trade, and furnished to perfection with the vehicles that science and economic invention have devised. By boats on the longest of canals, to all the cities that line it, and to the great port which sends its shipping to the ends of the earth; by steamers to all harbors on the great chain of Great Lakes, bordered by the most productive region of the continent; by trains over sixteen distinct lines of rail from our own streets to the market places of all the towns of North America,—we can have easy dealings with whom we will. Production and traffic are supplied with facilities that can hardly be equalled in another situation, and nowhere surpassed. As stated in the annual report of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce for 1907, "The railroad yard facilities are the greatest in the world. Buffalo has, within an area of forty-two square miles (including the yards of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, and the West Shore Railroads, which adjoin the city limits on the east), 450 miles of railroad tracks, and this will be increased upwards of 660 miles when the terminal improvements and additions already planned by the various roads are completed. The railroad companies own over 3,600 acres of land."

Early in the first decade of the active centralizing of railway systems in Buffalo, which opened, as shown above, in

1852, the dangers to life and the interruptions of city traffic caused by the railway crossing of streets at grade began to receive attention, and the elevating of Michigan Street over the tracks of the New York Central was planned in 1856 by Peter Emslie, then City Engineer. Nothing, however, was done with the plan, and nothing came from frequent agitations of the subject thereafter, until thirty-one years later, in April, 1887. The Common Council then adopted a resolution which requested the Board of Railway Commissioners of the State to inspect the entire system of approaches to the railway terminals of the city, "with a view to securing their recommendation of a comprehensive plan for elevating the tracks over the street crossings, or otherwise providing suitable remedies."

Public interest in the matter was now very thoroughly aroused, and many business organizations entered actively into co-operation with the official representatives of the city, in pressing the movement thus begun. Committees of the Buffalo Merchants' Exchange, Lumber Exchange, Produce Exchange and Business Men's Association met with a committee of the Common Council, the City Engineer and the Corporation Counsel, to prepare for public hearings to be given by the Railway Commissioners, and these were consolidated in a Joint Committee, which conducted the whole proceeding thereafter. The Joint Committee was organized by the election of Robert B. Adam to be its chairman, with Peter J. Ferris as secretary. From that time, for sixteen years, Mr. Adam was the quietly indomitable, tireless leader of a campaign which had countless obstacles and oppositions to overcome.

A full and very interesting narrative of the proceedings in which he bore a leading part was prepared by Mr. Adam in the spring of 1897 for the eighth volume of the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. It forms an im-

portant chapter of local history, which cannot even be sketched in this place. No more will be attempted than an exhibit of the results.

After nearly a year spent in fruitless endeavors to arrive at voluntary agreements with the railroads, legislation was obtained which created a board of commissioners, armed with considerable powers of coercion, "to enter into contracts on behalf of the City of Buffalo with the railroad companies for the relief of the City." The commissioners named in the Act, as finally passed and signed by the Governor, May 22, 1888, were Robert B. Adam, John B. Weber, Frederick Kendall, George Sandrock, James E. Nunan, William J. Morgan, Solomon Scheu, Charles A. Sweet, Edward H. Butler. The board was organized by electing R. B. Adam chairman and W. J. Morgan secretary. Spencer Clinton was retained as attorney and George E. Mann as engineer.

The Grade Crossings Commission now entered on a contest with the railroad companies which was prolonged for seven years, before actual work on adopted plans for the abolition of crossings at grade could be begun. The crucial question that had to be fought out was that of shares between railroad and city in the cost of the work to be done, and the consequential damages to be paid; some of the roads resisting any payment at all. In October, 1889, a contract with the New York Central Company was effected, on the basis of payment of one-third of cost by the city and two-thirds by the company. But this brought no beginning of work; for the reason that in the course of the difficulties and delays encountered in dealing with other companies, of which the Erie Railway Company was the most obstinately obstructive, and the further difficulties with property owners, it became necessary to modify plans, and the contract with the New York Central was thereby annulled. In renewing it the

city assumed half of the consequential damages to be paid.

In 1890, and again in 1892, it became necessary to procure more coercive legislation, by the pressure of which, and with help from the courts, the obstructive companies were brought finally to terms, in 1895-6, when contracts with all were secured, and the work, still in progress, was begun, nearly nine years after the proceedings to secure it were begun.

According to the Grade Crossings Commission's report on the 1st of January, 1908, the total cost of work on this great improvement, from the beginning to that time, had been \$8,037,418, of which the city had expended \$2,907,867, and the railroads \$5,129,551. Of this total cost \$3,787,232.22 had been cost of structures, to which the railroad companies had contributed \$2,064,833.43, and the city \$822,398.79; \$867,952.68 had been land awards, the city paying \$292,697.82, and the railroads \$575,254.86; while \$3,382,254.07 had been consequential damages, of which the city paid \$1,792,770.94, and the railroads \$1,589,463.13. Some awards for consequential damages were made subsequently to this report.

The estimated cost of structures necessary to complete the general plan of the work was reported to be \$233,152.36, which would call for a further expenditure of \$60,885.79 by the city, and \$172,266.57 by the railroad companies; no estimate of land awards and consequential damages being made.

The recent membership and organization of the Commission has been: Augustus F. Scheu, chairman, Edward H. Butler, H. D. Kirkover, Andrew Langdon, William P. Northrup, Henry Schaefer, John J. McWilliams, Maurice B. Patch, H. M. Gerrans. Colonel John B. Weber, who resigned early in 1908, had served from the first appointment of the Commission till that time. Attorney of the board, Spencer Clinton; chief engineer, Edward B. Guthrie.

The passenger station arrangements of the railroads in Buffalo have been most unsatisfactory for many years to the city and to the travelling public at large. Repeated endeavors have been made to plan a union of all roads in one central station that would be acceptable to the many interests involved, on the side of the inhabitants of the city and on that of the various railroad companies; but no practicable compromise of the differences existing has yet been found. In the spring of 1908, appeal was addressed to the State Public Service Commission, to exercise its authority in the matter, by ascertaining a proper solution of the problem and requiring it to be taken in hand. The result has been practically an abandonment of all thought of a union station, and a now promising endeavor to secure satisfactory terminal constructions for each road or system of roads. Late in 1910 plans came under consideration from the New York Central Company and its system for terminal improvements on Exchange Street, extending up to Main Street, and from the Lackawanna Company for terminal structures on the Buffalo River front, east of Main Street, to Michigan Street.

The development of neighborhood lines of electric railway began early in the last decade of last century, and the extension of them has made rapid progress in recent years. In 1902, most of the electric lines then existing or franchised in the region northward and eastward from the city, on both sides of the Niagara Frontier, were absorbed or combined by the International Railway Company, then organized, which acquired the street railway system of Buffalo and connected the operation of the whole. The outer lines thus combined were the following: the Buffalo and Niagara Falls Electric Railway; the Buffalo and Lockport; the Buffalo, Bellevue and Lancaster; the Elmwood Avenue and Tonawanda; the Buffalo, Tonawanda and Niagara Falls;

the Electric City (Niagara Falls) system; the Lockport and Olcott; the Niagara Falls and Suspension Bridge; the Niagara Falls Park and River. The combination includes also the Clifton Suspension Bridge, the Lewiston Connecting Bridge and the Queenston Heights Bridge; and it has taken in the Frontier Electric Railway Company, incorporated in 1906 to build a line from Buffalo to connect with a through line to Toronto.

To connect with the International Railway Company's system at Lockport, a line from Rochester to Lockport is being built by the Buffalo, Lockport and Rochester Railway Company, incorporated in 1905.

Other electric lines running out of Buffalo are the following:

The Buffalo and Williamsville, incorporated in 1892; affiliated with which is the Buffalo, Batavia and Rochester Electric Railway Company, incorporated in 1904 to extend the Williamsville line through Batavia to Rochester.

The Buffalo Southern Railway Company, incorporated in 1904, which purchased the property and franchises of the Buffalo, Hamburg and Aurora and the Buffalo, Garden-ville and Ebenezer Railway companies; and which now operates lines to Hamburg and, by branch, to Orchard Park, as well as a line to Lein's Park, and which has a line to East Aurora under way.

The Buffalo and Lake Erie Traction Company, incorporated in 1906 (being a consolidation of several former companies) to complete a line from Buffalo to Erie, along the lake shore. Its line was opened to Angola early in the summer of 1908 and has since been completed. It is identified in interest with the Buffalo and Lackawanna Traction Company, incorporated in 1906 to build and operate five miles of track in Buffalo for connection with the above.

CHAPTER III

INNER COMMUNICATIONS

JOSEPH ELLICOTT'S planning of the Holland Land Company's settlement of New Amsterdam, and the features he imparted to the future city that grew up on its lines, are described somewhat in the first chapter of this book. They were discussed very graphically many years ago by the Rev. Dr. George W. Hosmer, the eloquent old-time pastor of the Unitarian Church in Buffalo, who admired the plan of the city greatly, as many others have done. In a paper read to the Buffalo Historical Society in 1864, and to which he gave a happy title—"The Physiognomy of Buffalo" — Dr. Hosmer imagined a picture of Ellicott, in 1802, or '03, "standing by his compass in what is now Main Street, in front of the churches" — now Shelton Square. "So confident is he that commerce must come here and pour out her horn of plenty, that he has resolved to lay out a city; so delighted is he with the grandeur of the situation, that he thinks he will make his home here; he selects for himself a noble manor, one hundred acres of land, between Eagle and Swan Streets, and from Main nearly to Jefferson Street, almost enough for a principality in Germany, and determines to build upon the western front, looking toward the lake. So here, upon what is to be the site of his house, he stands by his compass, indicating the lines which are now our streets: Main Street, running north and south upon the crown of land; Church Street, directly front from his door to the water; Erie Street, to the mouth of the creek, where commerce must come; Niagara Street to Black Rock Ferry, which was a great institution in the early day — and so on, to the completion of the plan.

"Mr. Ellicott, in laying out our city, had large ideas, and

worked upon a magnificent scale. There is originality in the plan. He did not bring a map of New York or Boston or Albany, and lay it down here; he wrought upon the inspiration of a magnificent hope, and we are greatly indebted to him for the open, handsome face of our city.

"It is reported that Mr. Ellicott said, 'God has made Buffalo, and I must try to make Batavia.' God did make the place and its surroundings; the wooded ridge gently sloping toward the sun, the lake stretching far away to the west, and pouring its unceasing flood along the majestic Niagara, close by—the Canada shore, the Chautauqua and Cattaraugus hills, and the high lands of Evans, Aurora and Wales, *all together*, as seen from the Reservoir on Niagara [no longer there, but on the higher ground of Best Street] is a noble panorama. I love to take strangers to see it. God made these surroundings and background to relieve and set off our city's face, and he gives the contour of the physiognomy; but particular features are defined, and expression is given, by the streets and squares. Philadelphia, with its checker-board arrangement, looks set, precise, demure. Boston Common and the newly made parts of that city are very beautiful, but the most of its features are painfully contracted and snarled up. The face of New York is much too long for its breadth."

So the Reverend Doctor went on in his criticism of other city plans, returning after a little to say: "Our city has no neighboring hills, like Albany and Cincinnati, to heighten expression, but its plan and streets, for beauty, health and convenience, I think, are unrivalled. There is enough irregularity to prevent tiresome monotony, and not enough to create confusion. Mr. Ellicott, I suppose, intended Niagara Square should be the center of his city; from that point the streets run out in all directions, eight broad avenues; and at night when these streets are lighted, from that point in the

square where they all center, they make a grand show, double lines of light stretching off into the surrounding darkness. This square did not become the center of the city, because the State reserved a mile-strip along the Niagara River; and so Buffalo was thrown to the east and south, in a measure interrupting the perfection of Mr. Ellicott's plan. But as it has turned out, we have received a largess of favor from his liberal designing — he gave to the city a good, comely face."

For a little more than a score of years the villagers of Buffalo practiced their tongues and their pens on the Dutch names that Mynheer Ellicott had given to their streets, and custom, it is evident, could not lend smoothness or ease to the writing or the speech. In July, 1826, they had tired of the effort and gave it up. Their village trustees, at a meeting on the 13th of that month, thinking it necessary to designate formally the then existing public highways of the village, subject to care and regulation as such, determined at the same time to emancipate themselves from the more jawbreaking of the names which good Joseph Ellicott had inflicted upon them. Accordingly, after declaring them to be public highways, they resolved: "That the streets in the village of Buffalo shall hereafter be known and distinguished by the following names." And this is the list — to understand some part of which it must be remembered that the mile-long residence lot which Mr. Ellicott had reserved for himself occupied the space between East Swan and East Eagle Streets, and no streets were then running through that space. Washington and Ellicott Streets were cut through soon afterward.

Willink Avenue and Van Stophurst Avenue to be Main Street.

North and South Oneida Street to be Ellicott Street.

North and South Onondaga Street to be Washington Street.

North and South Cayuga Street to be Pearl Street.

Tuscarora Street to be Franklin Street.

Delaware Street to be Delaware Street.

Mississippi Street to be Morgan Street.

Vollenhoven Avenue to be Erie Street.

Schimmelpenninck Avenue to be Niagara Street.

Busti Avenue to be Genesee Street.

Chippewa Street to be Chippewa Street.

Huron Street to be Huron Street.

Mohawk Street to be Mohawk Street.

Cazenovia Avenue to be Court Street.

Eagle Street to be Eagle Street.

Stadnitski Avenue to be Church Street.

Swan Street to be Swan Street.

Seneca Street to be Seneca Street.

Crow Street to be Crow Street (changed subsequently to Exchange).

These, then, were all the streets that had received names prior to that 13th of July, 1826. But the Board of Trustees proceeded to give names to several other streets, four of which, Canal, Ohio, Dock and Clinton Streets — have kept their existence and their names to the present time; while two — Batavia (Broadway and Lafayette, its extension to Main), have survived under changed names, and one, Harbour Street, has lost existence as well as name.

This action of that July meeting of the Trustees of the Village of Buffalo in 1826, is interesting, not only in the old and new naming of familiar streets, but because it tells us just what there was of Buffalo, a quarter century after its beginnings and thirteen years after it had been struck down and began existence anew. A line through Ellicott Street, Chippewa, Morgan, Niagara (or the Terrace, perhaps), Erie, Buffalo Creek and Ohio Street, marks the boundary which these, the streets of the village, define. Some outlying

residences there were, to be sure ; but, scattered as the dwellings of the time were, they must have stood with few exceptions inside of these bounds.

The streets were no more than country roads, with some sidewalk construction, but it is not probable that much grading had been done. This seems to be indicated by an entry of 1825 in the records of the Village Trustees, which states that Joseph Clary was "directed to ascertain the true surface of the sidewalks in Main Street between Swan and Crow (Exchange) Streets." From the same records we learn that, in 1829, "Main Street was ordered to be flagged and railed at the expense of the owners," from Exchange Street to Chippewa on the west side and to Eagle Street on the east side, "the flagging to be smooth stone or hard brick." In the next year the east side flagging was ordered to be extended to Genesee Street.

After the incorporation, in 1832, of the City of Buffalo, divided into five wards and equipped with a Mayor and a Common Council, the records give evidence of a more ambitious and active improvement of streets. What relates to streets in the Common Council proceedings has been copied out in separate manuscript volumes of "Street Records," to be seen at the office of the City Clerk ; and this makes it comparatively easy to trace the progress of street improvement. For some years there is no mention of paving, but "grading and gravelling" of the business streets is proceeding at a lively rate. In June, 1832, Main Street below Exchange is graded, and in September, the property owners on both sides of that lower part of the street are ordered to "fill in, graduate and gravel their sidewalks to the level of the street." But, apparently, it was not until 1835 that the grade of Main Street was established between Eagle and Court.

The Rev. Dr. Hosmer came to the city in 1836, and in his paper on "The Physiognomy of Buffalo," already quoted

from, he describes conditions of the streets that he had seen after that time. "Many of us," he wrote, "can remember when the face of Buffalo was rather rough, and parts of the year too dirty with mire for washing to do any good. Main Street was as broad as Mr. Ellicott laid it out, but its mud was said to have no bottom. I have seen teams sloughed on Mohawk Street, near Delaware; and one team I remember seeing sunk so deep that it seemed to be going through, until another team was brought to drag out and rescue the sinkers. I saw a young lady one day sloughed in the middle of Pearl Street, near Tupper, so that she could not step without leaving behind her shoes and overshoes, perhaps the whole foot apparel, and there she stood with a patience peculiar to those days, until I got boards and made a way for her poor feet."

The first evidence of paving that the present writer has found appears in the Street Records for 1836, when assessment rolls for paving Main Street below Exchange Street and from South Division Street to the City Line, and for paving Seneca Street from Washington to Michigan, are stated to have been confirmed. Three years later, in November, 1839, there is record of a Common Council resolution, "that in order to preserve that part of Main Street which has been recently macadamized from injury by teams travelling constantly in the same ruts before the stone is packed," therefore that practice is exhorted against and forbidden. Inasmuch as all of Main Street to the City Line except the part between Exchange and South Division streets was to be paved, apparently, in 1836, this macadamizing must have been done in that short part, or else paving and macadamizing were not technically distinguishable terms in 1836. It would be correct enough to call macadamizing paving, and this may have been done in the earlier record. A few years later there is mention in the records of an invitation for proposals to be received "for paving and grading, or part pav-

ing and macadamizing Washington Street, from Exchange to Swan;" showing a distinction then in the use of the terms, but it may not have been made before. The outcome of these proposals was a resolution authorizing the street commissioner to pave Washington Street from Swan to Exchange with cobble stones.

The annual report of the Department of Public Works for 1907 gives a list of twenty-four streets on some portions of which there were pavements of stone on sand laid down in 1850, which still remain. This is the oldest date assigned to any part of existing pavements in the city. In the report of the department for 1889 the following bits of pavement history are given: "Prior to 1849 stone pavement was laid on sand bed; an inferior shape of stone was used, in some instances limestone, but most of it was Medina sandstone. We have found, from such records as could be obtained, that up to 1849 there had been laid, under 112 contracts, 27.89 miles." "Since 1892 we have laid little of the common blocks in sand." "The first of stone on concrete was laid in Eagle Street in 1887." "Wood blocks made their appearance in 1869, in a private contract, when Ohio Street was laid with Nicholson blocks, between Main and Washington Streets." Eighteen contracts for different kinds of wood pavement were executed in all, the last one in 1876. This pavement began to disappear in 1882, and the last was taken up in 1886. The first macadam was laid in Delaware Avenue, from Bird Avenue to Forest Avenue, in 1877, but not much has been introduced outside of the park system. Asphalt pavement was laid first in Delaware Avenue, from Virginia Street to North, in 1878. The first surfacing of asphalt over stone was done on Irving Place in 1893.

Excluding the park system, the total pavements in the city in 1906, according to a table published in the report of the Department of Public Works for 1907, was as follows

(omitting fractions of miles): Asphalt on concrete, 209 miles, asphalt on stone, 21; stone on sand, 80; block stone, 14; brick, 18; macadam, 12. Total, 355 miles.

When the first street railways were undertaken in Buffalo the city afforded less favorable conditions to the enterprise than were found in most others of equal population at the time. It has not yet become a compact city, and will be happy in its fortune if it never does make its people too neighborly for their comfort and health; but fifty years ago the diffuseness of its inhabitation was extreme. Its eighty thousand residents were spread, certainly, over half, and probably more than half, of the ground now occupied by four hundred thousand. Practically every family lived in a separate house, and most houses were built on roomy lots. The hive-life of apartment houses, rooming houses and family hotels, was not yet an imagined or conceivably possible life for people in this part of the world. Even blocks of residences were few and not in favor.

In reality, there was much inconvenience in the excess of the elbow-room which Buffalonians had given themselves in the make-up of their city; but the habits of life which they conformed to it were not easily changed. For moderate distances of city travel they were accustomed to walking, and the mere custom would resist street-car invitations to ride much longer than thrift or parsimony alone would hold out against half-dime expenditures for the saving of time and legs. Quite a number of the first years of street railway experience in Buffalo were spent in a somewhat costly demonstration of these facts. The lines built were necessarily long, to gather possibly paying numbers of passengers from the loosely strung houses of the best filled streets. If they caught the street car habit with readiness the numbers might suffice. The success of the first adventurers in this new field of local enterprise depended wholly

on that; and it is evident that the sufficiency was not found for a considerable number of years.

Two companies undertook the experiment at the same time. One, the Buffalo Street Railroad Company, which built a line on Main Street, was organized with a capital of \$100,000, having Stephen V. R. Watson for its president, G. R. Wilson for vice-president, Charles T. Coit, for secretary, and Andrew J. Rich for treasurer. The other, the Niagara Street Railroad Company, building on Niagara Street, with a capital of \$80,000, chose for president Edward S. Warren and for secretary and treasurer De Witt C. Weed. The Main Street line was opened from "the Dock" as far as Edward Street on the 11th of June, 1860, and through to Cold Spring on the 14th of the next month. The Niagara Street Company ran their first cars to Black Rock on the 23d of June. This company did no more than build and operate the one line. The Buffalo Street Railroad built a second line on Genesec Street, which it opened in 1864.

The lines of both companies were operated with loss to the stockholders for years. In 1868 the Niagara Street organization succumbed to the adversities of the situation, and the Buffalo Street Railroad Company acquired its line. This company was having, then and long after, a hard struggle for life; but its president, Mr. Watson, had inextinguishable faith in the future of Buffalo and in the ultimate profitability of such a system of street railways as he wished to create. That the inspiration of faith and courage which carried his company through its trials came mostly from him is the testimony of all who knew the facts best.

At a banquet, given on the occasion of the meeting in Buffalo of the American Street Railway Association in 1890, the Hon. E. Carlton Sprague spoke on this subject, saying: "I do not know how much money was originally invested in either of those enterprises [of the two street railroad com-

panies], nor am I familiar with the financial operations of the Niagara Street Railroad Company, but so far as the Buffalo Street Railroad Company is concerned, I know that from 1860 to 1867 it was constantly laying more tracks than it had means to pay for, and borrowing all the money it could on bonds and promissory notes. Substantially, the entire concerns of the company were in the hands of Mr. Watson, and so continued until the year of his death. He also gave his personal oversight to every detail of the purchase, construction and management of the company's property.

"From the start and always he had faith in the growth of the city and in the ultimate success of its street railroads. He was a man of large ideas, looking far into the future; of a sanguine temperament, public spirited, great-hearted, and the most indefatigable and industrious man whom I ever met. From before sunrise to after sunset he was accustomed to give his individual time and labor to the service of the company. He was always pushing the Buffalo Street Railroad and its equipments to the utmost, and for that purpose was an enormous borrower, and was constantly pledging his individual credit to sustain the credit of the company. No dividends were declared. All the net earnings went into the roads. But in those years Buffalo was a slow city. Its recovery from the panic of 1857 was very gradual. Almost everybody but Mr. Watson became discouraged. He never did."

Further on in his remarks Mr. Sprague stated that "not long after 1868 Mr. Watson became the owner substantially of all the stock of the Buffalo Street Railroad Company," and "in 1870 he procured the incorporation of the Buffalo East Side Street Railroad Company." "I remember talking often with him about this enterprise," said Mr. Sprague, "and asking him how he expected to raise the money to carry

it on. He said that as long as there was a cent on this earth which could be borrowed he should borrow it, and that he would look to the future for his pay. But the future that he spoke of was much farther off than he anticipated. The panic of 1873 struck the city, and the shadow was not entirely dispelled much before 1880, but Mr. Watson never quailed. His labors were unceasing, and income increased. Ultimately, every past-due cent of the company's debt, as well as Mr. Watson's own private debts, with interest in full, was paid. No man ever lost a dollar of principal or interest by trusting Mr. Watson or the street railroad companies; but Mr. Watson, physically broken down by continual toil, finally fell a victim to his devotion to the Buffalo street railroad companies. At the annual election on the 7th of June, 1880, he was elected president of the Buffalo Street Railroad Company for the last time, and on the 17th day of June, 1880, the board of directors of that company adopted resolutions lamenting his untimely death, which had occurred between those two dates. He never reaped the rewards of his labors. He never enjoyed even the sight of the promised land, except through the telescope of his imagination."

On the organization of the East Side Street Railroad Company, mentioned above, the late Joseph Churchyard was elected president and Mr. Henry M. Watson was made secretary and treasurer. Mr. Churchyard resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Watson in 1879. On the death of Mr. S. V. R. Watson, Mr. Henry M. Watson became president of the several companies under which the general system had grown up.

Meantime the Exchange Street line of railway was built, in 1873; the William Street line, to East Buffalo, and the Michigan Street line from the Docks to Goodell Street, in 1874, and the latter line was carried through to Main Street in 1875. The Main Street line was extended to Delaware

Park in 1879. Subsequently lines were laid down in Connecticut, in Allen and in Virginia Streets in 1880; in Jefferson and Emslie Streets in 1884; in Broadway, in Carlton, and in Ferry and Chenango Streets in 1885. In 1886 the West Avenue line was opened. In 1888 the Forest Avenue line was opened to the Park, and the Jersey and Baynes Streets lines were carried through.

The first electric service was introduced in 1889, on the line to Delaware Park. In 1891 the electrification of the entire system was begun and completed rapidly within the next few years.

Under a new charter, obtained in 1890, the several companies which then divided, but little more than nominally, the ownership and management of the street railways of the city,—namely, the Buffalo Street Railroad Company, the Buffalo East Side Street Railroad Company, and the Buffalo West Side Street Railroad Company,—were consolidated in the organization of the Buffalo Railway Company, which existed until 1899. In this period the system of city lines was extended widely.

In the fall of 1897 a rival corporation, the Buffalo Traction Company, which had obtained a railway franchise in numerous streets not occupied by the Buffalo Railway Company, including Erie, South Division, Swan, Elm, Best, Walden Avenue, Chicago, Perry and Hamburg, opened a line from Erie Street to and through Walden Avenue. In the next year this company opened a line from Erie Street to the Union Iron Works in South Buffalo; but its lines and its franchises were bought soon afterwards by the Buffalo Railway Company.

In its turn, the Buffalo Railway Company underwent absorption, in 1902, by the International Railway, which was organized and incorporated that year for the acquisition and combined operation of an extensive system of urban, inter-

urban and suburban electric lines, on and near the Niagara Frontier, in both New York and Canada. The neighboring electric lines thus connected in operation with the street lines of the city have been specified in the preceding chapter. Within the city the street lines have been much extended and the service improved in recent years, the extension of Elmwood Avenue, in 1909-1910, to connect with Morgan Street at Chippewa, having opened a specially important improvement.

As forming an important part of the facilities provided for movement within the city, mention should be made of the Belt Line of track and trains which the New York Central Railroad Company established in 1882, when it obtained the right to run through The Terrace (tunneling Washington and Main Streets), and down the Niagara River shore to Black Rock, to a connection with its former tracks to Niagara Falls. On this nearly complete circuit of the city the running of frequent regular trains is of great convenience to much business on its outer rim.

Buffalo began to enjoy the usefulness of the telephone in 1879, when the introduction of the great invention of Alexander Graham Bell was undertaken by the Bell Telephone Company of Buffalo, incorporated that year. Mr. Edward J. Hall, now vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company — the parent company, as it is called, of the Bell system in the United States — was the prime mover in this Buffalo undertaking, and the first general manager of the operations of the company when begun. Its license from the parent company was not for Buffalo, only, but covered a large Western New York field, embracing Erie, Niagara, Genesee, Monroe, Orleans, Wyoming and Livingston counties, taking in, as will be seen, the cities of Batavia, Rochester, Lockport, Niagara Falls and Tonawanda, as well as our own.

It was over this large district that the Bell Telephone Company of Buffalo spread its wires. To reach its 60,000 telephones in the many city, town and village exchange systems it organized, it had stretched no less than 117,000 miles of wire in 1907, exclusive of the connecting wires of its toll plant, so called, which measure up over 18,000 miles more.

The one exchange station with which the company began business in Buffalo was located, with its offices, on the northeast corner of Main and Eagle Streets. Its offices and its central station have been, since 1885, in the former bank and office buildings on West Seneca Street, near Main, which it purchased and fitted for its use. It has now branch stations in different parts of the city. The long-distance Bell system was extended to Buffalo in 1888, and the affiliated company in this city has connection with all its wires. In 1909, by a reorganization of Bell Telephone interests in the State, the company in Buffalo lost its former distinctiveness of name, becoming absorbed in the New York Telephone Company.

To introduce competition in the telephone service, with a view to reductions in rates, a franchise of forty years' duration was granted to a second company, named the Frontier, incorporated in 1901. A little later the Frontier Telephone Company was placed, along with many other independent telephone companies in the State, under the control of a holding company, named the Consolidated Telephone Company of Buffalo. A still later organization gave it the name of the Federal Telegraph and Telephone Company, the offices of both companies being in this city.

The construction of the Frontier Company's system, under the supervision of Mr. Wilbur H. Johnston, engineer in charge, was begun in May, 1902, and the first service to subscribers furnished in March, 1903. At the end of five years, in the spring of 1908, the company reported between 16,000 and 17,000 subscribers in Buffalo, with long distance con-

nections over the wires of the Inter-ocean Telegraph and Telephone Company, as far east as Utica, west as far as Detroit, south to Pittsburg, and widely through Western Pennsylvania and Western New York. There is installed in the Company's plant "approximately 1,100 miles of open wire on pole lines; 11,944 miles of wire in overhead cables; 40,000 miles of wire in underground cables, and 20 miles of wire in submarine cables.

CHAPTER IV

ELECTRIC POWER FROM NIAGARA FALLS

THE completion, in August, 1895, of the first "power plant" created at Niagara Falls, for the transformation into electric energy of some part of the stupendous force of gravitation which is spent in the fall of the mighty river, was an event of great significance to Buffalo. Not yet so important, perhaps, in results, as it promised to be, but adding, nevertheless, a splendid gift from nature to the many which the city had taken before from her lavish hands. We receive some distinction that has value in it from even the simple fact, that a servant more famous than any other in the world has been brought into our employ, to trundle our trolley cars and turn wheels in our factories and give us light.

The first to exploit the Falls of Niagara as a source of electric power were the scientists, engineers and capitalists organized in the Niagara Falls Power Company, which broke ground for its undertaking on the 4th of October, 1890, and made its first delivery of power for industrial use on the 26th of August, 1895. Buffalo had little or no participation in this initial enterprise; and it was not until the following year that the transmission of power to the city was achieved. It came first to the Buffalo Railway Company — 1,000 horsepower, switched into the company's power houses at exactly midnight of November 15-16, 1896, with a signalling of the event to the city by the firing of cannon, the blowing of steam whistles and the ringing of bells.

That first thousand horsepower ran a good many street cars; but the Railway Company now takes 13,000 of horsepower from Niagara, while 16,000 are applied to industrial uses, and 12,000 go to the production of light. These were the maxima of use in the spring of 1908. The total of 41,000

horsepower leaves a margin of 9,000 which can still be supplied to Buffalo under existing contracts with the companies from which it comes. The producing companies at Niagara deliver it to the Cataract Power and Conduit Company, which brings it through cables to the city, and this latter company is entitled to 50,000 horsepower, of the 160,000 now developed by the two Niagara companies with which it deals. These two companies are the original Niagara Falls Power Company, on the American side of the Niagara, and the Canadian Niagara Power Company, on the opposite bank. An alliance of interest exists between the two. The Niagara power used in Buffalo is drawn from both, and the public interests of the city are connected thus with them, while the companies are alien to it.

On the other hand, a third power company at Niagara, on the Canadian side, is entirely Buffalonian in every respect, of conception, of invested capital and of management. This is the Ontario Power Company, which takes water at the head of the rapids, above the Horseshoe Fall, carries it in conduits laid underground to a power house, just below the Falls, under the cliff, and drops it to the turbines there. This exactly reverses the method of the two plants referred to above. In both of those the water makes its drop to the turbines in wheel-pits sunk deep at the points where it is taken from the river above the Falls, and is discharged thence through tunnels into the river below the Falls. The power house of the Ontario Company, below the Horseshoe Fall, is a dignified structure of unobtrusive design, so harmonized in color with the cliff at its back that it cannot always be distinguished, through the spray, from the cliff itself. The whole conveyance of the water to it is out of sight, under ground, and the other structures connected with the plant are not only of pleasing architecture, but too far removed to affect the scenic framing of the Falls.

The works of the Ontario Power Company are planned for an ultimate generation of 200,000 horsepower, and the head-works are completed for this amount. Other parts of the works are completed for smaller amounts. The generators now installed have a capacity of 66,000 horsepower, normal rating, with a large overload capacity beyond that. Distribution in the United States of power from the Ontario Power Company is conducted and controlled by the Niagara, Lockport and Ontario Power Company, which has brought into operation, since July, 1906, a remarkably extensive system of transmission lines, stretching as far eastward as Syracuse. By what seems a narrow view of municipal policy, it has been prevented from coming into Buffalo, but has a line circuiting the city, to West Seneca and the Lackawanna Steel Plant, as well as to Lancaster and Depew. It reaches thus a great manufacturing district which is a part of Buffalo in all connections of interest, and in everything except the municipal government and name.

The officers of the Ontario Power Company are John J. Albright, president; Francis V. Greene, vice-president; Robert C. Board, secretary and treasurer. The directors include, in addition to the above, Edmund Hayes, S. M. Clement, and W. H. Gratwick.

In closing a paper on "The Development of the Ontario Power Company," which he read at the annual convention of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, in 1905, Mr. P. N. Nunn, one of the company's engineers, made this interesting remark: "More than all else in the establishment of this great and daring enterprise stands out the attitude maintained toward their engineers by Messrs. J. J. Albright and Edmund Hayes, the originators and majority owners, who, in strong contrast with the harassing interference by which uninformed investors frequently spoil the best efforts of engineers, have in this case given, not only absolute freedom of action, but also steadfast support."

2.14 1017 3000



Edmund Hayes

Of another power plant at Niagara which represents Buffalo enterprise and capital strictly, namely that of the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company, some account is given in another section of this work, relating to the flour-milling interests of the city.

CHAPTER V

WATER SUPPLY, FIRE-FIGHTING, GAS AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING

UNTIL 1826-9 the villages of Buffalo and Black Rock were dependent entirely upon wells for their water supply, except as the few who lived near enough to those natural sources might draw from the Niagara River or Buffalo Creek. That dependence was lessened slightly in the years named above, by the undertaking of the Jubilee Water Works Company, organized for a distribution of water from the Jubilee Springs, which bubble to this day on the west side of Delaware Avenue.

In 1826 the company laid pump-logs from the springs to Black Rock; in 1829 they extended a second line of wooden pipes down Main Street to the canal. By 1832, when Buffalo became a chartered city, there were said to be 16 miles of these pipes, and some considerable number of people must have been drinking the water of the springs. The company's charge for it was seven dollars yearly to families and five dollars to offices and stores.

Twenty years after the laying of the Jubilee pump-logs down Main Street, a larger undertaking to supply water to the 40,000 people then inhabiting the city was taken in hand. The Buffalo City Water Works Company, incorporated in 1849, with a capital of \$200,000, and authority to increase it to \$500,000, planned to pump water from the Niagara, through a tunnel running under the Erie Canal and Black Rock Harbor, to the outer side of Bird Island Pier, storing and distributing it from a reservoir on Prospect Hill. The reservoir, covering the block bounded by Niagara, Connecticut and Vermont Streets, and Prospect Avenue, and holding eleven millions of gallons, was finished in November, 1851;

the tunnel, three hundred and thirty feet in length, was ready in the following month; pumps, at a station on the margin of the canal, were then put into operation, lifting four millions of gallons in twenty-four hours, and the public service of the works was opened formally on the 2nd of January, 1852.

In 1868, the Water Works Company raised its price to the city for public uses of water, whereupon the latter procured legislation under which it purchased the company's plant, paying \$705,000. The water supply has been under municipal management since that date. With the growth of the city the works, in every part, have undergone immense enlargement and much change.

One of the first new measures was to answer the needs of those parts of the city, on its higher ground, to which water from the reservoir was not carried with adequate force. This was remedied by the introduction of auxiliary pumping engines, of the "Holly system," so called, which was brought into operation in January, 1851.

Another early undertaking was to obtain purer water, by constructing new tunnels, to tap the river far out, under its swift middle current, where an inlet pier was built, of great solidity and sheathed with steel plates, to resist the thrust and shock of ice in the spring of the year. In 1907 contracts were let for another inlet and another tunnel to the foot of Porter Avenue, where a second pumping station would be installed. In the prosecution, during the next three years, of the work then undertaken, the cost ran so heavily beyond the original contracts and estimates that investigations were undertaken, at the instance of the Chamber of Commerce, in 1910. The two chambers of the Common Council were drawn into separate proceedings of inquiry, with results that gave no public satisfaction. The episode was one of many which have exhibited the mischiefs of divided authority and

responsibility in the city government, and the success with which the powerful department of public works can exercise its own will. According to a report to the public, by the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Club, January 1, 1911, "the new tunnel to the Emerald Channel (which the Commissioner of Public Works estimated in his letter to the mayor, dated January 11, 1905, would cost \$300,000), has cost to October 17, 1910, \$1,455,258.20, with about \$100,000 yet to pay;" and the expenditure of \$1,167,041 "for rebuilding and re-equipping the old [pumping] station, making it an entirely new station on the old site — instead of the \$50,000 as proposed — has rendered wholly unnecessary the Porter Avenue pumping station," which is nevertheless in contemplation at a cost of \$900,000. Attempts to arrest the building of the new pumping station are now under way.

The equipment of the present pumping station is stated as follows in the report above mentioned of the Chamber of Commerce:

"Two new steam pumps each of 30,000,000 gallons daily capacity.

"Three new electric pumps each of 25,000,000 gallons daily capacity.

"Two Lake Erie pumps, installed in 1896 and 1898, respectively, of 30,000,000 gallons daily capacity.

"And there are now being installed two additional steam pumps each of 30,000,000 gallons daily capacity, construction being well under way and contract requiring completion by January and June, 1911. These new pumps are to replace two Holly steam pumps each of 20,000,000 gallons daily capacity installed in 1889 and 1892. The present daily capacity is, therefore, 235,000,000 gallons, and when the new pumps above mentioned have been installed it will be 255,000,000 gallons; all modern and efficient machinery."

The old reservoir was abandoned in 1894 (its site given for the new armory of the 74th Regiment, N. Y. S. N. G.), and a new one, holding 116,000,000 gallons, was constructed on the block that lies between Best, Jefferson, Dodge and Masten Streets. Five years — from 1889 to 1894 — were spent in the construction of this, and its cost was \$554,000, exclusive of the cost of the ground.

The pipes of the distributing system had been extended to 516 miles of length in 1907. When the city took the works in 1868 the length of water pipes in the streets was about 34 miles. In 1868 the average consumption of water was 4,000,000 gallons daily; in 1906, it was 132,000,000. In the former year the population was about 100,000, against 400,000, or possibly a little more, at the later date. Four times as many people had used about thirty-three times as much water, making an eightfold increase of consumption, which means enormous waste. The consumption, *per capita*, is far in excess of that of any other city in the country, and is due to the lack of a system of charges by which the use of meters would be enforced.

As manufacturing industries, in late years, found desirable locations outside of the corporate limits of Buffalo, but within the range of its transportation and electric connections, there arose demands among them for a water supply. The first response to this demand was made in May, 1900, when a company of Buffalo business men organized the Depew and Lake Erie Water Company. At Woodlawn Beach, the once popular summer resort on Lake Erie, the company established a pumping station, connected with an intake crib, which was built about a mile from shore, where clear water and a clean bottom of level rock were found.

The company soon found that its authorized bond issue was too limited for the field of enterprise it had opened, and a new organization, styled the Western New York Water

Company, was formed early in 1902, to take over the original company and enlarge its plant. The new company, having an authorized bond issue of \$10,000,000, has extended its operations over a much broadened territory, its mains now entering the villages Blasdell, Sloan, Depew, Lancaster, Kenmore, Gardenville, Ebenezer, Eggertville and Doyle, and reaching towns as far as Hamburg on the south, Tonawanda and Amherst on the north, and Alden at the east. Not long since it finished a 10,000,000 gallon reservoir in East Hamburg, at a sufficient elevation to supply by gravity all territory between Lake Erie and Depew. It has increased its intake capacity, enlarged its Woodlawn pumping station, and installed electrically driven pumps, using Niagara power. The officers of the company are William B. Cutter, president; Frank S. McGraw, vice-president and general manager; Walter P. Cooke, secretary; A. D. Bissell, treasurer. Among the directors are Charles W. Goodyear, Edmund Hayes, W. Caryl Ely.

In the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees of the Village of Buffalo,—which have been well preserved in the office of the City Clerk, from the first meeting held after the incorporation of the village, in 1816, down to the latest,—nothing else, of the life of that early time, is shown so plainly as the danger and dread of fire. When almost all houses were of wood, when few of them could be near any other source of water than a well, and when the appliances for using water at a fire were primitive, this was naturally a subject of most anxious concern; and no other subject engaged the attention of the trustees and the citizens generally so often as this.

The board was organized on the 6th of May, 1816, and elected village officers, including three Fire Wardens, namely: Reuben B. Heacock, John Haddock and Caleb

Russell. It held its second meeting in August, only for the purpose of calling a special meeting of "freeholders and inhabitants," to enact by-laws, adopt regulations, and lay taxes. It was not until the 11th of the following November that such a public meeting was got together; and, when convened, its principal business, after ordering a general tax levy of \$1,400, related to precautions against and preparations for dealing with fire. It directed the trustees to adopt measures for securing a supply of water for fire purposes, "by means," said the resolution, "of water courses, aqueducts, reservoirs or otherwise," and to use for this purpose any moneys in the village treasury "not otherwise appropriated." What was done in obedience to this resolution is not subsequently reported, and one has curiosity to know what could have been done with funds "not otherwise appropriated" from a total tax levy of \$1,400, made six months before.

By other resolutions of the same meeting, the trustees were directed to "procure to be made" twenty ladders and two fire hooks; every occupant of a house was required to provide himself with a good leathern fire bucket, and all chimneys were required to be cleaned every two weeks.

Four months passed before another meeting of trustees and inhabitants was held, and at this, on the 7th of March, 1817, a fire company was organized, its members being duly appointed by the meeting. In an "Illustrated Sketch of the Fire Department of Buffalo," published in 1890, the origin of the department is dated erroneously in 1824. The company formed in that later year was the second; this, of 1817, was the first.

Besides organizing its second fire company, in 1824, the same village meeting gave authority to the trustees "to bring water into the village if the same can be done for \$600." But again we are left with no subsequent information as to

what came from this action. Probably the trustees found that water could not be brought into the village for \$600, but we shall never know. At a later meeting, in August, 1824, a tax of \$800 was levied for the purchase of a fire engine, and the substantial equipment of a fire department began in that action.

The next important provision for emergencies of fire came seven years later, in 1831, when a tax to raise \$3,000 for constructing wells and reservoirs and for buying fire engines was levied, and four reservoirs, holding 10,000 gallons each, were constructed on Main Street, at the corners of Seneca, Swan, Eagle and Court. These reservoirs, with others provided later, at the junction of Niagara and Main Streets and elsewhere, were in use until quite recent years.

A third engine company and a hook and ladder company were organized in 1831, and a second hook and ladder company in the following year. This brings us to the end of the village annals of volunteer fire service, and it is needless to trace with detail the growth of the department under the municipal government of the then chartered City of Buffalo. That it assumed a new dignity at once appears in the fact that the first Chief Engineer, Isaac S. Smith, was appointed by the new Common Council in this year, 1832.

The office of the fire wardens was continued under the City Charter, two being appointed in each of the five city wards. Among the powers given to the Common Council was that of regulating "the construction of chimneys, so as to admit sweeps," and of compelling the sweeping and cleaning of chimneys. It could also prohibit the employment of unlicensed chimney sweeps. In those days of wood fires, depositing their combustible soot in the chimney, the sweep was a functionary of no small importance. The coming in of fire engines had not yet put the old "bucket brigades" out of service; for the Council, in its fire regulations, was au-

thorized "to require inhabitants to provide so many fire-buckets, in such manner and time, as they shall prescribe." Fire alarm bells are said to have been placed in 1837 on the two city markets of that time,—one on the Terrace, where the Liberty Pole stands, and one at the corner of Mohawk and Pearl Streets, where the Y. M. C. A. erected its first building in after years.

According to the "Illustrated Sketch of the Fire Department," edited by Byron R. Newton and F. W. B. Spencer, the first hose cart was added to the equipment of the fire department and the first hose company (Taylor's) was organized in 1850. At this time, if not earlier, the fire companies were taking on the character of social clubs, and were much enjoyed as such by the young men of all circles in the city. Some of the companies, especially of the hose companies, were notably select in their membership, and vied with each other in the fitting and furnishing of apartments in their houses for social use. The exchange of visits with companies in other cities became a frequent occasion of much social excitement and entertainment, and contributed an important feature to the life of the time. In many ways the volunteer fire department was an interesting and influential institution, quite aside from its protective service to life and property, for two or three of the first decades in the last half of the nineteenth century.

In 1852 a fire bell-tower was built at the corner of Batavia (Broadway) and Ellicott Streets, and a 1,000 pound bell hung in it, for alarms. Subsequently the tower and bell were removed to Staats Street, near Niagara,—about where the headquarters of the Fire Department have been for many years past,—and district numbers were struck, to indicate the location of fires.

An attempt made by the department chief in 1854 to obtain a steam fire engine was unsuccessful, and it was not un-

til 1859 that the first of those engines came to use in the city. "The incoming of this first steamer into the city," say the writers of the "Illustrated Sketch," "is of importance from a historical point of view, in that it marked the beginning of the long series of reluctant but steady disbandments of the old volunteer companies, that worked their final extinction in the spring of 1880." "In May, 1862, the volunteer companies had dwindled numerically to a total of 200 men, and but one hand engine, Hydraulics 9, remained to the front. Five years later it was changed to a hose company." In 1865 the clamorous alarm bells were beginning to be superseded and silenced by the introduction of the system of telegraphic alarms.

The paid Fire Department was organized on the 1st of July, 1880, under a board of three Fire Commissioners, appointed by the Mayor. The first board consisted of George R. Potter, John M. Hutchinson, Nelson K. Hopkins. Commissioners Potter and Hutchinson served until their deaths, the former in 1888, the latter in 1886. Thomas B. French, who had been at the head of the Volunteer Department for many previous terms, was appointed Chief. The force that year numbered 187 men, equipped with 14 steam fire engines having a hose cart attached to each, 5 chemical engines, 3 hook and ladder trucks, 81 horses. In the quarter century and more that has gone by since, the force and the equipment have grown to 601 men, 29 steam fire engines, 3 fire boats in the harbor, 10 hook and ladder trucks, 30 hose wagons, 6 chemical engines, 1 water tower, 246 horses.

The first fire boat was introduced in 1887, the second in 1892, the third in 1900. In 1897 the powerful engines of the fire boats were brought into use upon uptown fires, within a certain range, by laying a pipe in Washington Street, from its foot to Huron Street, through which water is driven to hose that may be connected with it at many points on the

line. In 1905, a second pipe line was branched from the first one, through Exchange Street to Pearl, and up Pearl to Huron. In 1906 and 1907, the pipe lines were extended through Carroll Street to Michigan and through Ohio Street to the Clark and Skinner Canal. The portable water tower, to which a special company is attached, was introduced in 1890.

Buffalo received the luxury of gas light in 1848, and owed it in a large measure to the progressive spirit and energy of Oliver G. Steele, who took a leading part in the organization of the Buffalo Gas Light Company, and was its secretary and general manager till his death. The original company had no competitor until 1870, when the Buffalo Mutual Gas Light Company was formed and received a franchise from the city. This was followed in the next year by a third franchise, given to the Buffalo Oxygen and Hydrogen Gas Company, which was reorganized in 1873 as the Citizens' Gas Company, and, again, as the Buffalo City Gas Company, in 1897.

In 1899 the Buffalo Gas Light Company and the Buffalo City Gas Company were consolidated in the organization of the Buffalo Gas Company, which has controlled the supply of artificial gas to the city since that time, having acquired the capital stock of the Buffalo Mutual Gas Light Company, and most of the stock of a fourth corporation, the People's Gas Light and Coke Company, which had come into existence at a later day. The franchises under which the consolidated company operates are reported as perpetual.

Under a contract with the company effected by Mayor Adam in 1907, the gas-lighting of streets is now entirely by means of sixty candle-power incandescent Welsbach lamps, at a price per lamp per year of \$10.95.

Natural gas was piped to Buffalo from its Pennsylvania

sources in 1886, by the Buffalo Natural Gas Fuel Company, which holds the only franchise for its distribution. The supply from Pennsylvania had been supplemented by another from Canadian sources, brought through pipes laid down in the bed of the Niagara River, but that tapping of Canadian resources is no longer permitted. Other gas wells, nearer to Buffalo, have contributed a little to the supply, and yet it is far less than the city would use if its whole demand could be met. It would be the preferred fuel for most heating purposes, if everybody could always depend upon having it in sufficiency for the coldest turns of winter weather, but there has not been that certainty for an unlimited use. To a considerable extent the natural gas is used, in connection with the Welsbach mantles, for illumination as well as for heating.

Of the power now coming into Buffalo from the electric development at Niagara Falls, 12,000 horse-power go to the production of light. The sale of this part of it is controlled entirely by the Buffalo General Electric Company, incorporated in 1892, as a consolidation of some previous electric light companies. The authorized capital stock of the company is \$5,000,000; issued, \$2,979,500; bonds, \$2,375,000. Its franchise is reported as perpetual. In 1907, it had installed about 475 miles of mains and 6,754 meters.

Business use of electric lighting is extensive; the private use is more limited than in most other cities, and even less than in multitudes of small towns. The fact is ascribed to high rates, maintained by the substantial monopoly which the company has secured. For large institutions and industrial establishments there are many private installations of electric light plants.

The chief officers of the company are Charles R. Huntley, president; George Urban and Andrew Langdon, vice-presidents. It has purchased recently the fine site, on Wash-

CHARLES R. HUNTLEY

Born West Winfield, New York, October 12, 1853, entered business in employ of Standard Oil Company at Bradford, Pennsylvania, in 1877. In 1883 went into brokerage business. In 1888 went to Buffalo to manage the electric lighting companies which afterward consolidated and became known as the Buffalo General Electric Company, of which he is president and general manager. He is vice-president and general manager of the Cataract Power & Conduit Company; treasurer of the Buffalo and Niagara Falls Electric Light & Power Company; vice-president of the Peoples Bank of Buffalo; director Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railroad, German American Bank of Buffalo, etc.; member of American Institute of Electrical Engineers and of the National Electric Light Association.



Charles R. Huntley

ington, Genesee and Huron streets, which had been occupied for many years by the Gruener Hotel, and is understood to be preparing to erect there one of the finest business buildings of the city.

CHAPTER VI

SEWERAGE AND SANITATION

SINCE Buffalo was incorporated as a city it has always been provided, under its charter, with a board of health, but its conception of the need and the functions of such an institution was limited at the beginning and has had a slow growth. Its early ordinances, as published in 1839, set forth that the board of health "shall exercise the authority granted by the laws of the State providing against infectious and pestilential diseases within this city, and for that purpose shall assemble at such times and places and as often as they may deem necessary, for the purpose of inquiring into the existence of such nuisances and causes of sickness and diseases as may be found in said city." Further it is ordained that the board shall appoint a health physician, "whose duty it shall be to visit every sick person who may be reported to the board of health," and to "report with all convenient speed his opinion of the sickness." Also to visit and inspect, at the request of the president of the board, all boats and vessels suspected of having on board any pestilential or infectious disease, and all stores or buildings which are suspected of containing unsound provisions or damaged hides, etc.

Evidently the health board and the health physician were provided for emergencies of pestilence, such as that of the visitation of cholera in 1832, which called Mayor Johnson, Roswell W. Haskins, Lewis F. Allen, Dyre Tillinghast and Dr. John E. Marshall into heroic service, as told in a previous chapter; and not much continuous work of preventive sanitation was expected, or seen to be a serious need.

We could learn very little of sanitary conditions in the early years of the young city if we had nothing to inform us

but the records that have come down. "Drains or sewers" are mentioned in the "Street Records" preserved at the City Clerk's office, and in the earliest ordinances, but nothing there could tell us how much they served for drainage and how much for sewerage, and where their sewage went to, if they carried any. Fortunately, among the manuscripts in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, there is a paper on "Buffalo City Sewerage and Sanitary Science," written in 1866, by Oliver G. Steele, which sketches the work that had been done on these lines before that time. From a memoir of Mr. Steele, written by the Rev. Dr. Hosmer, we know that he was recognized as the leading spirit in what had been done toward the instituting of a system of sewerage, and the source of information is therefore the best we could have.

In 1847 Mr. Steele was an alderman of the Common Council, and he tells us that previous to that year "the subject of underground drainage had attracted little attention." He speaks of "sewers or drains as they were called" that had been constructed as early as 1834-5, in Ellicott and Oak Streets, and describes them as follows: "They were but five or six feet deep, constructed of dry brick, with a board bottom, the bricks laid up projecting inward till they met at the top, and held in place as soon as laid by the soil thrown upon them." "Even these wretched sewers," he remarks, "did good service for many years."

But in 1847, under the mayoralty of Hon. E. G. Spaulding, "the progress of local improvement had been such," Mr. Steele writes, "that special attention was drawn to the subject of sewerage." Then, for the first time, the Board of Aldermen appointed a committee on paving, sewers and light. The committee consisted of O. G. Steele, Orlando Allen and Luman K. Plimpton,—all energetic men,—and they found an abundance of work waiting to be taken in

hand. "The call for paving was pressing, city lights there were none, and sewerage was so little known as to be scarcely recognized among city improvements." The little drainage of streets that had been provided for was all below Eagle Street. Above that line in the city there was none. "All the water which fell upon the surface," Mr. Steele tells us, "remained until taken up by evaporation. No cellar or vault could be made available, as the first hard rain would fill them with water."

The first work planned and carried by the new committee was a receiving sewer in Michigan Street, from the canal to Batavia Street. It was carried against bitter opposition from the owners of the property benefited. The \$12,500 which it cost was deemed enormous extravagance, and the principle then first propounded, that property on parallel and cross streets which must drain into it should be taxed for its share of the cost, was hotly contested. But the project was driven through; the results from it were instructive; and when, in the next year, the committee planned and recommended a general system of sewerage, a good deal of public opinion appears to have been prepared for its consideration, with thoughtfulness, at least. It was not adopted at the time, but Mr. Steele could say, eighteen years later, that its recommendations had all been carried out.

The territory sewered by the system then planned extended "from Carolina Street on the west to the 'big ravine,' as it was termed, in the old Fourth Ward, near Spring and Pratt streets, and northerly as far as Goodell and Virginia streets, then substantially the limits of population. All the receiving sewers named in the report were constructed in a few years, including the proposed large sewer in the 'big ravine' before referred to, and the sewer through the great ravine which cut through the westerly end of what is now Johnson Park, passing between Georgia and Carolina streets to the canal."

Before the time of Mr. Steele's writing on the subject (1866), the system had been extended much beyond the territory for which his committee had planned it in 1848; and he makes particular mention of the Emslie Street sewer, which had brought "a large and almost deserted territory into use."

For seventeen more years the sewerage of Buffalo was extended on the lines planned in 1848, and they were, of course, the only practicable lines for that period. The system developed was a systematic emptying of the sewage of Buffalo into the Hamburg and Erie Canals, to deposit filthy sediment in their sluggish waters, or drift through Buffalo Creek into the lake and down Niagara River, near shore, washing the Bird Island Pier, close to which our water works sucked into their tunnel the stream that ran to our lips through the city pipes.

This bad old system was superseded in 1883 by the construction of a long intercepting sewer, eight feet in diameter throughout the greater part of its length, which starts from the "mill-race sewer" in Swan Street (at what used to be known as "the Hydraulics"), and runs through Swan Street, the Terrace, Court Street, and Fourth Street, to Porter Avenue; thence along the slope of The Front to the bank of the Erie Canal, and along that bank to a point near Albany Street, whence it is carried under the canal and Black Rock Harbor to an outlet in Niagara River, some distance below the inlet of the city water works. We are now drawing near the time when some wholly different system of sewage disposal will have to be adopted, avoiding all discharge of polluting matter into the river, in justice to the people who take water from the Niagara below us, at Tonawanda and the Falls.

It can be said with entire assurance, that no real conception of the dependence of health and life in a city on ade-

quate sanitary regulations and their rigorous enforcement ever began to take form in our public mind, or in many individual minds, until after the remodelling of the Health Department, under the revised charter of 1891. That charter created a Board of Health made up of the Mayor, the president of the Common Council (this latter giving place in a few years to the Commissioner of Public Works), and a Health Commissioner, appointed by the Mayor; but the Health Commissioner was the executive and responsible official of what was now a recognized department of the city government. He was to act under the "advice and supervision" of the board, but he had considerably independent powers, and the then Mayor, Charles F. Bishop, appointed to the office a physician who would not minimize its powers or let them go to waste.

Dr. Ernest Wende, the first responsible and effectively authorized health officer of Buffalo, found a great opportunity for showing what sanitary science, backed by resolute authority, could do for the protection of health and life in a community, and he made the most of it. He had bigoted ignorance, bigoted tradition, bigoted habit, and long-indulged recklessness of neglect, to contend with. He fought in the first years of his service for every measure he carried through, and he was one who would not and could not be beaten in the fight. He had to win public belief in the science he championed, and he did win it, widening the circle of belief at a rate which soon made rapid gains, until the city at large was quite solidly with him, in hearty appreciation of his work, before the ten years of his first service closed.

Results were not slow in coming to plain sight. In 1891, the last year of the old sanitary conditions, there were 6,001 deaths in the city, out of a population of 255,000. In 1892, the first year of scientific attention to unsanitary conditions

and practices, the deaths fell in number to 5,697, though population had increased by 10,000 or 15,000 at the least. And the decrease went on, while population as steadily grew. In 1894 there were 5,280 deaths; in 1896, 4,452; and in 1900, when the decennial census showed 97,000 more inhabitants than in 1891, the deaths among them were but 4,998, against the 6,001 of ten years before. There was no gainsaying such evidence as this. A death rate reckoned from an estimated population might be questioned, but a diminishing total of deaths in a manifestly growing city could mean but one thing. And the record of deaths is one particular of our municipal statistics that is open to no dispute. Other items of record may be questionable, but the dead cannot be buried without a permit from the Department of Health, and its catalogue of them is necessarily correct. So the life-saving effect of Dr. Wende's sanitary measures had absolute proof.

One of his first movements was to secure a bacteriological laboratory, and he led the health officials of the country in contending for that as a municipal need. Two years of argument and pleading were spent in the effort before his laboratory was equipped, but after the spring of 1893 that great detective agency was in his hands. How it helped him in his vigorous defense of the city against polluted water and infected milk can readily be understood. These were the deadliest enemies that his department had to fight with, and the greater part of the lives saved in its warfare were snatched from them. Its systematic inspection, registration and record soon made it nearly impossible for an infected source in the milk supply to go undetected very long.

The extermination of the long-tubed nursing bottle was the achievement which had most to do, perhaps, with the remarkable reduction of infant mortality which Dr. Wende

brought about. To obtain ordinances for the suppression of the sale of these bottles, and then to convince courts that the ordinances should be enforced, was no easy task, but the health commissioner contrived scientific exhibitions of proof against the deadly tubes which silenced all defence of them, and they were driven out of use.

In the crusade against polluted water there occurred a dramatic episode, in which the health commissioner played somewhat the part of a scientific Sherlock Holmes. A sudden epidemic of typhoid fever appeared in February, 1894, the cause of which was not traceable for a time. The commissioner suspected some sewer pollution of the water supply, supposed to be pumped through a tunnel from an inlet far out in the Niagara River; and finally, with great difficulty, he brought to light the fact that, because of troubles at the proper inlet, produced by ice, an old inlet, close to the Bird Island Pier, had been opened, and this explained the typhoid. He demanded an instant closing of the old inlet, and he compelled submission to his authority as the guardian of life and health in the city, though the pinched supply of water that ensued brought a grave exposure to dangerous fires, and roused fierce denunciations from many powerful interests, which had more solicitude for the safety of property than for the safety of life.

Public opinion and law were co-operative in strengthening the commissioner's hands. After obtaining effective ordinances from the Common Council, he procured an act of the Legislature which required his approval of any change. He magnified his office by making its importance seen and felt, and established a public appreciation of science and rigorous system in the sanitation of a city which no ordinary administration of the Health Department would ever have done. This was seen when a change of party in the city government led to the dropping of Dr. Wende from the

office, as happened in 1901. The public protest was vehement to a remarkable degree.

Dr. Wende was succeeded, however, by his own assistant, Dr. Walter D. Greene, and the department staff underwent little change. The system which the former commissioner had organized was maintained, and much of the energy he had infused into the administration of the department was active in the following years. One of the early acts of Mayor Adam, when he assumed office on the 1st of January, 1906, was to announce the appointment of Dr. Wende, as Health Commissioner, to take effect on the expiration of Dr. Greene's term, in 1908. Dr. Wende re-entered the office, accordingly, but was stricken soon afterward by a mortal disease, and the city sustained a great loss in his death. His place at the head of the Health Department is now filled efficiently by Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, who had been Dr. Wende's deputy for some time before the latter's death.

CHAPTER VII

PARKS AND PUBLIC GROUNDS

PRIOR to 1870 Buffalo had an abundance of the beauty of grass and foliage in its tree-lined streets and well-kept private grounds, with no lack of air space, furnished by unoccupied lots. Two of the three functions of a park system, ventilation and adornment, were thus fairly performed without it; but would cease to be, as the city thickened its population in the course of the coming years. As for the third function, of healthful recreation for the public, in free fields and groves, it had been neglected altogether. There was nothing to offer it but a few small bits of ground dedicated to public use, such as the fragment of old Dr. Johnson's estate, which bears the name of Johnson Park; and these were so neglected as to offer very little invitation, even to the neighborhood strollers of a summer eve.

In the summer of 1858 William Dorsheimer, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the State, began to incite a few public-spirited gentlemen to act with him in starting a movement toward the creation of a proper system of public parks, before the further growth of the city should make it more difficult and costly to secure desirable lands. The result was a meeting held at the residence of Sherman S. Jewett, on the 25th of August, that year, and the appointment of a committee, consisting of William Dorsheimer, Joseph Warren, Pascal P. Pratt, Sherman S. Jewett and Richard Flach, to take preliminary steps. At private expense, Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, the architect-in-chief of Central Park, New York, was engaged to examine the situation and recommend a desirable park scheme. He came to Buffalo, and, after carefully surveying the city and its suburbs, submitted a report from his firm, of Olmsted, Vaux

& Co., suggesting the features of a plan that has been realized exactly in all that part of our existing park system which lies in the northern part of the city,—extending from The Front, on the Niagara River, by wide boulevards and through the main Delaware Park, to The Parade, on the high ground of the northeast.

This report was transmitted to the Mayor, General William F. Rogers, on the 16th of November, and by him to the Common Council the following week, with the recommendation that a committee of five members of the Council be appointed to co-operate with the citizens' committee, in securing legislation to authorize the necessary purchase of lands by an issue of the city's bonds. Meantime, in the press and otherwise, the project was receiving earnest support, and a decisive public opinion in its favor was being evoked. The required act of the Legislature was passed in April, 1869. It provided for the appointment of a Board of Park Commissioners, twelve in number, who should have power to select and locate not more than five hundred acres of land, which the city, in the exercise of its rights, should take, and they should be public places, for use as a public park or parks. It authorized an issue of the city's bonds, to an amount not exceeding \$500,000, for the purchase of such lands; and further issues, within prescribed limits, for the laying out and improving of the parks; and it provided for annual appropriations of money to be expended by the commissioners in the maintenance of the parks, over the "use, regulation, protection and government" of which it gave them full control.

The Park Commissioners first appointed were Pascal P. Pratt, Sherman S. Jewett, Dexter P. Rumsey, William Dorsheimer, Joseph Warren, Dennis Bowen, Edwin T. Evans, James Mooney, Richard Flach, John Greiner, Jr., John Cronyn, Lewis P. Dayton, and the Mayor, William F.

Rogers, *ex officio*. It was a remarkably strong board, and did remarkably effective work. It was organized on the first Monday of May, 1869, by the election of Mr. Pratt to be president and General Rogers to be secretary and treasurer. Olmsted, Vaux & Co. were appointed landscape architects, George Kent Radford, engineer in charge, and William McMillan, superintendent of planting. The board was as fortunate in securing Mr. McMillan for its superintendent as in having Olmsted and Vaux to direct the whole constructive work. Mr. McMillan and Mr. Radford were recommended by the responsible architects, and were carefully picked men. In a service of nearly thirty years, Mr. McMillan created the remarkable arboreal beauty which distinguishes our parks.

In their first annual report, made to the Common Council in January, 1871, the commissioners announced the taking of property to the value, as awarded, of \$247,785, for lands (averaging about \$600 per acre), and \$46,381 for buildings. Extensive works of clearing, draining, grading, ploughing, and of excavating the marsh which was to undergo transformation into one of the most beautiful of lakes, were already well advanced. The end of the next year found the lake nearly finished, about two miles of roadway in the park already in considerable use by the public, and some 40,000 planted trees, shrubs and vines started in their growth. How rapidly the work went on, and how soon our new parks began to assume a face of beauty, is within the recollection of many who enjoy the perfect beauty of them to-day.

In 1873 Mr. Radford, the special engineer, retired, and Mr. McMillan was made general superintendent of all work in the park. In the next year lands were taken for the opening of Fillmore Avenue from The Parade southerly, to Seneca Street. In that year the commissioners were able to say, when they made their fourth report: "A practicable

drive of over six miles, connecting The Front with The Parade, through the main Park, has been opened and graded," "affording a much greater stretch of pleasure travel than the public have ever before enjoyed within the limits of the city; which, together with the attractions afforded by the pleasure rowboats on the Lake, have largely increased the number of visitors during the year." What this opening of six miles of a continuous pleasure drive within the city meant, can be realized better if we recall some remarks that were made a little later by the park architect, Olmsted, in a description he wrote of the park system of Buffalo, in its relation to the general city plan and topographical situation. After showing how unfortunately the views of Lake Erie and the Niagara had been shut out of sight, and what "cheerless landscape conditions" prevailed generally in the surroundings of the town, he said: "It came about, finally, that while the city remained notable for public and private wealth, its poverty of rural recreation was deplorable. In no other town of equal population was so little pleasure to be had in a ride or walk to the outskirts." This was much truer thirty years ago than now.

Until 1877 works of improvement on the then planned system of three newly created parks, with connecting parkways and broad avenues, and with the incidental features of The Circle, Soldiers' Place, etc., were carried on energetically, with fairly liberal appropriations for it by the Common Council. At that date, however, appropriations were cut down abruptly to sums which sufficed barely for a decent maintenance of what had been done in the previous seven years; and this parsimonious treatment of the parks was pursued until 1884. In that interval of eight years the total sum which the Park Commission could apply to work in the nature of improvement was about \$30,000—an average of less than \$4,000 per year. With its maintenance fund,

however, a little was being done slowly to better the appearance of the older pieces of public ground, which had come under its care, as well as to improve the state of the park roads. And trees, shrubs, flowers and grass were growing in beauty all the time.

In 1879 Sherman S. Jewett succeeded Pascal P. Pratt in the presidency of the Commission, which he retained until his death, in 1897.

The privilege of using a part of the grounds of the United States military post at Fort Porter for park purposes, in connection with the adjoining park grounds, called The Front, had been obtained by resolution of Congress in 1870. In 1880 an arrangement for making certain improvements in the fort grounds was effected with the War Department, and plans to that end were carried out during the next few years.

A very important improvement at The Front was consented to by the Common Council in 1884, when proceedings were begun for taking the lake shore lands, which The Front overlooks, between the Erie Canal and the Lake. Resisting litigation delayed the acquisition for several years. Other proceedings were begun at the same time which resulted in a prompt addition of twelve acres of fine grove to the picnic grounds of Delaware Park, east of Lincoln Parkway, on the southerly side of the lake.

By 1887 there had come to be a considerable growth of desire for additions to the park system, in parts of the city most remote from the existing pleasure grounds. South Buffalo had dire need of some touch of nature-beauty, if any could be given to it, and Mr. Olmsted came to see what could be done. He worked out a fascinating plan of a park, to lie along the lake shore, to be near and accessible to the South Buffalo population, and inviting, at the same time, to boating excursions, through the outer harbor, from all parts

of the west side. It was tempting in every feature except the difficulties and the cost involved. They forbade the undertaking decisively, and it was laid gently, with regretful sighs, on the shelf.

A small addition to the public recreation grounds of the city was made that year by the acquisition of the property, on Clinton and Pine Streets, known since as Bennett Place.

During a part of 1887 and 1888 David Gray served as secretary and treasurer of the Board, in succession to General Rogers, but failing health compelled him to take a leave of absence in the spring of 1888, and he died soon after from the shock of a railway accident, which he suffered in the course of a journey to New York. The office was then filled by Colonel George H. Selkirk, who holds it still.

The South Park question had not been shelved with Mr. Olmsted's too costly plan for it, but received careful consideration and discussion until, finally, in 1890, a site for it was selected and the land acquired. At the same time ground was chosen and purchased for another park, in the southeastern quarter, on Buffalo Creek, or River, contiguous to Seneca Street, and not far from the city line. South Park and Cazenovia Park were thus added to the system.

A few buffalo and elk obtained in 1892 and yarded in The Meadow at Delaware Park were the small beginnings of the present "Zoo."

The Botanic Garden at South Park was established in 1894, with Mr. John F. Cowell as director. In the same year about twenty acres from the northerly edge of the grounds of the State Hospital for the Insane were acquired, for the purpose of opening a Scajaquada Parkway, along the south bank of Scajaquada Creek, connecting with Grant Street at the west.

On the 4th of July, 1896, a large boulder monument, in the Delaware Park Meadow, was dedicated to the memory

of soldiers of the War of 1812, who had been buried near its site. In that year the name of the park known formerly as The Parade was changed to Humboldt Park.

The next addition to the park system was made in 1897, when two pieces of privately opened pleasure grounds, called Riverside Park and Union Park, on the Niagara River, near the northern city line, were acquired, for the making of a free public Riverside Park, covering about twenty-two acres of land.

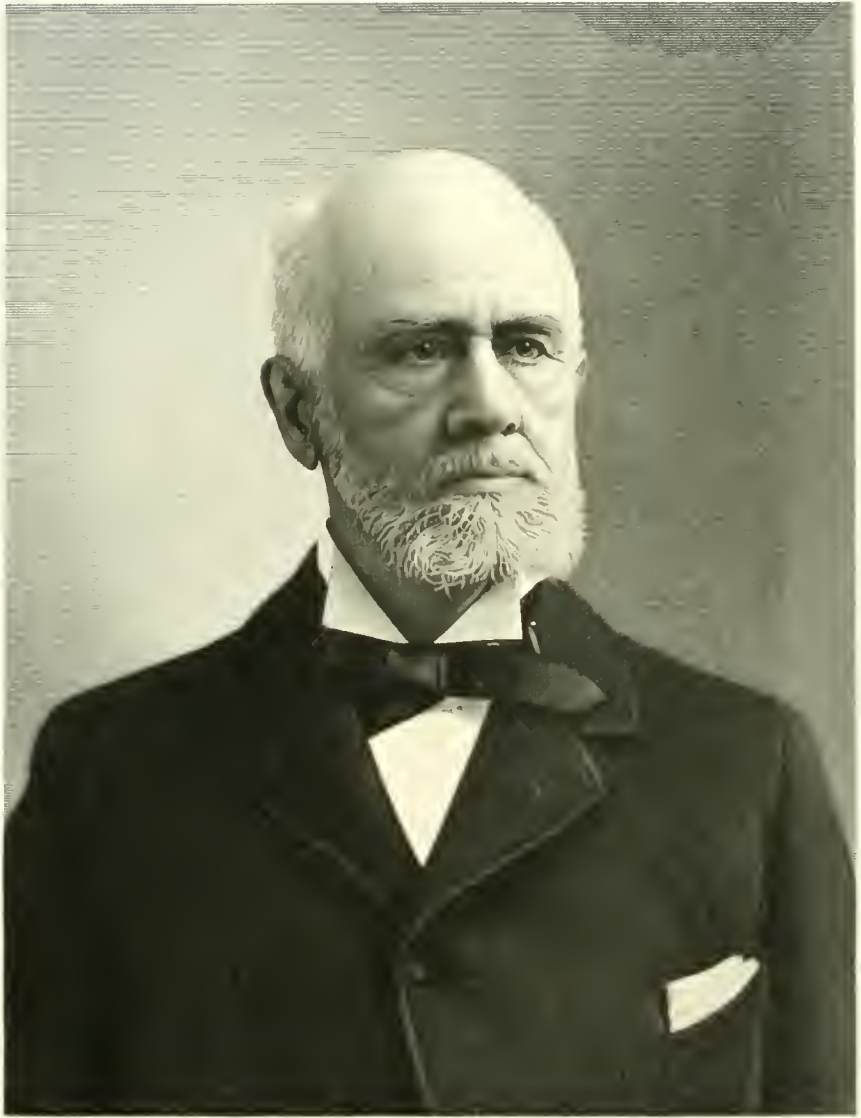
To the regret of everybody, the long service of Mr. McMillan, as general superintendent of everything done in the creation and maintenance of the park system, came now to an end. He was succeeded by General John C. Graves, who served until 1902, when John L. Brothers, formerly auditor and paymaster of the Board, was appointed superintendent.

Provision for the introduction of two nobly impressive architectural adornments of Delaware Park was made in the year 1900, by the ceding of sites for the Albright Art Gallery and the Buffalo Historical Society Building, the latter of which was to be temporarily the New York State Building for the Pan-American Exposition of the following year. A portion of Delaware Park was granted for use during the Exposition, in connection with the contiguous Exposition grounds, and considerable changes of arrangement and feature were made temporarily, for that use.

By a charter amendment in 1902 the Board of Park Commissioners was reduced to five members, additional to the Mayor, *ex-officio*.

In the fall of 1903 a bronze copy of Michael Angelo's "David," presented to the Park Department by Mr. Andrew Langdon, was erected on The Concourse in Delaware Park.

On Chapin Place, at the entrance to Chapin Parkway



Dexter P. Rumsey

DEXTER P. RUMSEY.

Manufacturer and capitalist; born Westfield, Chautauqua County, New York, April 27, 1827; removed to Buffalo at an early age; educated in public schools of Westfield and Buffalo. Was engaged in extensive tanning business with his father, Aaron Rumsey, and his brother, Bronson C. Rumsey, under the firm name of Aaron Rumsey & Company. At middle age withdrew from active business and became a landowner and capitalist. Was director Erie County Savings Bank and other corporations; Republican in politics; member, and for a time, president of Buffalo Club; member Country Club of Buffalo, and other civic and social institutions; died April 5, 1906.

from Delaware Avenue, a beautiful fountain, with a massive basin of granite, was erected in 1904 and presented to the Park Commission on the 14th of June by Mrs. Charles W. Pardee. Chapin Place was then named Gates Circle, in memory of the parents of Mrs. Pardee.

On a miraculously perfect day of May—the last of the month—in 1906, some thousands of people, assembled and seated in the open park, on the border of the lake and on the marble stairways rising from the lake to the beautiful Albright Art Gallery, were participants in as memorably impressive and flawlessly satisfying a ceremony as was ever performed. It was dedicatory of the Art Gallery, opened to the public that day.

In memory of the late Dexter P. Rumsey, his widow and daughter, Mrs. Susan Fiske Rumsey and Mrs. Grace Rumsey Wilcox, presented to the city through its Park Department, in May, 1906, a block of land covered with fine old trees, cornering into Delaware Park at its principal entrance, which makes a much needed addition to the grove at that part. The piece of ground had been known as Rumsey Wood, and is to keep that name.

This completes the tale of public park-lands acquired by the city, up to the year 1907. Its whole possession of "parks, parkways and minor places," as set forth in the thirty-eighth annual report of the Buffalo Park Commissioners, made July, 1907, is as follows: Delaware Park, 365 acres (of which 122 are in The Meadow and 46½ in the Park Lake or Gala Water); Humboldt Park, 56 acres; The Front, 48 acres; South Park, 155 acres; Cazenovia Park, 106 acres; Riverside Park, 22 acres; total of main parks, 752 acres. Park Approaches, being seven parkways (Humboldt, Lincoln, Bidwell, Chapin, Scajaquada, Southside, and Red Jacket) and six avenues (Fillmore, Richmond, Porter, Jewett, Front and Massachusetts), 224

acres. Minor places, including Prospect Place (two squares), Bidwell Place, Chapin Place, Soldiers' Place, Agassiz Place, The Circle, Niagara Square, The Terrace, Johnson Park, Day's Park, Arlington Place, Lafayette Square, Masten Place, Bennett Place, and several lesser squares and circles, besides twenty-seven "triangles,"—74 acres. Total, 1,052 acres of ground.

GOVERNMENTAL EVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

MUNICIPAL CONSTITUTION AND POLICE ADMINISTRATION

IT was the intention of the Legislature of New York that Buffalo should become an incorporated village in the year 1813, and it passed an act to that effect, naming five village trustees for the first year, whose successors in the years following should be elected by the people on the first Monday of every May. But the appointed board of trustees was not organized, and their successors were not chosen at the appointed time. Thereupon the Legislature, in 1815, revised and re-enacted the act of 1813, naming new trustees for the first year and providing for subsequent elections, as before; but again there was no organization of the village; and once more the Legislature was called on to give fresh life to its act.

Of course it was the war disturbances of 1813, and the destruction of the village at the end of that year, which frustrated the legislative intent; though it is said, in some items of historical information prefixed to the Buffalo Directory of 1836, that the inhabitants, in 1815, were not "informed of the passing of the act of incorporation until the time of the first election had elapsed."

At all events, the village incorporation of Buffalo was not actualized until the 6th of May, 1816, when four of the five appointed trustees met "at the house of Gaius Kibbe, innkeeper," and organized their board. The four in attendance were Samuel Wilkeson, Oliver Forward, Charles Townsend and Jonas Harrison. Ebenezer Walden

was the absentee. The board seems to have done nothing at this meeting beyond the election of a clerk, a treasurer, a collector, and three fire-wardens. No second meeting occurred until the 16th of August, and then only for the calling of a special meeting of "freeholders and inhabitants," to lay taxes, enact by-laws and adopt regulations. The trustees, it will be seen, were very limited in their powers, and a general village meeting was necessary when business of any importance was to be done. The first call for such meeting brought an insufficient attendance, and it was not until the 11th of November that the freeholders and inhabitants were assembled and business taken in hand. At this meeting a tax of \$1,400 was levied for village expenditure, and various ordinances or regulations adopted, relating mostly to measures of protection from fire.

The next meeting recorded in the minutes of the Board of Trustees, which are preserved in the office of our city clerk, was held on the 7th of March, 1817. This was a general meeting of inhabitants, and it resolved that "a tax of three mills on the dollar (computed to amount to \$400) be laid and collected on the property of the taxable inhabitants." From the computation thus given we learn that the taxable property of Buffalo in 1817 was valued at about \$134,000. Hence the tax of \$1,400 in the previous year, —the first tax levied in Buffalo,—exceeded one per cent. of its valuation.

On the first Monday of May, 1817, the first popular election of village trustees was held. Samuel Wilkeson, Ebenezer Walden and Jonas Harrison were returned to the board, and with them E. Ransom and John G. Camp. There is no record of another meeting till the next annual election, of May, 1818. Judge Clinton, who once went through the village records for some items of early history which he contributed to the Buffalo Directory of 1848,

found this in the minutes of 1818: "Eli Efner being elected treasurer, his predecessor, who had served for two years, having a balance of \$56.20 on hand, modestly suggested that it might be, in the judgment of the trustees, subject to a deduction for his services; but the trustees inexorably resolved 'that no compensation be allowed to the late treasurer, as his duties were represented to have been attended with no unusual trouble or loss of time.'"

In 1822 a new act of incorporation was procured, and this, again, was amended in 1826, somewhat enlarging the powers of the trustees. The amendment conveyed to them land under such water in Lake Erie as was or should be occupied by wharves and piers. This was consequent on the entry of the village into a commercial career, after the heroic opening of its harbor and the recent completion of the Erie Canal.

In April, 1832, Buffalo passed from the Village to the City organization of local government, under a new act of incorporation, which divided it into five wards and directed the election of two aldermen and an assessor from each. These were the only officials of the municipality to be chosen by the popular vote. A mayor and other functionaries were elected by the representative aldermen, who formed the Common Council of the City. The first mayor thus elected, as mentioned heretofore, was Dr. Ebenezer Johnson, who had retired from medical practice to become a banker of high standing in business and of substantial wealth. The mayor's salary was restricted by the original charter to \$250 per year. The money scale of everything in the young municipality was commensurate with this. The Common Council was empowered to raise not more than \$8,000 each year for lighting streets, maintaining a night watch, making and repairing roads and bridges, and for other expenses of the town.

Amending the City charter began in the first year of its operation, and has proceeded with consistent regularity ever since. There have been few years since 1832 in which nothing was done at Albany to alter in some way, importantly or unimportantly, the State prescription of local government for Buffalo. By 1835 it was found necessary to expand the limit set on municipal expenditures from \$8,000 to \$14,000. In 1837 the young city must needs enter on the making of a debt, and was empowered by one act to borrow \$20,000, to be repaid in annual instalments of \$5,000, and by a second act to borrow \$10,000 more; both of which loans the State Comptroller was authorized to make to it from the Common School Fund.

This early need of borrowing was consequent, undoubtedly, on the overdoing of municipal enterprise in the flush times of speculation that preceded the financial crash of 1837. The minutes of the Common Council in the last months of 1836 and a considerable part of 1837 give abundant evidence of the stress that the young municipality was going through. The main business of the Common Council at most of its meetings for a long period was to order legal proceedings for the sale of property on account of unpaid taxes assessed for local improvements. On the 7th of April, 1837, the street committee was directed to report a list of local improvements formerly ordered but not yet commenced, with "their opinion upon the expediency of abandoning each of such improvements in the present state of the finances and of the money market." A week later it was resolved that no local improvement should be begun thereafter "until the assessment for the same shall be fully collected and paid into the hands of the treasurer." At the meeting of the next week an order was directed to be drawn for \$2,650.59, for "sums paid out of the loan of 1837 on judgments and decrees against the city;" and at the fol-

lowing meeting, April 24, the Mayor was instructed to dismiss all watchmen from the city employ.

It is easy to see why the city came to borrowing and debt-making in the first five years of its existence. It had started in its career at too racing a speed, and was halted with a shock.

By the charter amendments of 1837 the city was authorized, in one corrective direction, to appoint a police justice and to establish a workhouse; in another and more important one, to appoint a superintendent of schools. At the same time it received more adequate power to raise funds for building and maintaining schoolhouses and schools. Two years later it received permission to make its schools free.

A general revision of the charter by legislative re-enactment in 1843 took the election of the Mayor and justices of the peace from the Common Council and gave it to the people at large. The municipal election was appointed to be held on the first Tuesday of March in each year, and the term of most offices was a single year. The mayor's salary was still kept at the modest \$250 mark. This revised charter authorized an annual expenditure of \$10,000 for the support of free schools, and of \$16,000 for all contingent and other expenses of the city. Here we see the early spirit that went into the undertaking of public education. More than a third of all intended expenditure from the public purse was assigned to schools.

Something of a systematic policing of the city was now in contemplation, for which purpose the Common Council was empowered to establish one or more watch-houses; to maintain a watch by night, with captains of the watch, and to appoint a watch-house justice. Stricter safeguarding of the city from fires was provided, by authority in the Council to prescribe fire limits, within which wooden buildings

might not be erected. To the same end, fire-wardens and aldermen were given authority to inspect private premises and require dangerous conditions to be changed.

The next general revision of the charter occurred in 1853, when the limits of the incorporated City of Buffalo were expanded by the annexation of the Town of Black Rock. The enlarged City was then divided into thirteen wards, each electing two aldermen to the Common Council. The municipal officers to be elected by general ticket were increased in number, and were as follows: mayor, recorder, comptroller, city attorney, street commissioner, city treasurer, receiver of taxes, city surveyor, superintendent of schools, police justice, chief of police, overseer of the poor, three assessors. The term fixed for these offices was now two years, except in the case of the recorder and the police justice, each of whom should serve four years, and that of the assessors, who should serve three years. The mayor was declared ineligible to election for two consecutive terms. The office of recorder was abolished by an act of the next Legislature (1854), or superseded, to speak more strictly, by the creation of the Superior Court of Buffalo, composed of three justices, which remained in existence until abolished by the State Constitution of 1894.

The strange provision in this charter of 1853 which filled the office of chief of police by popular election was rescinded in 1857. By the amendment then enacted the whole police force, consisting of a chief, four captains, forty policemen and ten police constables, was to be selected and appointed by the Mayor with the advice and consent of the Common Council.

The cutting and patching of municipal charters by political parties in power at Albany, to thwart adverse local elections, has been a common vicious practice in American politics; but a more vicious example of it can hardly be

found than one which came into our local experience in 1866. The party then dominant in the State, being less secure in the possession of power at Buffalo, passed an act which deprived our city of the control of its own police. This was accomplished by the creation of a Frontier Police District, embracing the towns of Tonawanda and Wheatfield, with Buffalo, such district to be "constituted and territorially united for purposes of police government and police discipline therein." By placing the police of this district under a board of commissioners appointed by the governor of the State, the party which contrived the scheme held the management of police affairs during two years of an opposition mayor.

The Frontier Police District had an existence of five years. It was abolished by an act of 1871, which reconstituted Buffalo as "a separate police district" and re-established its police department, under a board of commissioners composed of the Mayor, *ex-officio*, and two others, appointed by himself, with the advice and consent of the Common Council.

Meantime, in 1870, the charter had undergone a fresh revision and re-enactment, which produced some changes of importance. The superintendent of schools was now entitled Superintendent of Education, and he was no longer described as "the executive of the Common Council" in school matters, but as "the head of the School Department." He was given more freedom of initiative in that department and made a more responsible functionary. The Board of Health, formerly composed of three commissioners appointed by the Common Council, was now made up of the comptroller, the city engineer, and the president of the Common Council.

The next legislation that affected the city government importantly was in 1880, when the Municipal Court was

created and the Police Department was reconstructed anew. The Municipal Court, of two judges, was given a civil jurisdiction in suits involving sums of money that range from \$300 to \$600, according to the nature of the claim. The Department of Police was reorganized by another act of that year, under a board consisting of the Mayor, the superintendent of police, and one commissioner, the latter to be appointed by the Mayor with the advice and consent of the Common Council. Inasmuch as the mayor and the commissioner were to appoint the superintendent, the arrangement was a peculiar one, to say the least. It was in force for only three years.

The spring of 1883 brought two rapidly succeeding amendments from the Legislature, each abruptly revolutionizing the police board. The first, which came into effect on the 12th of April, gave the Mayor two commissioners as his colleagues on the board, both appointed by himself, but not to be of the same political party. The second, signed by the Governor on the 20th of April, required the comptroller of the City of Buffalo, within ten days after the passage of the act, to appoint three commissioners of police, for terms of four, five and six years, who should at once take the place of those who had previously constituted the police board. In the next year these commissioners were legislated out of office by an amendatory act, which again made the Mayor a member of the police board, *ex-officio*, with two commissioners appointed by himself.

That year, 1884, brought the beginning of reform in appointments to the civil service, which has done more than aught else to put an end to partisan political tampering with the police of the city, such as appears scandalously in the record above. Especially in that effect, but markedly in the whole character and working of the city gov-

ernment, the reform started in 1884 has proved to be the most important political event in our city life. The movement of public agitation which led to it was opened in 1881,—at about the time of the organization of the National Civil Service Reform League, with George W. Curtis at its head,—when fifteen citizens came together and organized the Civil Service Reform Association of Buffalo, which has been in active existence from that year to this. Those original members of the Association were the following: William F. Kip, Henry W. Sprague, Henry A. Richmond, Wilson S. Bissell, John G. Milburn, Robert H. Worthington, Sheldon T. Viele, William C. Bryant, F. A. Crandall, Matthias Rohr, John P. Einsfeld, Hiram Extein, Charles A. Sweet, Samuel M. Welch, Jr., J. N. Larned. They were soon joined by many earnest and steadfast workers in the cause, and public opinion was rallied rapidly to its support. Legislation which created the New York State Civil Service Commission, and which authorized similar city commissions, was won in May, 1883. Henry A. Richmond, of the Buffalo Association, was then appointed on the State Commission, with the Hon. John Jay and the Hon. A. Schoonmaker for his colleagues.

Effect was given to the Civil Service Act in Buffalo the next year, when the then Mayor, Jonathan Scoville, prescribed rules for competitive and non-competitive examinations of applicants for many of the municipal offices and employments, and for filling such offices and places in accord with the relative merits of the candidates, so ascertained.

In this first instance there was but a limited application of the law. All positions in the police, health, fire, education and law departments were excepted from the rules, and numerous other exceptions were made. But the system, to the extent of its working, proved its practicality and the

wholesomeness of its effects; and under steady pressure from the Civil Service Reform Association, supported by public opinion, it won extensions, step by step, until the police and all other departments have come under the rules, and next to nothing of the municipal civil service is now in the category of political spoils. The late Sherman S. Rogers was the efficient president of the local Civil Service Reform Association, and his successor, Mr. Ansley Wilcox, has kept the watchful spirit of the organization fully alive.

The last general revision that the charter has received thus far (to 1908), and the most radical, was the work of a commission of citizens appointed for the purpose, whose recommendations were submitted to the Legislature and embodied in an entire re-enactment of the charter of the City of Buffalo, in 1891. This divided the city into twenty-five wards, instead of the historically ancient thirteen, and it radically reconstituted the Common Council, making it a bi-cameral body, having twenty-five aldermen, elected by wards, in one board, and nine councilmen, elected by the city at large, in the other.

The whole power of initiative in legislation was left in the Board of Aldermen, no action of the Common Council having force unless it originated in that board and was approved by the other; but, by exercising a right to amend measures passed up to it from the aldermanic board, and return them for reconsideration, the Board of Councilmen was given a part of importance to perform. The aldermen's term of service was fixed at two years; that of the councilmen at three. By amendment in 1895 the term of the councilmen was extended to four years; five and four of their number to be elected alternately in each odd-numbered year. The term for which mayors were to be elected was fixed at three years in 1891 and lengthened to four in 1895.

ANSLEY WILCOX.

Lawyer; born, Summerville, Georgia, January 27, 1856; descended from John Willcocks, one of the original settlers of Hartford, Connecticut, 1636; educated Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven; Yale (A. B., 1874); and at Oxford, England; admitted to bar 1878; counsel for commission appointed by Governor Cleveland to acquire the land for New York State Reservation at Niagara Falls, 1883-85, and as counsel in case of *Rogers vs. Buffalo*, established the constitutionality of the Civil Service Law of the State of New York. Headed the movement for jury reform, and is president of Buffalo Civil Service Reform Association. At his house President Roosevelt took oath of office after the death of President McKinley. Now member of the firm of Wilcox & Bull.



Ansley Wilcox.

This charter of 1891 created ten departments in the city government, several of them changed materially in their structure from what had corresponded to them before. The Department of Finance was organized under two officials, the Comptroller and the Treasurer, each elected for three years; but this term was extended to four years by amendment in 1895.* For that of Assessment a board of five assessors was created, serving five years each. This term, also, was extended in 1895, to six years. At the head of the Law Department was a Corporation Counsel, elected for three years (made four years in 1895), with an attorney and an assistant attorney of his appointment.

The Department of Police and Excise kept its latest form of organization, under a board composed of the Mayor, *ex-officio* (to be its president), and two commissioners, of his appointment, for terms of six years, one of whom should be designated as the Acting Commissioner and president of the board in the absence of the Mayor; the two commissioners to be chosen from the two principal parties in the latest election. The excise functions of this department were annulled in 1896 by the act known as the Raines Liquor-tax Law.

A responsible Health Commissioner, appointed for five years by the Mayor, was provided for the head of the Health Department, to act under the "advice and supervision" of a Board of Health, composed of the Mayor, the president of the Common Council and himself, but exercising large powers. By an amendment in 1900, the commissioner of public works was substituted for the president of the Common Council in the membership of this Board of Health.

The Fire Department was to be presided over, as hith-

*By an amendatory act in 1902 the treasurer was made ineligible to re-election.

erto, by three commissioners, appointed by the Mayor, for six years each.

The important Department of Public Works, now first instituted, was placed under three commissioners, one of whom should be elected, the other two appointed by the Mayor, from different political parties, and each to serve for three years. The extensive duties of the department were divided between four bureaus, of Engineering, Water, Streets, and Public Buildings. By amendment in 1901 the two appointed commissioners were dropped, and the department was placed under a single commissioner, elected for four years. The heads of bureaus in the department received the title of deputy-commissioners.

In the Department of Public Instruction the most important change was the institution of a Board of School Examiners, to test and determine the qualifications of all applicants for appointment as teachers in the public schools, and to prepare "eligible lists" from which the appointees of the superintendent must be drawn. The five examiners of the board, appointed by the mayor for five years each, were charged with the further duty of visiting and inspecting the schools. The term for which the Superintendent of Education should be elected was fixed at three years by this charter revision, but extended to four by amendment in 1895. Until 1891 all expenditures for school-grounds and buildings were assessed upon the property within the school district for which such expenditure was made. The revised charter, without abolishing the old school-district divisions, directed that all expenditures of the school department should thereafter be included in and paid out of the general fund.

The Park Department was continued by the revised charter of 1891 under a board of fifteen commissioners, appointed by the Mayor for six years each, but an amendment in 1902 reduced the number to five.

By amendment in 1895 the term of election fixed at three years for the Overseer of the Poor, the Police Justice and the Justices of the Peace, was extended to four.

A most important new feature brought into the revised charter of 1891 was the power it gave the mayor to reduce or strike out items in the annual estimates of the city comptroller, as they came to him after revision by the Common Council.

An important reform in police court administration, by more recent legislation, is the creation of a Juvenile Court, with probation officers, and the placing of the probation system under the supervision of a State commission, by an act passed in 1907.

Of the thirty-six gentlemen who have presided, as mayors, in the administration of the municipal government of Buffalo, within the period of time since it became an incorporated city, a considerable number have been men of the highest distinction in its citizenship. Its first mayor, Dr. Ebenezer Johnson, who filled the office twice, was a conspicuous figure in the life of his period. Judge Samuel Wilkeson, who served as mayor in 1836, was one of the most commandingly strong characters that has ever appeared in this community to take part in its upbuilding. Judge George W. Clinton, who was elected in 1842, has never, in some fine and beautiful qualities of genius and temper, had his peer among our people. Judge Joseph G. Masten, who succeeded him in 1843 and who was elected again in 1845; the Hon. Solomon G. Haven, the long-time partner of Millard Fillmore in law practice, and afterwards representative of this district in Congress; the Hon. Elbridge G. Spaulding, who acted subsequently a part of much importance in the congressional and financial history of the Civil War; the Hon. H. K. Smith and the Hon. Eli Cook, both famously brilliant representatives of the Bar;—these gen-

tlemen, who occupied the mayor's seat during a majority of the years between 1842 and 1855, were of the best in talent and position that the city could choose from.

William G. Fargo, founder and head of the American Express Company and of the Wells, Fargo & Company Express,—one of the notably great organizers of business in his day,—was our mayor in the four years of war-time, 1862-5, and gave strength to the patriotic spirit of the city, though politically opposed to the national party in power. Grover Cleveland, as Mayor of Buffalo in 1882, made the showing in that office of character and executive capacity which opened his subsequent career. In its recent Mayor, James N. Adam, the city chose not merely one of eminence among its merchants, the founder of an important business, but chose him as an exemplar of good citizenship among men of business, manifested in a life-long attentiveness to public affairs.

CHAPTER II

COURTS,—BENCH AND BAR

IN the first chapter of this book mention has been made of the creation, in 1808, of Niagara County, which included what is now Erie County, and the organization of its Court of Common Pleas, with Augustus Porter as First Judge, and Erastus Granger and Samuel Tupper of Buffalo for two of his four Associate Justices. Justice Tupper became First Judge of the court in 1812, and Samuel Wilkeson, of Buffalo, received the seat in 1820. In the next year Erie County was set off from Niagara County and acquired its own Court of Common Pleas. The presiding judges in the remaining years of the existence of that court were Ebenezer Walden, 1823-28; Thomas C. Love, 1828-29; Philander Bennett, 1829-37; James Stryker, 1837-40; Joseph Clary, 1841; Nathan K. Hall, 1841-45; Frederick P. Stevens, 1845-47.

The new constitution of 1846 abolished the Court of Common Pleas and substituted the County Court, the judges of which, elected by the people, have been: Frederick P. Stevens, 1847-51; Jesse Walker, 1852; James Sheldon, 1852-64; Stephen Lockwood, 1865-68; Roswell L. Burrows, 1869-72; Albert Haight, 1873-76; George W. Cothran, 1877; William W. Hammond, 1878-90; Joseph V. Seaver, 1890-95; Edward K. Emery, 1896-1906; Harry L. Taylor, 1908-

Since the reconstitution of the Supreme Court of the State, in 1846, the justices elected from Erie County, for periods as follows, have been: Seth E. Sill, 1847-51; Benjamin F. Green, 1854-60; James G. Hoyt, 1860-63; Charles Daniels, 1863-91; Albert Haight, 1874-94; Loran L. Lewis, 1883-95; Manly C. Green, 1893-1905; Edward W. Hatch,

1896-1909; Robert C. Titus, 1896-99; Truman C. White, 1897-1910; Daniel J. Kenefick, 1899-1913; Louis W. Marcus, 1907-20; Edward K. Emery, 1907-20; Charles B. Wheeler, 1908-21.

On the bench of the Court of Appeals Buffalo has been represented by Albert Haight since 1894, his term expiring in 1908, when he was re-elected.

A Recorder's Court in the City of Buffalo was created in 1839, and its bench was occupied by Horatio J. Stow, 1840-44; Henry K. Smith, 1844-48; Joseph G. Masten, 1848-52; George W. Houghton, 1852-54. The court was then merged in the Superior Court of Buffalo, with three judges, and those who served in the latter during the forty years of its existence were the following: George W. Houghton, 1854-55; Isaac A. Verplanck, 1854-73; George W. Clinton, 1854-77; Joseph G. Masten, 1856-71; James M. Humphrey, 1871; James Sheldon, 1872-85; James M. Smith, 1873-86; Charles Beckwith, 1878-91; Robert C. Titus, 1886-94; Edward W. Hatch, 1887-94; Truman C. White, 1892-94. In 1894 the Superior Court was abolished by a constitutional amendment and its powers vested in the Supreme Court.

Meantime the Municipal Court of the City of Buffalo had been created by legislation in May, 1880, with a bench of two judges, filled in the period since by the following named persons: George S. Wardwell, 1880-92; George A. Lewis, 1880-91; Louis Braunlein, 1892-1903; Charles W. Hinson, 1893-99; Otto W. Volger, 1900-05; Clark H. Hammond, 1904-; Devoc P. Hodson, 1906-.

The early Bar of Buffalo and Erie County was characterized manifestly by an abundance of talent, beyond the common proportion; and this was due, of course, to the reasons which have always, in the westward widening of settlement of the country, drawn young men of brains,

energy and ambition to the newer communities as they arose. To this day the traditions of eloquence, wit, humor, brilliancy and solidity of mind in the legal profession of our Western New York circle are singularly full of early names.

Many of the old time Nestors and luminaries of the local Bar have appeared in former chapters of this history, in such leadership of action, organization and government, in all directions of progress, as more than suffices to show the importance of their part in the development of the rising village and city, quite apart from the professional functions they performed. Ebenezer Walden, the first regularly commissioned attorney who opened practice in this community, to which he came in 1806, served it in the Legislature and as mayor and judge. Heman B. Potter, who seems to have been the next of the trained young lawyers to arrive, which he did in 1811, evaded political office (unless that of district attorney, which he held from 1819 to 1829, can be called so); but his great value as a citizen is indicated in Ketchum's History by the remark that he "became early identified with all the interests of Buffalo, especially with the moral, religious and educational interests of society," in respect of which "he was more consulted than any other man."

Albert H. Tracy, who came in 1815 to the new village, then rising from the ashes of the destruction of 1813, has probably had few peers among our people in sheer intellectual power. He ran a brilliant career in public life, as state senator and congressman, for a number of years, but withdrew from it in 1837, and seemed, unfortunately, in his later life to have no ambition beyond the acquisition of wealth. Thomas C. Love was a veteran of the Buffalo Bar whose memory as lawyer, judge, surrogate and congressman was long preserved. Dyre Tillinghast had less distinction as a lawyer, perhaps, than as a most excellent citizen, full

of kindness and readiness to serve. Thomas T. Sherwood was a man of notability in his day, and much talked of long afterwards, on account, to a large extent, of peculiarities that cannot have been pleasing. The Rev. Dr. Lord once characterized him as "an irrepressible man, who never stopped talking;" and Judge Loran L. Lewis, who remembers him, has reported that he was in "a constant wrangle with the court and not on good terms with the jury."

George R. Babcock, who came to Buffalo in 1824 and was in the front rank of its citizenship until 1876, does not seem so remote to the older members of the present generation as do most of his early contemporaries. A fine and true tribute to the rare dignity of his character was rendered in a few words by the late James O. Putnam, when he spoke of Mr. Babcock as "a man who might easily be taken for a Roman Senator in the last days of Republican Rome, when none were for party and all were for the state."

The quiet way in which the profession of law may be practiced with little show to the public, but much usefulness and success, was illustrated in the life of Orsamus H. Marshall, the trusted custodian of many estates and the adviser of a large clientage. More importantly, he illustrated the flavor that can be given to a life of business by scholarly tastes and recreative studies, such as he pursued in local history. For his interest in two, at least, of its most valued institutions of culture,—its Historical Society and its Grosvenor Library,—the city owes a great debt to the memory of Mr. Marshall.

At no period has there been a lack of eloquence in the Bar of Buffalo; but it has never had the equal of George P. Barker as an orator, if we may judge from the enthusiasm of admiration that his speaking evoked and the long-lasting impression that it left. He ran a sadly brief career, admitted to practice in 1830 and dying in 1848, at the age of

forty-one. Among his contemporaries were two, Henry K. Smith and Eli Cook, who had brilliant gifts of speech, but not to the remarkable mastery of audiences which Barker seems to have wielded.

With less of those qualities in his speaking which have emotional effects, Solomon G. Haven was undoubtedly an abler man, a stronger advocate, and much more broadly influential as a citizen than either of these. Speaking of Mr. Haven in 1876, on the occasion of the opening of the City and County Hall, the late E. Carleton Sprague said: "He was the prince of jury lawyers, and it is no disparagement to others to say that in my judgment I have never seen his equal in this department of the profession, at this or at any other Bar. To him, too, more than to any other man, I think, we owe the courtesy and good temper with which the contests in our courts have been conducted by the profession since I have known it."

In the same connection, on the same occasion, Mr. Sprague spoke of Mr. Haven's distinguished preceptor in law and his subsequent senior partner in the famous firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven. Mr. Sprague had entered as a young man upon the study of the law in the office of Fillmore & Haven, and he wished to bear testimony to Mr. Fillmore's "great learning, his profound investigations, his excellent sense, and his unwearied industry as a lawyer." "I have not known," he said, "his superior, upon the whole, as a professional man." In these respects there was much resemblance, no doubt, between Mr. Fillmore and the third partner of the celebrated firm—Judge Nathan K. Hall. Judge Hall was especially notable for the rare power of concentration that he exercised in the performance of his work. It was a remark of the late Thomas J. Sizer that the judge, "if pressed for time, could do more work in an hour, and do it well, than most others could do in a day."

Between 1836 and 1872 Henry W. Rogers was one of the leaders in the profession, and he was the founder of a legal firm which has had, we may say, more historical continuity of weight and importance in the law business of the city than any other that can be named. The original association of Mr. Rogers was with Dennis Bowen, who was preeminently a counsellor, and whose clientage as such was very large. Then Sherman S. Rogers, nephew of the senior partner, was taken into the firm, and acquired very rapidly an eminent standing in the community, not professionally, alone, but as a citizen of high example and leading influence. Somewhat later the firm was reinforced, after a careful inspection of quality and force among the younger men of the profession, by calling into it the junior member who is now its senior, Franklin D. Lock. By another reinforcement, after both of the original heads of the office had passed out of it, John G. Milburn came in, to find, in the large affairs it handled, his opportunity for winning the reputation which has carried him, by a final bound, to the very top of his profession, at the larger center of larger affairs, in the city of New York.

Another law office of historical continuity and importance was founded by that accomplished and most admirable gentleman, E. Carleton Sprague, of whom, for the praising of the city, it can be said that his eminence among us in the finer attributes of character, and the value to us of his exemplary refinement of mind and motive, were appreciated more and more in the course of his useful life. In and out of his profession, he has the good fortune to be represented worthily by his sons, and by the firm of Moot, Sprague, Brownell & Marcy, in which a son continues the name.

Mr. Adelbert Moot came into this strong firm from another of old standing, founded by Judge Loran L. Lewis, now retired from practice, but succeeded worthily by a son of the same name.



ADOLPHUS M. WOOD

Lawyer, born Allen, Allegany County, New York, November 22, 1834, educated at Vanda Academy, Genesee Normal School, and Albany Law School; admitted to the bar in 1856, and began practice with George M. Cogswold, at Vanda, who years later removed to Buffalo, where he has since resided, actively engaged in the practice of his profession, member of Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, and various clubs; member American Bar Association and New York State Bar Association; Republican

Adolphus M. Wood



Adel the Keast

In their later years there were three men of the same generation who were more likely than others to be thought of or spoken of as the most eminent citizens of Buffalo, if the question of precedence arose. Mr. Sprague was one, Sherman S. Rogers another, and James O. Putnam the third. The activity of Mr. Putnam in the life of the city had been less than that of Mr. Sprague and Mr. Rogers, because of frail health and long absences, but he had won distinction earlier and by gifts of more brilliance than their quieter powers. He was the man of eloquence, of quick and fertile imagination, of sparkling speech, in oratory or conversation, whose talk was always a stimulation and delight. Deprived as he was by disabilities in health of the career that he must otherwise have achieved, at the Bar and in public life, he has an honored name, nevertheless, in the diplomatic history of the nation, as well as in the legislative annals of his own State.

Of Judge George W. Clinton, son of the great Governor, DeWitt Clinton, there have been several occasions for speaking already, and there will be more, when other relations of his life and his influence to the life of the city are touched. He was so many-sided in his nature, and it was a nature so charming on every side! "He is our universal educator," exclaimed Mr. Putnam, speaking of him while he was yet in life. "Not to speak of his eminent professional career, he has taught us the sweet humanities and that unbought grace of life which are the highest and purest social charm." In his own profession Judge Clinton has left two sons.

Another of the men of law whose importance to the city was much more than professional, inhering in personal qualities and in the force of their influence, was Charles D. Norton; and he, too, has left worthy representatives of his name. Still another was John Ganson, than whom no one of his time had a higher standing at the Bar, and of whom

it can be said also that he was, in one view, the most important representative ever sent from this district to the Congress of the United States. He was elected as a Democrat, at the most critical period of the Civil War, and, being one of the broadest-minded of his party, least capable of pettiness or malice in partisan opposition, whole-hearted and clear-sighted in his patriotism, he rendered more effectual support to the government in the prosecution of the war than any Republican could have done in his place.

Judge James M. Smith, the long-time partner of Mr. Ganson in the practice of the law, stayed more in the local field of public service; but Buffalo has had few citizens whose service was sought so often, in the promotion of so many interests, and whose judgment was trusted so entirely.

Buffalo has given no small number of jurists to the Bench who were models of qualification, in character, intellect and learning, for that highest of all functions of government—the interpretation and administration of law. Preeminent among them was Charles Daniels, nearly thirty years of whose professional life was devoted laboriously to the Supreme Court of the State; whose mind was immersed almost wholly in the study of the law, and whose reverence for its principles was too great for any possible influence to swerve him from the lines of justice and right.

No finer gifts of mind or finer culture of them have ever graced a member of the Buffalo Bar than those which were brought to it by William Dorsheimer, who attained, in a life that was not of due length, two offices of distinction, namely, that of a District Attorney of the United States and that of a Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York. Nor has Buffalo, in its higher enterprises, received more valuable service from any citizen than was given by Mr. Dorsheimer, in connection with the initiative of the Fine Arts Academy and the Park System.

In the years immediately following the Civil War, two young citizens were climbing the first steps of a remarkably quick rise to eminence at the Bar and in public life, starting in the race as close friends, but as rivals, so far as differences in politics could make them so. Lyman K. Bass, the Republican, and Grover Cleveland, the Democrat, were the opposed candidates of their respective parties for the office of District Attorney, in 1866, and it was won by Bass, who held it for two terms. He was then elected to Congress, where he served for four years, passing from that to the office of Assistant Secretary of State. That he did not rise to higher honors was due plainly to the failure of health which brought his life to an early end.

Meantime Grover Cleveland had entered official life only as Sheriff of Erie County for a term; but Bass and Cleveland had become partners in the practice of the law, and had subsequently associated with themselves a third friend and intellectual mate, Wilson S. Bissell, forming the very notable firm of Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. Then came the beginning of the extraordinary career of Grover Cleveland in public life; his election to be Mayor of the City of Buffalo, and the speedy exhibition by him of qualities and forces of character which caused the State to demand him for its Governor and the Nation to call him to its Presidency, not once, only, but twice. As President Fillmore had called Nathan K. Hall, the able partner of his law practice, to be his Postmaster-General, so President Cleveland called Wilson S. Bissell to the same office, and history was paralleled curiously in the relations of two notable legal firms in Buffalo to the government of the United States.

A name of prominence in the legal profession of a generation ago was that of A. F. Laning, associated first in partnership with William F. Miller, and later with a number of younger lawyers. As the long-time local seat

of the legal business of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, the Laning offices have been succeeded by those of Messrs. Hoyt & Spratt.

It is the Buffalo Bar of the past that this sketch is intended to review; there would be doubtful propriety in carrying it farther than into touch with the unfinished and the opening careers of the present day. The endeavor in it has been to name and simply characterize the men of a great profession who have given the most distinction to it or borne the most important parts in the general life of the city. The selection has been difficult, and the omissions from it will be open to criticism, no doubt; but it has not been made thoughtlessly, nor with any prejudices of mind.



WILLIAM B. HOYT

Lawyer; born East Aurora, New York, April 20, 1828; educated Aurora Academy, Buffalo High School, and Cornell University; graduated from Cornell, 1881; admitted to bar 1828, and began practice in Buffalo, the firm name being Humphrey, Lockwood and Hoyt; assistant United States District Attorney for northern district of New York, 1880-86; counsel to United States Interstate Commerce Commission for State of New York, with official title of Assistant Attorney-General, being appointed by Attorney-General Olney; is a Democrat.

William B. Hoyt

of the legal business of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, the Legal officers have been nominated by Charles F. Johnson, Esq., & Esq.

In the late Institute Board the past two years there is no doubt in coming they would be admitted properly to working in a whole that has entered into the amendment and the operating conduct of the present city. The endeavor in this time to come and they can achieve the men of a good position and they can be the most successful in it. The Board of Directors in the general title of the

WILLIAM B. HOYT.

Lawyer; born East Aurora, New York, April 20, 1858; educated Aurora Academy, Buffalo High School, and Cornell University; graduated from Cornell, 1881; admitted to bar 1883, and began practice in Buffalo, the firm name being Humphrey, Lockwood and Hoyt; assistant United States District Attorney for northern district of New York, 1886-89; counsel to United States Interstate Commerce Commission for State of New York, with official title of Assistant Attorney-General, being appointed by Attorney-General Olney; is a Democrat.



William D. Hyatt

COMMERCIAL EVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATION.—THE GRAIN TRADE, ETC.

UNTIL some years beyond the seventh decade of last century, the larger business interests of Buffalo were so much in transportation and the grain trade that all really dignified ideas of "business" were associated, habitually, with the line of wharves, on the north side of Buffalo Creek, extending about a half-mile in length, which were spoken of always as "The Dock." There, in the storage and transfer elevators, in the offices of grain merchants and brokers, lake and canal shippers, and marine insurance agencies, were the principal operations of capital, the chief sources of wealth, the most readily recognized positions of commercial and financial importance in the town. This primacy of The Dock, and of "Central Wharf" as the forum—the foyer—the focus of The Dock, was a business fact as distinct in the Buffalo of those days as the primacy of Wall Street in New York to-day.

The town had acquired an unfortunate habit of looking to The Dock for motive forces and for leading in matters of business, and it is plain truth to say that it did not receive the impulsion or the direction that it needed to have. The energies of The Dock were centered in too narrow a sphere. It gave its mind too much to questions of canal tolls and the like. It spent effort and thought in fighting off Niagara Ship Canal projects, for example, much more than in laying hold of the new opportunities and pushing into the new openings for enterprise which the growth of the Northwest was multiplying so marvellously from year to year. It was

too well contented with the swelling streams of wheat and corn and oats that ran into the holds of its steamers and canal boats, and through the bins of its elevators, and too heedless of the productive industries which Buffalo had every advantage for adding to its great carrying trade.

Because the leading-strings of business influence were so long in its hands, The Dock is chiefly responsible for the many wasted years that ran by without an effective effort to cheapen steam-power for manufacturing in Buffalo, by direct railroad connection with the bituminous coal-fields of Western Pennsylvania; for the supineness that suffered Cleveland to forestall Buffalo in an exploitation of the vast sources of wealth and industry on and beyond Lake Superior; for the strange slowness of Buffalo to appreciate and improve the many advantages of its position for other employments than that of a robust carrier in the work of the world.

Nevertheless there was always a splendid spirit of liberality in the chief men of The Dock. All needs of monetary help ran first to them, and their purses were opened to every worthy call. In the years of the war there was no stint to their patriotic and sympathetic giving. For all collections, all subscriptions, all relief work, the remainder of the city was expected, usually, to supplement what had been started on The Dock. Sterling character, too, as well as a fine generosity of spirit, was in the personnel of The Dock. To any memory which reaches back into the '50s and '60s of the late century, a simple catalog of the leading names that were familiar in those years on the office signs of Central Wharf and Prime Street and thereabouts is compositely photographic of the city of that time. There is history in a recitation of the roll:

Dean Richmond (Buffalonian in business, though Bata-vian in residence); Jewett M. Richmond; Russell H. Hey-

wood; John Allen, Jr.; James D. Sawyer; S. H. Fish; Cyrus Clarke; David S. Bennett; Carlos Cobb; John G. Deshler; M. S. Hawley; George S. Hazard; S. S. Guthrie; John B. Griffin; A. L. Griffin; Cutter & Nims; J. R. Bentley; J. C. Evans; Edwin T. Evans; Henry Daw & Son; John Bissell; P. L. Sternberg; P. S. Marsh; H. O. Cowing; Charles Ensign; J. C. Harrison; Niles & Co.; Seymour & Wells; J. V. W. Annan; G. C. Coit & Son; M. R. Eames; Laurens Enos; Wm. M. Gray; Charles J. Mann; J. & R. Hollister; John Pease; Jason Parker; George Sandrock; S. K. Worthington; A. Sherwood & Co.; Captain E. P. Dorr; Captain D. P. Dobbins; Jonathan S. Buell; Junius S. Smith.

The weight of the men of The Dock in Buffalo, during the middle period of its history, was not due entirely to the leading importance of their business, in its closely connected lines, but came also, in some degree, from the circumstances which drew its operators and operations together, in a distinct commercial quarter of the town. Everything else in the transactions of business was scattered widely abroad, as it is not and could not be at the present time.

Up-town offices, for the office-work and commercial intercourse of manufacturers, contractors, and dealers in commodities which cannot be handled at shopping centers, were hardly known. The engine-builder, the foundryman, the tanner, the lumber-dealer, had his office where he had his plant, and everybody who did business with him must do it there. The centralized office buildings of our day, where the administrative is separated from the operative working—the trading from the producing side—of practically everything large and important in the business of a city, and brought into a small neighborhood, which becomes the veritable heart of the community—the seat of its corporeal life—these had no existence yet. The growth of the city,

and the consequent wider scattering of industrial establishments, began to make demands for them in the years of the '70s; but not much satisfaction could be given to the demand, here or elsewhere in the world, till the telephone and the office-building elevator came into use.

It is not easy to realize how entirely the business spirit of a city, as well as its methods and facilities, has been changed by the centralization of offices, made practicable by these two inventions, within the last thirty years or less. In no other way could an action and reaction of animating influences from all sources be brought so forcibly into play; and by nothing else could the narrowing domination of a few leading interests be so well overcome. It is doubtful if any city has shown more of these effects than our own.

Naturally, the organizing of business interests began in Buffalo with those of The Dock; and there is nothing to its discredit in the fact that the beginning even there was made as late as the year 1844, for only six cities in the country, namely New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans and Cincinnati, had preceded it in the institution of chambers of commerce or boards of trade. Chicago was later in taking the same step by four years and Pittsburg by nine.

The leader of the movement which created the Buffalo Board of Trade, in 1844, Mr. Russell H. Heywood, set forth its purpose as being to "cultivate friendship among the business men of Buffalo, to unite them in one general policy for the general benefit of trade and commerce of Buffalo, and to make it a market for western produce." He offered to erect a building in which a room suitable for meetings on "Change" should be provided and its use for that purpose given free of charge. His generous proposal was accepted and the Board was organized on the 11th of March, under the presidency of Mr. Heywood, who was

retained at its head for three years. In fulfilment of his promise, Mr. Heywood proceeded at once to erect a building, quite capacious for its time, at the corner of Hanover and Prime streets, which he styled the Merchants' Exchange. Along with other offices and places of business, the Board of Trade had its rooms in this building until 1862, when it removed to a chamber and offices on Central Wharf. In 1857 a charter of incorporation was procured from the State. During the score of years following the removal of the Board to Central Wharf frequent efforts were made to put it on a footing that would warrant the undertaking of a suitable building for itself; but these had no success until 1882, when a site for the desired edifice was acquired, on the northwest corner of Seneca and Pearl streets, designs adopted and the work of construction begun. The building,—a substantial fire-proof structure of cut stone, terra cotta, pressed brick and iron, seven stories in height above a high basement, with a frontage of 132 feet on Seneca Street and 60 feet on Pearl Street,—was completed by the end of the following year and occupied, with appropriate ceremonies, on the 1st of January, 1884. It was occupied, however, by a new organization, the Buffalo Merchants' Exchange, which took over all the functions of the Board of Trade, except that of a landlord corporation, holding and leasing the property to be used by the Merchants' Exchange. In 1903, by another change of name, the Merchants' Exchange became the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, with a great enlargement of membership, acquiring new vigor, as a comprehensive organization of all the business interests of the city. Two years later the erection of a more commodious and stately building was begun, fronting on the west side of Main Street, near Seneca, and in 1907 the Chamber of Commerce entered this better home. Among the progressive influences now working in the city it is a factor of increasing power.

As now organized, the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers' Club has three affiliated organizations,—the Retail Merchants' Association, the Wholesale Merchants' Association (formed in 1909), and the Real Estate Association,—which unite and invigorate three important activities. The range of other interests embraced in its regular program of work is indicated by the list of its standing committees: On Arbitration, Banking, Boulevards, Building Trades, Canal, Civic Improvement, Conventions, Finance, Good Roads, Grain, Harbor, Insurance, Manufacturing Interests, Municipal Affairs, National and State Affairs, New Industries, Niagara River Improvement, Postal Service, Publicity, Public Health, Railroad Terminals, Transportation. Within the past year two bureaus, of Industries and of Publicity, have been established, each under a salaried Commissioner who devotes his entire service to its undertakings. The object of the Industrial Bureau, Mr. George V. Horgan, Commissioner, is "the securing of every worthy new industry for the City of Buffalo and the Niagara frontier, and the assisting of every manufacturing and business interest of the city already located here." The work of the Publicity Bureau, under Commissioner William S. Crandall, is to diffuse knowledge of the advantages which Buffalo offers to industrial enterprise. The Traffic Bureau, Mr. William H. Frederick, Manager, is a third important agency created of late. For these and other undertakings of concentrated and organized effort to advance the interests of the city, a "Development Fund" of \$100,000 was raised by subscription in the summer of 1910.

Among effective movements which the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers' Club has either initiated or strongly supported of late, mention may be made of the yearly Buffalo Industrial Exposition, instituted in 1908; an illuminating investigation of the affairs of the Department

of Public Works in the city government, especially in connection with costly works for the enlargement of the water supply; efforts to secure a better system of municipal government; endeavor of the Department of Public Instruction to establish an adequate and well equipped technical high school. At the same time it is entering more and more into the discussion of matters of State and National policy which bear on public interests at large. The broadened interests and stimulated public spirit that appear in these wise activities are notable indices of the higher civic culture which recent years have been giving to the community as a whole.

The grain trade of Buffalo, which figures so greatly in the commercial history of the last half century, had late and small beginnings. The first receipt at this port of any kind of grain from the west was a little cargo of 2,500 bushels of wheat brought from Maumee, in 1828—three years after the opening of the Erie Canal—by the *Guerriere*, a small schooner of forty tons. The captain found no demand for it, either for consumption or canal shipment, and had to take it to Dunkirk, where he sold it with difficulty in small lots at half-a-dollar a bushel. The local supply of wheat sufficed then for local needs, and eastern markets were supplied from the Genesee Valley and Central New York. The West, moreover, was not yet producing enough bread-stuffs for its own wants.

The first grain that reached Buffalo from Lake Michigan was a small cargo from Grand Haven in 1836. The first to come from Chicago was in 1839, and consisted of 39 bags of wheat, brought down by the steamer *Great Western*. The first to come in bulk was a little lot of 1,678 bushels of wheat brought by the brig *Oceola*, the same year. There was no full cargo from Lake Michigan till 1840, and then it amounted to no more than 3,000 bushels. The growth of the trade was slow until the opening of the Illinois Canal,

in 1848, and it did not rise rapidly until 1861, when the total receipts of breadstuffs (including flour, reduced to its equivalent in wheat) went up from 37,000,000 bushels in 1860 to 61,000,000.

Until 1843 the handling of grain in loading and unloading entered largely into the cost of its transportation, especially when transshipments were involved, as from lake vessel to canal boat, at Buffalo, and from canal boat to ocean vessel at New York. Either the grain must be shipped in bags, or, when carried in bulk, it must be shovelled into barrels or buckets for hoisting from vessel-holds by block and tackle, and handled slowly and laboriously at every stage of the process of weighing and transferring from one vehicle of transportation to another.

All this slow hand-labor was dispensed with when a fertile-minded forwarder at Buffalo, Mr. Joseph Dart, bethought him of using the endless belt with cups or buckets attached to it, which Oliver Evans, one of the earliest contrivers of steamboats, had invented in 1780, for conveying wheat and flour in mills. By working such a carrier on the inside of a long movable "leg," as it came to be called, which could be lowered into a vessel's hold, Mr. Dart was able to scoop out a cargo of grain very rapidly, convey it to the top of a warehouse, and empty it there into a receptacle from which gravitation would carry it through pipes to any desired deposit. His little elevator, built for that experiment at Buffalo in 1843, with a capacity for holding 55,000 bushels of grain in storage and transferring about 15,000 bushels per day, was the first of its kind in the world. Its economy of labor, and of time, which was more important to vessel-owners, was demonstrated at once. The bucket-belt soon came into general use at ports where much handling of grain was done, but operated for a time in some cases by horse-power instead of steam. The first steam elevator in Chicago was not erected till 1848.

The Dart elevator, purchased after some years by Mr. David S. Bennett, was burned in 1863, and rebuilt by Mr. Bennett on a greatly enlarged scale, having a storage capacity of 600,000 bushels. For many years this Bennett elevator was representative of about the highest development of elevator construction; but the architectural use of steel which began extensively in the '90s brought, in that, as in all other building, great structural changes. An illustrated article published in the *Buffalo Express*, in 1899, gave the subjoined description of elevators built in the new style, as compared with those which date from the older time:

"Most of the elevators have wooden bins, and all, or nearly all, are covered alike with corrugated iron. The newest elevators differ, however, from the old ones much as the modern steel frame office buildings differ from the old style office buildings. These new elevators are of steel, and their bins are great steel cylinders. The Great Northern and the Electric elevators in Buffalo are of this new type. In the Great Northern the steel bins stand upon pillars; in the Electric they rest upon the floor. These bins vary in size, but run up to 80,000 bushels in the Great Northern and 100,000 in the Electric. The ordinary capacity of wooden bins is about 5,000. To comprehend the increase in the size of elevators compare Joseph Dart's, with its 55,000 bushels, and the Great Northern with its 3,000,000 bushels."

The grain elevators at Buffalo, as stated in 1910 by the Bureau of Industries, now number 23, with a storage capacity of 21,200,000 bushels; actual working capacity 20,000,000 bushels; daily capacity 5,500,000.

As an adjunct of the elevators, adding another important economy of labor and time in the unloading of vessels, mention should be made of the steam shovel, for moving grain in a vessel-hold to the "leg" where the belt-buckets take it, which was patented by George Milson, Henry Spendelow and George V. Wilson, in 1864.

Until the adoption of the mechanical apparatus of the elevators for handling grain in bulk, much the greater part of the breadstuffs moved eastward from the West was ground before shipment, and came in the form of flour. In the decade 1836-45, the total receipts of flour and grain, reckoning flour at its equivalent in wheat, represented 41,851,438 bushels of grain; but only 14,308,908 bushels of this total, being almost exactly one-third, came as grain, and two-thirds in the form of flour. In the next decade (1846-55) the total had risen to 174,714,437 bushels, of which 113,766,005 bushels, or nearly two-thirds, were grain. While the aggregates have swelled enormously since, the proportions now are about as they were fifty years ago, namely, grain two-thirds, and flour, reduced to its equivalent in wheat, one-third. In the decade 1896-1905 the total of grain receipts was 1,442,341,287 bushels, and the grand total, including flour representatively, 1,964,439,092 bushels. In a nutshell these figures exhibit the present magnitude and the growth of the grain trade of Buffalo.

Until the later years of the '60s, the Erie Canal held its ground fairly well against the competition of the railroads, in the carriage of all the heavier and bulkier freights, the latter taking so little grain or flour eastward from Buffalo that no account of the movement by rail appears in the annual statistics of commerce published by the Buffalo Board of Trade. In 1869, however, attention began to be given to a trade current then setting that way too strongly to be ignored. Canal tolls had been raised and kept to their highest rate since 1862, and this supplied one reason for the diversion; but it had other reasons, in the economic improvement of railroad construction and equipment, which nothing, as time proved, would resist. In the annual report of the Board of Trade for 1869 it was remarked: "Some classes of freight have almost altogether left the canals.

From Buffalo the movement of flour by canal during five years ending with 1869 was more than 71 per cent. less than in the five years ending with '64." "Lake ports," it was stated also, "ship large quantities of flour by rail." In the same report a table of grain shipments by rail from Buffalo was given for the year, showing 998,496 bushels of wheat; 2,320,378 bushels of corn; 967,791 bushels of oats.

The next report, for 1870 (when canal tolls had been reduced one-half) offered no exact statistics of the rail movement, but gave as "grain shipments by rail" an "estimated amount of grain and flour (say 1,500,000 bbls.) reduced to wheat," 13,750,988 bushels. Canal shipments of grain for the same year were a little more than double this, being 29,813,236. In the next year the canal made great gains, nearly doubling its movement of grain, and a large part of its improved business was maintained for more than a decade and a half, within which, in 1883, canal transportation was freed entirely from tolls. Despite the lowering of rates which this measure made possible, the railroads began in 1889 to take the larger share of grain shipments from Buffalo. The scale, barely turned in their favor that year, by 42,032,715, against 41,784,268, was soon tipping heavily to the railroad side, and by more and more in later years. The maximum of grain shipments by rail was reached in 1899, when they rose to 130,102,200 bushels, and the canal received but 21,144,762. Since that year both railroad and canal carriers of grain from this receiving port have suffered from the competition of other routes. In 1907 the total of rail shipments of grain was 69,024,950; of canal shipments 17,824,087.

Chicago is no longer, as formerly, the western focal point of grain movements eastward. The great northwestern region of wheat, oats and barley culture, toward which Lake Superior reaches out, pours into Duluth, Fort William and

Port Arthur a stream directed to this port which has grown to be nearly double that flowing from Chicago,—and four-fold in the article of wheat. From Chicago the receipts of grain at Buffalo in 1907 were 41,678,317 bushels, of which 12,084,546 were wheat. From the three Lake Superior ports named above there came the same year 76,081,765 bushels, and 49,629,488 of them were wheat.

The grand total of grain receipts at Buffalo by lake in 1907, including flour (9,759,676 barrels) reduced to its equivalent in wheat, was 181,237,178 bushels.

The jobbing trade in general merchandise has never had extensive importance in Buffalo. In the last generation it was represented most prominently, in the dry goods field, by the houses of Flint & Kent, Sherman, Barnes & Co., Barnes & Bancroft, Hamlin & Mendsen,—all but the first named of which have disappeared. Barnes & Bancroft became Barnes, Hengerer & Co.; then the William Hengerer Co., under which name the business is still carried on. The year 1869 brought the opening of the department store of Adam, Meldrum & Whiting—now Adam, Meldrum & Anderson Company. A little later came J. N. Adam & Co., the Hens-Kelly Co., the Sweeney Co., and Clawson, Wilson & Co., in succession.

Jobbing in the grocery trade was practically monopolized in early years by the ancient houses of Miller & Greiner and Hollister & Laverack. Then arose Philip Becker and the Philip Becker Co., C. F. Bishop & Co., Granger & Co., Plimpton, Cowan & Co.

In hardware trade the older jobbing houses were those of Pratt & Co., Pratt & Letchworth and Weed & Co., but the Walbridge & Co. establishment of the present day is a growth of many years.



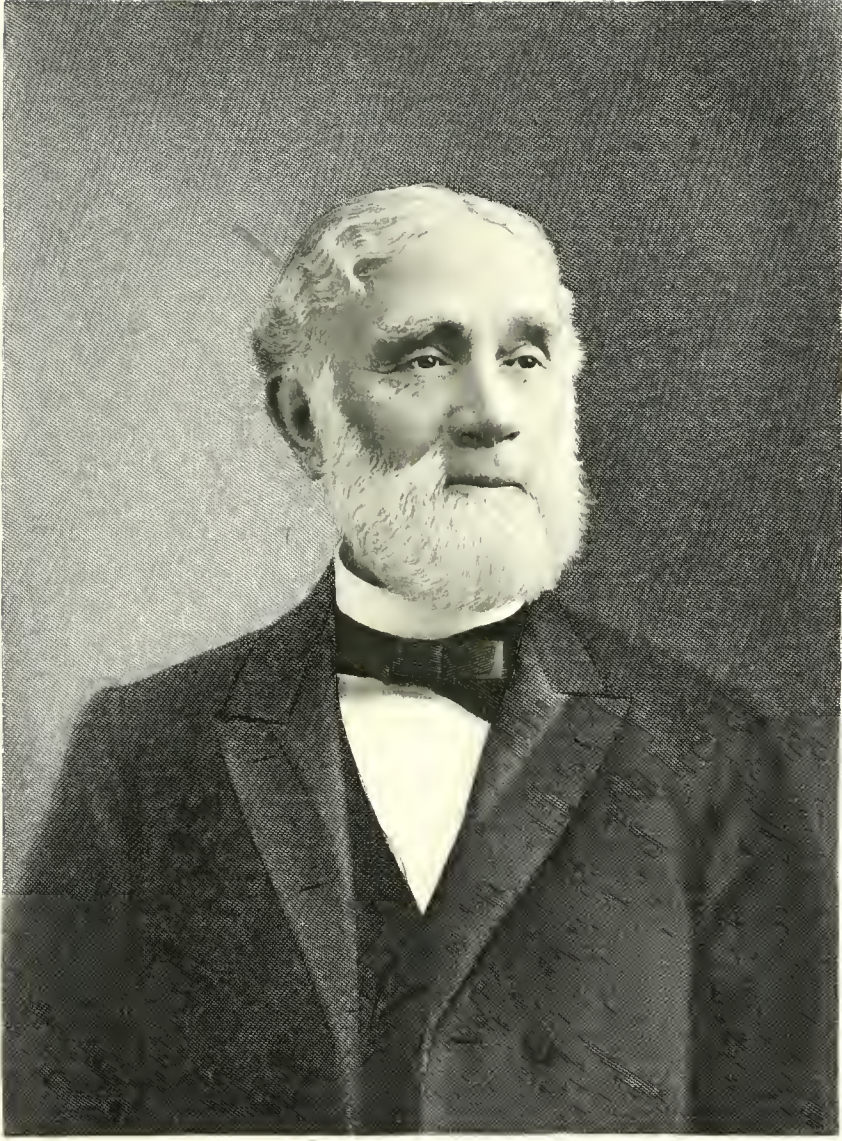
JAMES N. VAN RENSSAELER

born at Albany, N. Y., on Oct. 1, 1823, of pure New England
ancestry. He was educated at the Albany Academy and at
the South Seminary, to begin his legal career at a New
York law office. In 1850 he came to Buffalo to share charge of the
real estate business of J. C. Barnes and H. C. Barnes, of which firm
he soon became a partner. He retired from active business
in 1867 and died in 1907.

James N. Van Rensselaer

JAMES K. BANCROFT

Born Grafton, Vermont, in 1823, of pure New England ancestry. At the age of twenty-two he went to Charleston, South Carolina, to begin his long career as a merchant. In 1871 he came to Buffalo to take charge of the retail department at Barnes and Bancroft's, of which firm he soon became a partner. He retired from active business in 1885, and died in 1907.



J. K. Puncroft

CHAPTER II

THE LUMBER TRADE

NEXT to Chicago, Buffalo and Tonawanda (near neighbors and closely allied in the conduct of the business) form, together, the chief lumber market of the lakes,—and, indeed, of the country at large. The white pine product of the lake region is distributed from Chicago through the western and northwestern states and territories, and into the more northerly of the southern states. From Buffalo and Tonawanda it goes into New York, New England, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Intermediate ports on the lakes, such as Cleveland and Detroit, receive supplies for a large local trade, and distribute forest products from Lake Superior ports through Western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Down to about the middle of last century the lumber trade of Buffalo went little beyond the supplying of local demands from Canada and from neighboring forests on its own side of the line. High shipping rates on the lakes kept the product of the great forests of Michigan from much eastern marketing for many years. In his "History of the Lumber Industry of America," Mr. James Elliott Defebaugh, editor of the *American Lumberman*, writes: "From about 1853 Buffalo was the point where the cargoes of lumber arriving from southern Ontario and Michigan were transferred to canal boats and forwarded to Albany. Thereafter for some years it was chiefly a forwarding market, and those engaged in the trade there, except the local dealers, were measurers and forwarders of lumber. With the exhaustion of the pine timber growth of western New York State and southern Ontario, Buffalo became in itself a wholesale assorting and distributing market, leaving the forwarding business largely

to the Tonawandas, which later took pre-eminence in pine wholesaling also. It is not as a white-pine market alone that Buffalo has won her distinction. As a hardwood distributing center that city is one of the chief of the United States. From small beginnings, during the last two decades this business has risen to distinction. In 1906 the hardwood lumber handled by the yards of the city aggregated more than 150,000,000 feet, and in Tonawanda approximately 50,000,000 feet were handled. However, this does not represent one-half of the actual hardwood interests of Buffalo dealers, the majority of whom are concerned, either directly or indirectly, in lumber plants in the South or West, a large proportion of whose output is shipped direct from the mills to the trade, not being handled at all in Buffalo."

Toward the end of the decade of 1850-59 the need of obtaining supplies of pine lumber from Lake Huron at some lower cost of transportation became a pressing one in the trade. Attempts at rafting the sawed lumber down the lakes were made, without encouraging success. Logs in large numbers were rafted, to be sawed, not much in Buffalo, but considerably at Tonawanda and elsewhere; but the lumber rafting could not be made safe. Then Mr. John S. Noyes, one of the pioneers of the lumber trade in Buffalo, conceived the plan of barge-towing, which not only gave a quick impetus to the lumber movement, but went much farther in its effect, nearly the whole lake shipping, for all cargoes, having taken on a barge form since Mr. Noyes made his experiment in 1861. His first barge was the hulk of what had been a "floating palace" in one of the passenger lines of steamboats not many years before. Barge transportation started a profitable movement of lumber from the pine regions bordering the upper lakes, stripping the great forests of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota in turn, and rising steadily in volume through the next thirty years.

According to the census of 1860, the value of the lumber product of Michigan that year was \$7,303,404; of Wisconsin, \$4,616,430; of Minnesota, \$1,257,603. Thirty years later, in 1890, the reported value of lumber produced was: Michigan, \$83,121,969; Wisconsin, \$60,966,444; Minnesota, \$25,075,132. The axe and the saw were still busiest in Michigan, and the forests of Minnesota were not yet heavily attacked. But the story changed in the census report of 1900. The forest-wealth of Michigan had then been sheared away till it furnished no longer the main lumber supply, and the heavier drain of the national demand passed on to Wisconsin; but advancing prices could nowhere hold up the market value of what the three states produced. That year the statistics of product were: Wisconsin, \$57,634,516; Michigan, \$54,290,520; Minnesota, \$43,585,161. The exhaustion of the forest region of the upper lakes was begun and well-advanced.

As shown in the annual trade reports of Buffalo, the receipts of lumber at this port by lake in 1860 (giving the even millions of the statistics) were 111,000,000 feet. In 1870 they rose to 217,000,000. In 1880 there were 214,000,000 feet brought in by water and 87,000,000 "by railroad and teams,"—the latter being, of course, from small saw-mills in the country round about. The railroads had now become strong competitors for the carriage of even this bulky freight. In 1885 the receipts by water had advanced to 240,000,000 feet, and those by rail to 155,000,000. In 1890 the culmination of the trade was reached, and the railroads had won the greater part of it. That year the lake import of lumber at Buffalo was 287,000,000 feet and 375,000,000 feet came in by rail. From this height the lumber import did not fall greatly in the next five years; but a decline which has increased began then. Lake shipping brought into Buffalo 231,000,000 feet in 1895, 183,-

000,000 in 1900, and 141,000,000 in 1907; the railroads brought 398,000,00 in 1895, a quantity unreported in 1900, and 165,000,000 in 1907.

Pine lumber comes in mainly by lake; hardwood by rail. Of the receipts of 1907 by rail 93,000,000 feet were hardwood, 36,000,000 feet were yellow and white pine, and 23,000,000 feet were hemlock,—these quantities being estimated from the number of car-loads received. The hardwood lumber trade has been gaining importance very steadily in recent years, while the pine trade has declined. Formerly the hardwood received here came mainly from Indiana and Ohio; but Arkansas, West Virginia, and practically all the southern states of that belt, are the larger sources at the present time. Buffalo, however, is the market place for much more than the lumber that comes to it. The same is true equally of the trade in hemlock lumber, and to a less extent of the trade in pine. The fact arises primarily from the extent of the control exercised by Buffalo dealers over the sources of supply, and secondarily from the tendency in all trade towards concentration in a market which acquires the lead. Lumber that never touches the city, or comes near it, is sold here in quantities far greater than those which appear in the statistics of shipments and receipts.

There is a special importance to the city, however, in the actual movement of lumber through it; for the reason that more manual labor is involved in the lumber traffic than in almost any other of the present time. Grain is handled by machinery, and so, in the main, are coal and the ores; but each board, plank and strip that comes out of or goes into a cargo or a car-load of lumber has to be taken up and laid down by human hands. The consequence is that a much larger proportion of the gross receipts of a lumber business goes to laboring men than they receive in any other that enters largely into our trade.

Mr. John S. Noyes, who has been mentioned as one of the pioneers of the lumber trade in Buffalo, and who is now the sole survivor of its early days, remained in connection with the business until 1901. After 1879 he had been in partnership with Mr. George P. Sawyer, who withdrew from the business when the firm was dissolved and Mr. Noyes retired. The firm had been among the largest of the dealers in pine.

Of firms now in the lumber trade the two oldest are those of Scatcherd & Son and Mixer & Co., each of which is conducting a business that has been continuous since 1857. Mr. James N. Scatcherd, who founded the first named, came to Buffalo in 1855, appearing in the city directory of that year as a clerk in the employ of Farmer, De Blaquiére & Deedes, lumber dealers, on Elk and Louisiana Streets. In the next year he is named as agent of the same firm. In 1857 the directory records him as a lumber dealer, doing business on Perry near Hayward Street. In 1858, according to the same authority, he had entered a partnership, of Farmer, Scatcherd & Co., doing business on Elk and Louisiana streets. In 1858 he is named as being alone in business, at the same location; and so continued until 1865, when the firm of Scatcherd & Belton was formed. This connection existed until 1879, when the association of John N. Scatcherd with his father gave the business its final proprietary name of Scatcherd & Son. As producers and wholesale dealers in hardwood lumber the firm has always ranked high in the trade.

The business of Mixer & Co. was founded in 1857 by Mr. Harrison B. Mixer, whose name in the firm is represented by Mr. Knowlton Mixer at the present time. The late James R. Smith had been in partnership with Mr. H. B. Mixer for about twenty years prior to 1877, when the connection was dissolved. Mr. Mixer retired from the busi-

ness and was succeeded by Mr. Knowlton Mixer in 1891. The business of the firm includes production as well as wholesale dealing in both hemlock and North Carolina pine.

On the dissolution of the firm of Mixer & Smith, Mr. James R. Smith became associated with Mr. Theodore S. Fassett, in the firm of Smith, Fassett & Co., for business at Tonawanda, where it established and still operates a very extensive plant.

The present Haines Lumber Company is successor to the old firm of Haines & Co., which began business in 1861, established on the Erie Basin at the foot of Erie Street, where its business is still carried on. The company is also connected in business with the firm of Hugh McLean & Co., one of the largest of the producers and wholesale dealers in the hardwood lumber trade.

The largest hardwood lumber business in Buffalo had also an early beginning. It is that of Taylor & Crate, founded in 1865 by Frederick W. Taylor, who was joined in the next year by James Crate. In 1900 the business was passed to a corporation, retaining the old firm name. It is conducted at yards on Elk Street and at Black Rock, covering about fifteen acres of ground, and the company is said to carry in those yards, and at its mills in various regions of production, the largest stock of hardwood lumber held by any single concern in the country.

In pine lumber, the largest business now done is that of Graves, Manbert, George & Co., at the foot of Hertel Avenue, whose producing plant is at Byng Inlet, Canada.

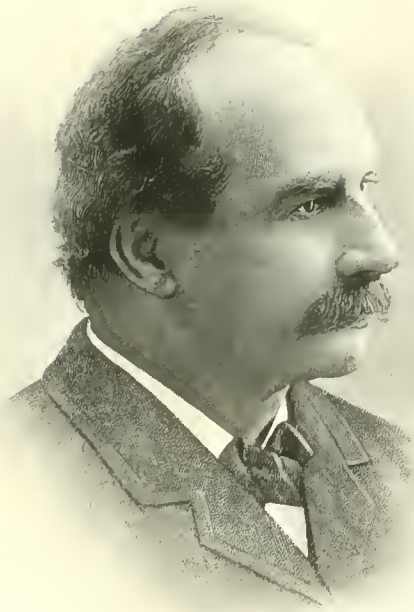
An early wholesale trade in pine lumber, begun by the firm of Hurd & Hauenstein, is now represented by A. G. Hauenstein, doing business in the lumber district developed by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company on the Tift Farm. The name that was formerly associated with Mr.

FREDERICK HENRY TAYLOR

Born Montreal, New Brunswick, Canada, January 22, 1867; came to Buffalo in 1887, education in Grammar School and Central High School. In 1887 entered employment of John Booth, a lumber merchant, and later carried on the same line of business independently until in August, 1895, there was formed the firm of Taylor & Gate. Mr. Taylor continued as senior partner of the firm until his death in 1907, 1890 as trustee of many philanthropic and religious organizations and of private funds. On the formation of the Prospect Avenue Baptist Church in 1898, he became one of the constituent members, and was always a leader in its work.

WILLIAM TAYLOR

Born March 22, Burlington, Vermont; died May 22, 1890; came to Buffalo in May, 1852, where attended Grammar School and Central High School. In 1857 entered employ of John Drake, a lumber merchant, and later carried on the same line of business independently until in August, 1890, there was formed the firm of Taylor & Drake. Mr. Taylor remained its senior partner of the firm until his death in May, 1890. Was trustee of many philanthropic and religious organizations and of private funds. On the formation of the Prospect Avenue Baptist Church in 1868, he became one of the constituent members, and was always a member of its choir.



Frederick W. Taylor

Hauenstein's has been revived in the same trade by Hurd Brothers, at the same place.

In 1881 the firm of G. Elias & Brother, composed of G. and A. J. Elias, began in a small way a business which has grown to large proportions, and which now includes the operation of saw mills, planing mills, dry kilns and box factory, along with extensive wholesale dealing in hardwood and pine. The large plant is on Elk, Maurice, Orlando, Babcock, and Prenatt streets and on Buffalo Creek.

A combination of local manufacturing and retailing with wholesale production of North Carolina pine constitutes the extensive business of Montgomery Brothers, at the foot of Court Street, operating a plant that was established many years ago.

The Buffalo Hardwood Lumber Company carries on a large wholesale business at its Seneca Street yards.

Several establishments less distinctly representative of Buffalo interests in the lumber trade, but partially so, have importance in this market, and should be named. The business of the firm of C. M. Betts & Co. is seated principally in Philadelphia; but one of its members, Mr. C. Walter Betts, is resident in Buffalo, and the manager of an extensive trade at this point in Southern pine. The house has heavy investments in the two Carolinas, including timber lands, railroads, saw mills and kilns. The R. Laidlaw Lumber Company is representative of an important Toronto firm, and conducts large dealings in Canadian pine. The Empire Lumber Company markets the products of Arkansas mills.

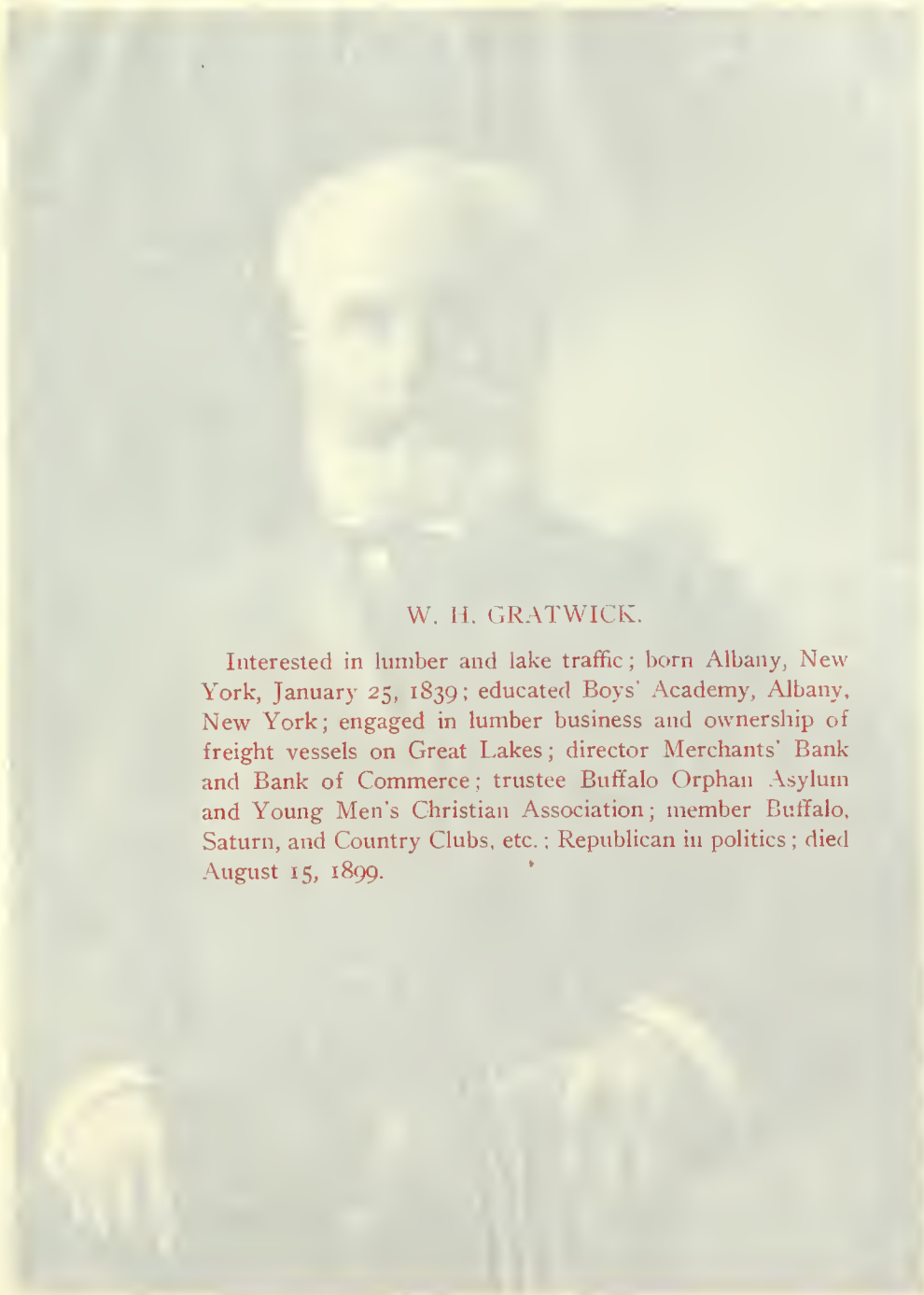
A large part of the lumber trade seated at Tonawanda, or at the Tonawandas, has merely been detached from that of Buffalo in the location of the handling of it, for reasons of convenience and economy. Mr. Defenbaugh, in his

History of the Lumber Industry, explains the situation thus: "About ten miles below the point where Lake Erie becomes the Niagara River, there flows into the river from the east Tonawanda Creek. At the mouth of this stream, on the south side, is Tonawanda [in Erie County], and opposite, on the north side, is North Tonawanda [in Niagara County]. They are opposite the center of Grand Island. In the channel of Niagara River, opposite the mouth of Tonawanda Creek, is a small island so located that the main current passes it on the west, while on the east, between the island and North Tonawanda, a natural and quiet harbor is formed.

"Here, then, at the Tonawandas and on Tonawanda Island, was room for a bulky commodity like lumber. Land was, and still is, cheap in comparison with that in Buffalo, and ample room for lumber yards could be obtained at a reasonable cost. But this was not all. The Tonawandas have the advantage of the tracks of several of the most important railroads that enter Buffalo, and, by switching arrangements, of all of them. * * * Furthermore, the site of the Tonawandas is where the Erie Canal strikes the Niagara River. From there it closely follows the shore south to Buffalo."

Soon after the formation of the firm of Smith, Fassett & Co., about thirty years ago, as mentioned above, that firm bought the Tonawanda Island, and thus secured about 12,000 feet of water front, besides a large acreage of land. Naturally the business so amply accommodated from its beginning has grown big.

A little later, in 1880, the firm of Gratwick & Co., which came from Albany, but which identified itself with Buffalo very soon, acquired an extensive footing and developed a business of the first magnitude at Tonawanda. A little later the firm became Gratwick, Smith & Fryer, and, by

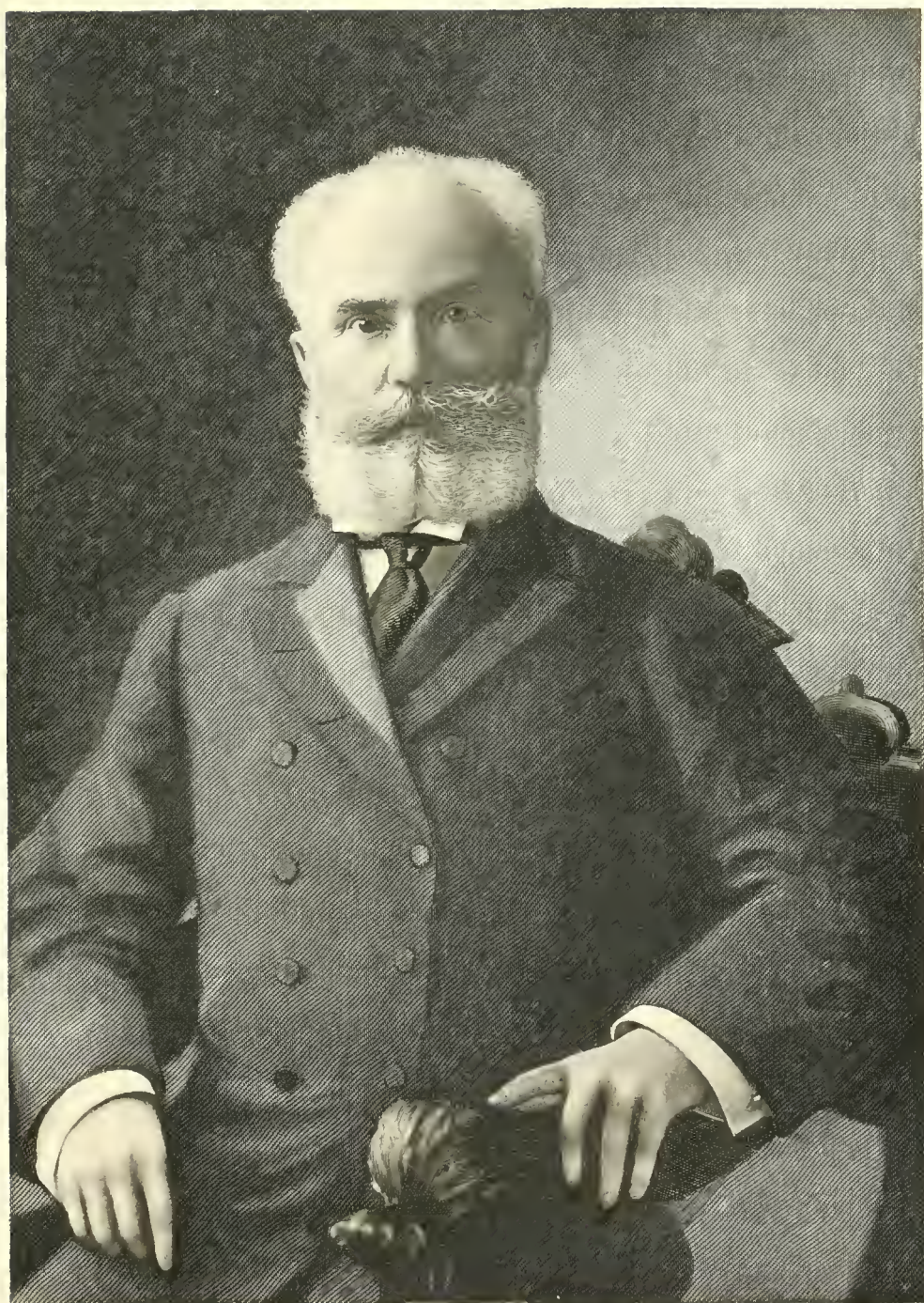


W. H. GRATWICK.

Interested in lumber and lake traffic; born Albany, New York, January 25, 1839; educated Boys' Academy, Albany, New York; engaged in lumber business and ownership of freight vessels on Great Lakes; director Merchants' Bank and Bank of Commerce; trustee Buffalo Orphan Asylum and Young Men's Christian Association; member Buffalo, Saturn, and Country Clubs, etc.; Republican in politics; died August 15, 1899.



William T. Gravies



William H. Gravies

another reorganization in 1896 or 1897, was changed to White, Gratwick & Mitchell, its present style. It handles a variety of woods, both hard and pine.

In 1888 and 1889 the offices and yards of the Robinson Brothers & Co., previously doing business at Detroit, were removed to Tonawanda. Mr. John W. Robinson, who was left alone in the business by the death of his brother in the following year, has identified himself with Buffalo very closely.

White, Frost & White, and Silverthorn & Co., are other important representatives of the Buffalo interest in the Tonawanda Lumber Trade.

The growth and magnitude of the lumber trade conducted at Tonawanda are indicated by the following statistics of receipts by lake, at intervals in the past thirty-three years: in 1874, 144,000,000 feet; in 1880, 323,000,000 feet; in 1885, 498,000,000 feet; in 1890 (at the climax of the slaughter of the forests of the Upper Lakes), 717,000,000 feet by lake, and 36,000,000 by rail; in 1895, 421,000,000 by lake, and 24,000,000 by rail; in 1900, 338,000,000 by lake (no reported statistics of receipts by rail); in 1907, 331,000,000 by lake (rail receipts unreported).

In the history of the lumber industry, as connected with Buffalo, there is one remarkable episode, of such singular interest that it stands quite by itself. It is linked with the origin and evolution of the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad, and has been touched upon in a former chapter of this work, where the story of that road, or system of roads, is sketched. Some account is given there of the early operations of Mr. Frank H. Goodyear, when beginning the development of an immense production of hemlock lumber from the forests of western Pennsylvania. He went into the region about 1872 and started business at West Liberty, McKean County, with a small mill. By 1885 he had ac-

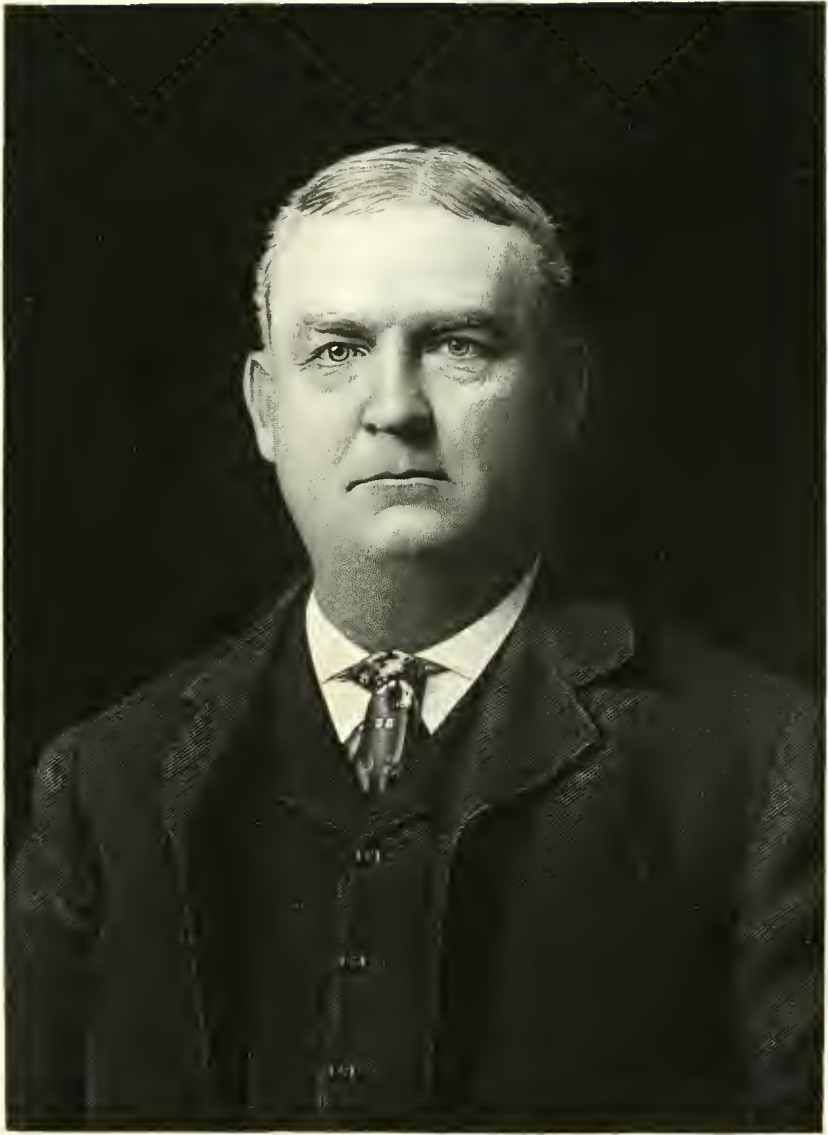
quired the ability to push into a bigger field, and that year, after buying 13,000 acres of land in Potter County, he built, at what is now Austin, a large mill, running a gang-saw and two circular saws. It was then, in connection with this enterprise, that his railway building began, as described before. Two years later he was joined by his brother, Mr. Charles W. Goodyear (previously in the practice of the law at Buffalo, as a member of the firm of which the Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of President Cleveland, was the head), and the firm of F. H. & C. W. Goodyear was formed. From this time the firm made many successive purchases of timber lands, not only in Potter County, but in Tioga, McKean and Elk.

The sagacious policy pursued in these purchases is thus described in Defebaugh's History of the Lumber Industry in America: "He [Frank H. Goodyear] bought tracts that lay miles away from large streams, which were then regarded as the only means of transporting logs to mill, and bought tracts that had been passed upon and rejected time and again by experienced Pennsylvania operators. At his price Mr. Goodyear bought everything in sight; then he built saw mills at the very thresholds of the forests. He built the best mills that could be constructed, and after they were built he arranged facilities for stocking them and for electrically lighting them. The result was that when a mill was once set to running it ran day and night, from midnight Sunday to midnight the next Saturday, almost without cessation. Hemlock bark, which has been disposed of largely to the United States Leather Company, has been an important factor in money-making for the concern. Its hardwood holdings, which are interspersed with the hemlock, it has chosen to dispose of to hardwood people. The company has done the loading and transporting of logs to

CHARLES W. GOODYEAR.

Lawyer; born Cortland, N. Y., October 5, 1846; educated Wyoming Academy, and afterward studied law. Admitted to bar; assistant district attorney, 1875; district attorney, 1876, Erie County, N. Y.; member law firm of Bissell, Sicard & Goodyear, Buffalo; president Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal & Coke Company, Buffalo & Susquehanna Railway Company, Great Southern Lumber Company, Goodyear Lumber Company, New Orleans Great Northern R. R. Company; director Marine National Bank, General Railway Signal Company, Western New York Water Company, Consolidated Telephone Company. Trustee State Normal School, Buffalo Historical Society; councilor University of Buffalo; clubs, Ellicott, Buffalo, Saturn, Country (Buffalo); Lawyers, Railroad (N. Y. City); died at Buffalo, April 16, 1911.

C. W. Goodyear



C. W. Loodyear

mill, but otherwise has kept out of the hardwood lumber business entirely, satisfied with carrying the hemlock end."

On the 1st of January, 1902, the Goodyear Lumber Company was incorporated, with F. H. Goodyear president and C. W. Goodyear vice-president. The present productive capacity of the Goodyear Lumber Company mills is over 200,000,000 feet of lumber per year. The business offices of the company are at Buffalo.

In the year of the incorporation of the Goodyear Lumber Company, the firm of F. H. & C. W. Goodyear, continuing its original organization of business, but advancing into new fields, acquired some 25,000 acres of timber lands in Clearfield and Cameron Counties, Pa., including in the purchase a saw mill at Medix Run. Within the same year the Messrs. Goodyear, associated with other lumbermen, made an initial purchase of 90,000 acres of timber land in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi. Since then these holdings have been largely increased, and the whole taken over by a company known as the Great Southern Lumber Company, of which Mr. F. H. Goodyear was the first president. The timber owned by this company is mostly long-leaf pine, and it covers several hundred thousand acres of land.

In connection with the operations of the Great Southern Lumber Company, a railway known as the New Orleans Great Northern Railroad is being built from New Orleans to Jackson, Mississippi. When completed, this road, with its branches, will have a total mileage of 260 miles, about 170 miles of which are already built. At a place named Bogalusa, where the Great Southern Lumber Company is building an immense mill, it is also creating an entire town, including churches, white and colored schools, stores, houses, etc., sufficient for an estimated population of 10,000. The great saw mill is of steel construction, the first of its

kind, and its capacity is expected to exceed that of any other in the world. Its yearly production of lumber will probably go beyond 180,000,000 feet of lumber per year.

Mr. Frank Henry Goodyear, the originator and leading spirit in this stupendous development of a productive industry, and of the many other great operations that have grown out of it, in railroad building, coal mining, and the manufacture of iron and steel, died on the 13th of May, 1907, at the age of fifty-eight years. His brother, Charles W. Goodyear, who succeeded him in the presidency of the several companies of which he had been the head, died early in 1911.

CHAPTER III

THE COAL TRADE

A CAREFULLY prepared and quite elaborate historical account of the beginnings and the earlier stages of the development of the coal trade at Buffalo was contributed by the late Eric Leonard Hedstrom, in 1888, to an extra issue of the *Illustrated Buffalo Express*, published in September of that year, on the occasion of the opening of an International Industrial Exhibition, at Buffalo. In the following sketch, most of what relates to the early years of the business (except so far as concerned his own part in it) is derived from Mr. Hedstrom, whose knowledge of the trade was hardly equalled by that of any other man.

Prior to 1850, even the local market for either anthracite or bituminous coal was very small. In the interest of the Blossburgh Coal Company of Pennsylvania, which mined a semi-bituminous coal, Mr. Guilford R. Wilson had come to the city in 1842, to see if something more might not be made of the trade at this point. Coal from the Blossburgh Basin came at that time to Corning by rail, and thence by canal, via Watkins and Geneva. Later it had a route via Binghamton and through the Chenango and Erie Canals. Mr. Wilson's success was not rapid, but it was steady and sure, and finally great. In his second year of business he handled only about 2,500 tons. At his death, in 1877, his business had grown to a yearly magnitude of about 200,000 tons. In 1851 the building of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad to Great Bend, connecting with the Erie, opened a route for coal to the Erie Canal through Cayuga Lake; and in 1854 it began to come from Binghamton to Syracuse by rail, and thence by canal.

In 1861 Captain George Dakin arrived in Buffalo as the agent of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and established yards at the foot of Genesee Street.

After 1859 the tonnage of coal brought to Buffalo by rail increased very rapidly, rising from 9,100 tons that year to 45,578 in 1861, out of total receipts of 131,904. Mr. Wilson, in 1863, was the first to erect expensive machinery at his shipping dock, on Hatch Slip, south side of Buffalo Creek, for transfer from canal to lake bottoms; but the rapid increase of coal carriage by rail put this out of use in a few years. Nevertheless, it was not until 1868 that the competition of the railroads with the canal in transportation of coal became systematic. In that year the firm of J. Langdon & Co., of Elmira, contracted with the New York Central and the Northern Central railroads to ship all their coal over those roads for ten years, and to dispose of their entire property in canal boats. A little later the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, having established a connection with the Erie (then still maintaining its six-foot gauge), arranged with the latter to lay a third rail from Waverly to Buffalo, enabling cars of the narrower gauge to run through. The Delaware and Hudson Company, also, had contracts with the Erie for carrying coal from Carbondale to Buffalo; and the New York Central, at about this time, obtained new rail connections with the anthracite regions at Weedsport and Lyons.

The strenuous competition in the anthracite trade at this period, among the larger interests engaged, had been so destructive that the leading competitors were now arranging terms of peace. An Anthracite Association was formed, which embraced at the outset Mr. J. Langdon, the important coal operator of Elmira, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, and the Pittston and Elmira Coal Company. A little later the Association

was joined by the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company, and, finally, W. L. Scott and Co., of Erie, were taken in. It then controlled all the anthracite coal that came in quantities to Buffalo. The coal handled by the Association was now moved mostly to Syracuse and Ithaca by rail, and thence to Buffalo by canal.

In 1870 Mr. C. M. Underhill came from Rochester to Buffalo to represent the Anthracite Association, and had charge of its business at this point until the Association was dissolved in 1879. He had then become a member of the firm of J. Langdon & Co., and continued in Buffalo in connection with that firm and the Delaware and Hudson Company until his retirement from active business, not many years ago. The trade he established is carried on by his sons, now incorporated under the name of the Underhill Coal Company, successors to the C. M. Underhill Co.

On the dissolution of the Anthracite Association, Mr. J. J. McWilliams, who had been in its employ at Buffalo for about ten years, became the representative here of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Company, in its coal trade, and remained such until a few years ago. He is now at the head of the Niagara Lithograph Company, which has established a large plant on Niagara Street, between the termini of Prospect and Fargo Avenues.

The demands of the West, in the middle decades of the past century, were inciting more and more of an urgency on the part of the anthracite producers for more direct transportation of coal to Buffalo and delivery to the fleets of the lakes. Mr. Hedstrom had come to this city in 1863 as an agent of that western demand, representing the firm of A. B. Meeker & Co., of Chicago, who were independent coal operators and large handlers of pig iron. Within a year or so thereafter he was admitted to a partnership in the firm. At the outset he received coal from New York by

canal and transferred it to sail vessels for lake ports at a location on Peck Slip. In 1866 he removed to what is now known as the Salt Dock on the Blackwell Canal, and had also a small dock in the Erie Basin.

The anthracite interests had now developed a business at Buffalo which required much improvement and enlargement of facilities for the handling of coal, and Mr. Hedstrom was an early leader in the undertakings to that end. He took the initiative, about 1870, in building the Buffalo Creek Railway, of which he was president until the road was taken over by the Lehigh Valley and Erie Railway companies, about 1876. He was appointed general western sales agent for the handling and sale of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company's coal, and, jointly with the Lehigh Valley Railway Company, he erected, in 1871, what were then known as the Lehigh Docks, on the Buffalo Creek, for the transfer of anthracite coal from cars to vessels. The trestle at these docks was the first one built in Buffalo for the handling of coal in this manner. At about the same time J. Langdon & Co., in connection with the New York Central road, were building large trestles in the Erie Basin, and others, a little later, were constructed by the Erie Railway on the Blackwell or City Ship Canal. Meantime, the Delaware and Hudson Company had carried out an extensive improvement of property for the uses of its coal trade on Buffalo Creek. This involved a deepening of the Creek, between Ohio and Hamburg streets, at a cost of \$150,000. The work was finished about 1871.

Mr. Hedstrom severed his connection with the Lehigh Valley interests in 1876, and represented for a short time the Erie Railway in handling its anthracite product. In 1878 he formed an alliance with the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, which he and his successors have continued to this time. The business, still con-

tinued in his name, is the only independent one now conducted here which ships anthracite coal from Buffalo to the upper lake ports. The extensive docks of the Hedstrom firm in South Chicago and other points in the market are significant of a large activity in the western anthracite trade.

In 1879 the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, to provide for its increasing movement of coal over the New York Central, from Syracuse, established trestles and shipping docks at the foot of Erie Street, on the Creek at its mouth. In 1882 its own line was extended to Buffalo, and brought through the southern part of the city to those docks, by an acquisition of rights of way and property along Ohio and Water streets, which have given it a practical control of the inner-harbor water-front for about three-quarters of a mile. The company, in fact, is in possession of the wharves and streets on and along which nearly the whole commerce of Buffalo was conducted a generation ago. To provide further for the needs of its traffic, the D. L. and W. has constructed since, at East Buffalo, a building for the storage of 100,000 tons of anthracite coal.

In 1880 the Lehigh Valley road entered upon new terminal improvements of immense extent, buying for the purpose the large tract of 320 acres of land on Buffalo River known formerly as the Tifft Farm. By the construction of a system of slips, connected with the Blackwell or City Ship Canal, this Lehigh Valley improvement opened up more than two miles of new docks, wharves and contiguous storage yards, creating immense facilities, which the lumber trade shares with the coal.

In 1881 Mr. Andrew Langdon came to Buffalo to represent the coal interests of the Erie Railway, marketing coal, at the same time, from mines of his own at Wilkesbarre, Scranton and Carbondale. Previously, Mr. Langdon had

been in business at Harrisburg, Pa., and had been the first (about 1870) to ship coal from the anthracite region to Chicago, in wholesale quantities, by all rail. He had his own docks at Chicago, with agencies at Milwaukee. Mr. Langdon conducted the coal business of the Erie Railway at Buffalo for about ten years. All of his coal interests were sold in 1895. He has had leisure since for useful work in other lines.

In 1883 the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad secured a better outlet to Buffalo, by the completion of the Jersey Shore, Pine Creek and Buffalo road, which William H. Vanderbilt had bought and extended to a connection with the New York Central's Fall Brook line from Ansonia. For some time previously the Philadelphia and Reading had been shipping coal westward by way of New York and the Erie Canal, and Mr. T. Guilford Smith had been appointed agent at Buffalo of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company in 1878. A few years later Mr. Smith entered into a double partnership with Mr. J. J. Albright, under an arrangement of business with the Reading Company, in conducting one of which the firm bore the name of Albright & Co., and marketed all coal going west from Buffalo, while, as Albright & Smith, it handled the entire coal sold in Canada and the State of New York. It was this engagement in business which made Mr. Albright a citizen of Buffalo. Mr. Smith had been resident in this city, as secretary of the reorganized Union Iron Works Company, since 1873.

At present the interests connected with the anthracite coal trade are represented in Buffalo by a very large number of agencies, large and small; but the main channels of the trade and the lines on which it is organized remain substantially as they were developed some twenty years ago. The volume of the movement of coal, both anthracite and

THOMAS GUILFORD SMITH.

Born in Philadelphia, August 27, 1839; educated at the Philadelphia Central High School and the Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York; honorary Phi Beta Kappa Hobart, 1894; LL.D., Hobart, 1899; LL.D., Alfred University, 1903. Resident engineer, Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, 1861-65; general manager Philadelphia Sugar Refinery, 1866-69; secretary Union Iron Company, Buffalo, 1873-78; sales agent Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, 1878-92; sales agent at Buffalo, Carnegie Steel Company, since 1889; sales agent Illinois Steel Company, Chicago, U. S. Steel Products Export Company, N. Y., Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company.



J. Guilford Smith.

bituminous, through this depot of distribution, has increased to great proportions, as shown by statistics that will be given further on; and more of the anthracite movement than of most others among the streamings of commerce has stayed with the carriers of the lakes.

Important developments of the bituminous coal trade at Buffalo came later than those of the trade from the anthracite fields. Until the Buffalo and Washington Railroad (afterwards the Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia, and now the Buffalo arm of the Pennsylvania Railroad system) was opened, in 1875, coal from the bituminous fields reached Buffalo by lake from Erie or by rail via Brocton or Hornellsville. For twenty years, at least, the building of a direct road to that important region of Pennsylvania had been urged, and even attempted by a Buffalo and Pittsburgh Railroad Company in 1852, without result. Heavy movements of bituminous coal to this market followed the opening of the Buffalo and Washington road, and large mining interests in Western Pennsylvania were soon established in Buffalo, notably that which was represented by the firm of Bell, Lewis & Yates.

A business founded at this period, in 1874, by Mr. Frank Williams, has grown to be one of the largest of the present day. At the beginning it involved the handling of about 7,500 tons of coal in the year. In 1907 it had to do with half a million tons; much of which, however, did not come to Buffalo, to be included in the statistics of coal received at and shipped from this port. A large part of the coal mined and marketed by the existing firm of Frank Williams & Co. is shipped directly from its mines in Pennsylvania to the points of sale. It supplies a good share of the steam coal taken on by lake steamers in this port for their own use, delivering to them by lighters at all parts of the harbor, and its local trade is large. The extensive docks of the firm are

on the Blackwell Canal. The founder of the business bought an interest in two mines in Jefferson County, Pennsylvania, in 1876. Those mines were exhausted long ago. In 1881 he purchased coal property in Oak Ridge, Armstrong County, which is productive still. Other properties have been acquired since. The firm is now operating mines at Hillville, Clarion County, where it has 2,000 acres of coal, and Dent's Run in Elk County, where it holds leases of the coal under 10,000 acres. In addition, it buys from 100,000 to 200,000 tons yearly from other mines. Mr. Frank Williams died in 1884. He had received Mr. Horace A. Noble into partnership, and sons of both Mr. Williams and Mr. Noble are associated with the latter in the present firm.

A second direct route from the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania to Buffalo was opened in 1875, by the building of the Buffalo and Jamestown Railroad,—named afterwards the Buffalo and Southwestern, and now a division of the New York, Lake Erie and Western.

A third connection was formed in 1883, on the bringing of the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg road into Buffalo. In close relations with this important road was the business of the strong firm of Bell, Lewis & Yates, incorporated subsequently as the Bell, Lewis & Yates Mining Company, which conducted extensive mining operations in Pennsylvania and coal trade in Buffalo. Mr. George H. Lewis, of this company, who died suddenly in October, 1897, was a citizen whose loss has been deeply felt. He came to Buffalo in 1875, and the firm in which his brother-in-law, Mr. Frederick A. Bell, was one of his partners, was formed in 1878. Its operations were ended in 1896, when the franchises of the company were sold and Mr. Lewis's retirement from business occurred. Until he died, not many realized how rarely good a citizen, in all the relations of his life, he had been.

Another citizen of the high standard had been taken from the same walk in life a little earlier, in 1894, when Mr. Hedstrom died. The city had been bettered in many ways by the example and the service of both these men, and their memory should be kept green.

After the death of Mr. Hedstrom his business was continued in his own name by a co-partnership formed of Arthur E. Hedstrom, Anna M. Hedstrom, Alice H. Douglas and Eugene C. Roberts. The handling of bituminous coal had been begun by Mr. Hedstrom in 1880, when he became the representative of several of the larger Pittsburg and Reynoldsville producers. The heavier interests of his successors are now in that department of the coal trade. In 1900 they took over on a perpetual lease the bituminous coal interests of the Fairmount Coal and Coke Company, which was controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1902 they purchased the coal interests of the late John M. Brinker, and those are now operated under the name of the Hedstrom Coal Mining Company. In the bituminous and the anthracite coal business of Buffalo alike, the firm which bears the name of E. L. Hedstrom is one of the leading factors.

The coal and coke products of the Rochester and Pittsburg Coal and Iron Company are distributed very largely from Buffalo, and the retail trade of the city in steam coal is supplied by this company to an important extent. Its mines are extensive, mostly in the Reynoldsville district. Its yards and trestles at this point are at Ganson and Michigan streets and at Fillmore Avenue and Clinton Street. The company's agent in Buffalo is Mr. Harry Yates.

Another extensive mining corporation which markets its product of steam coal largely through Buffalo is that of H. K. Wick & Company, whose Pennsylvania mines are in the counties of Mercer, Butler and Clarion.

The fourth and latest of the important rail connections

of Buffalo with the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania, created by the building of the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad, was completed in 1907. This carried with it heavy investments of capital from Buffalo in the bituminous coal fields. In 1901, six years before the extension of its road to Buffalo, the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad Company had bought the property of the Clearfield Coal Company, located at Tyler, Pennsylvania, for the holding of which property the Buffalo and Susquehanna Coal Company was incorporated subsequently. In the following year the latter company purchased additional lands, near Dubois, Pa., from the Berwind-White Coal Mining Company, and other lands, ten miles south of Dubois, from Peale, Peacock & Kerr, the whole containing, as estimated, about 30,000,000 tons of coal. The B. and S. Railroad was extended from Sinnemahoning, Pa., to Dubois and a point south of it, in 1903-4.

In 1903 and 1904 the lands bought from Peale, Peacock & Kerr, and from the Clearfield Coal Company were sold by the Buffalo and Susquehanna Coal & Coke Company to the Buffalo and Susquehanna Iron Company, whose extensive and remarkably perfect plant at Buffalo was brought into operation in 1904. To replace the coal lands thus parted with, the B. & S. Coal and Coke Company made additional purchases, and its lands and mining rights now owned are estimated to contain 120,000,000 tons of coal. It operates three modern shaft-mining plants, near Dubois, which have a total producing capacity of about one million tons per annum. It operates, also, a quite remarkable drift-mining plant at Sagamore, Pa., the producing capacity of which, when fully developed, will be about two million tons of coal per annum.

In the decade which ended in 1872 only 66,000 tons of bituminous coal were shipped from Buffalo by rail, and

78,889 tons by lake. In the next decade the rail shipments had mounted up to 1,089,907 tons, and those by lake had shrunk to 8,800. In the latest single year of the trade (1907), for which separate statistics have been obtained, Buffalo received (necessarily by rail) 5,189,235 tons of bituminous coal, and shipped but 2,815 tons of it by lake. Exactly how much went out of the city by rail is not shown by the statistics, which give bituminous and anthracite together, in one total of "shipments by railroads," 6,007,255 tons.

The smallness of the shipments of bituminous coal from Buffalo by lake is explained by the fact that coal from the bituminous fields seeking lake transportation can reach it at other ports on Lake Erie from which distances and rates are less than from Buffalo.

The receipts of anthracite in 1907 (wholly by rail) were 6,304,829 tons, and 3,449,695 tons went westward by lake. Hence the larger part of the above total railroad shipment of both kinds of coal must have been of the bituminous variety.

The combined receipts of bituminous and anthracite by rail were reported by the Bureau of Industries in 1910 as having been 9,180,839 tons; shipments by lake 3,052,705 tons.

The shipping docks and coal pockets at Buffalo are summarized in the annual report of the Chamber of Commerce, as follows:

	Average shipping capacity daily Tons	Average capacity of pockets Tons
Pennsylvania R. R.....	2,500	3,000
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R....	3,000	4,000
Lehigh Docks, Nos. 1 and 2.....	6,000	12,000
Erie Docks (Erie R. R.).....	3,000	10,000
Reading Docks	7,000	6,500
Totals	21,500	35,500

Outside the city limits at Cheektowaga is the stocking coal trestle of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, with a capacity of over 100,000 tons storage. At the same place the Lehigh has its trestles and stocking plant of 175,000 tons storage capacity, with a shipping capacity of 3,000 tons daily; and has a transfer trestle for loading box cars, with a capacity of 100 cars daily. At the same point the Erie has a stocking plant, with average daily capacity of 1,000 tons, and storage capacity for 100,000 tons. The Reading has at the foot of Georgia Street, in the city, a large trestle and pocket for the convenience of the retail trade, and in connection with their docks, with a capacity of 2,000 tons. The Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburg has terminals on Ganson and Michigan streets, fronting on the Blackwell Canal, with a water frontage of 1,100 feet; also a town delivery yard, with a hoisting plant for loading and coaling vessels.

CHAPTER IV

CATTLE TRADE AND MEAT PACKING

IN an article prepared for a historical "extra number" of the Buffalo *Express*, published in 1888, Mr. Horace Wilcox, then the commercial editor of that newspaper, traced the substantial beginnings of the live stock business in Buffalo to the year 1852, when D. M. Joslyn opened yards for drovers at the old Jamison tavern, on Seneca Street. Nothing but scattering lots of cattle and hogs had been handled at this point, without accommodations or facilities of any kind. Joslyn's yards were removed afterwards to the Thirteenth Ward House, on the same street.

Within the next few years several cattle and hog yards were opened, on the Tift Farm and elsewhere, in the southeastern part of the city. John Dickey, Leonard Crocker, and James H. Metcalfe were men of early prominence in the business. About 1855 or 1856 the New York Central and the New York and Erie Railroad companies began building pens and chutes for loading cattle and hog cars. In 1863 the New York Central and Hudson River R. R. Co. opened the stock yards at East Buffalo which have centralized the trade ever since. For many years the cattle and sheep departments were under the superintendence of Mr. Leonard Crocker, while Metcalfe and Cushing had charge of the department of hogs.

In the long period that has elapsed since the opening of these yards they have been undergoing constant improvement and enlargement, until there is nothing in the country to surpass them in facilities, and only at Chicago is a greater business done. In one branch of the trade,—that of sheep and lambs,—even Chicago falls behind, and the boast is made for these yards that they stand first among the mar-

kets of the world. Covering more than a hundred acres of ground, the yards offer a provision for handling more than 100,000 animals at one time. The cattle yards have capacity for 15,000 head; the building for sheep 50,000; the building for hogs 35,000. In a published description of the stockyards it is said: "Every protection is supplied against fire or accident. Broad paved alleys, dry, cool sheep and hog houses, lighted by electricity and sanitarily clean in every respect. Cattle pens provided with sheds for shelter and fitted with the most approved appliances for watering and feeding and an abundance of pure water are among the features of the yards. Order and cleanliness prevail everywhere."

Receipts of live stock at Buffalo in 1907 were reported by car-loads as follows: Cattle, 8,365; Hogs, 11,554; Sheep, 6,396; Horses, 1,087; Mixed cars, 3,736; Total, 31,138 cars. Shipments by carloads: Cattle, 5,423; Hogs, 5,972; Sheep, 6,472; Horses, 917; mixed cars, 610; Total, 19,394.

The total through shipments of live stock via Buffalo in 1907 were of 33,360 cars.

While Buffalo is not one of the great centers of the meat packing business, two large and important establishments of that business have been established here. That of the Christian Klinck Packing Company had small beginnings in 1856. It now occupies twenty-four acres of ground and 25 buildings, adjoining Depot Street, in South Buffalo. In 1906 the cattle slaughtered at this place numbered 32,000, the hogs 340,000. The present company is composed of the six sons of the late Christian Klinck, Louis P., W. H., Fred. F., Charles C., Albert E., and Edward C. Klinck.

The business of the Jacob Dold Packing Company was begun in a small way of butchering by Jacob Dold, Sr., in 1860, on the Abbott Road. Two years later a packing establishment was opened at the Elk Street Market. The

large plant now operated at East Buffalo was established in 1872, when the slaughter of hogs and cattle amounted to about 50,000 per year. In 1907 it had increased to 650,000 head.

FINANCIAL EVOLUTION

BANKING

AS shown by the preceding survey, the business interests of Buffalo, until quite recent years, were far more in the transportation of the commodities of trade than in the production of them. In other words, its manufacturing industries were less important than those connected with the traffic-handling, the storage and the lake and canal carriage of its grain, coal and lumber trade. This gave, without doubt, some features of peculiarity to its banking business.

It used to be a common complaint among the manufacturers of the city that the resources of its banks were monopolized by the grain trade, especially, and that bills of lading and warehouse receipts were the only kind of paper that found favor at the discounting institutions. Latterly such complaints are said to have ceased, partly by reason of the increase of banking capital, and partly because the grain business has undergone a great change. Most of the grain now handled in Buffalo is on through lake and rail bills of lading, carried by Chicago and New York banks. Buffalo is only a point of transfer in the movement of it. The banks here are only called upon to carry such grain as local millers and other manufacturers of grain products are buying in the fall, when they lay in their stock for winter needs.

Probably the former conditions tended to lessen the number of banking institutions in Buffalo, compared with other cities of its class. Relatively, the number continues to be small, and the volume of the banking business of the city is, therefore, not represented by the transactions of the Clear-

ing House, for the reason that much more of the local business is cleared on the books of the banks themselves than would be if a greater number divided it.

Until a few years ago the banks in Buffalo were mainly State banks, there being, until that time, only two that were organized as national banks. This was due to the fact that Buffalo is not one of the twenty-five so-called "reserve cities," named in the law creating the national banks, which allows those banks to carry a certain percentage of their required reserve in designated banks within the cities that are named. Within these cities, to which the deposits of country banks are drawn, the formation of national banks has been stimulated; but banks in Buffalo, operating under a State law, the main features of which were incorporated in the national bank act, have had no special inducement to place themselves under that act. Several, however, have found reasons for doing so of late.

Banking at Buffalo had early beginnings,—as early as 1816, when the village had no more than half emerged from the ashes of its destruction in 1813. Six or eight of its leading business men, in association with a number from other villages in the western part of the State, including Batavia, procured from the Legislature an act incorporating the bank of Niagara, and it was organized in July, 1816, with a nominal capital of \$500,000, to be paid in small instalments on the shares. Niagara Falls, Batavia, Clarence, Williamsville, Hamburg, and Chautauqua County, as well as Buffalo, were represented on the board of directors, and Isaac Kibbe, of Hamburg, was elected president, with Isaac Q. Leake for cashier. The offices of the bank were established at the corner of Washington and North Division streets. It was chartered for sixteen years, and its business seems to have been closed with regularity at the end of that term.

The Bank of Niagara had a powerful rival after 1831, when a branch of the national United States Bank was established in the rising town, then aspiring to the status of a city. The \$200,000 capital of the new bank was so heavily over-subscribed that litigation arose over the awarding of the shares. It opened business in September, 1831, on the northeast corner of South Division Street and Main, and continued, under the presidency of William B. Rochester, for about three years, when President Jackson's veto of a renewed charter for the parent institution brought its existence to an end.

From the directory of the city in 1832 we learn that a Bank of Buffalo had then been established, with G. H. Goodrich for its president; but it disappears from the directory of 1835, to reappear, in name, at least, in that of 1836, with Hiram Pratt as president, and a new institution, the Commercial Bank of Buffalo, Israel T. Hatch president, is named that year. Another addition is made in 1837, and the list of three,—City Bank, Commercial Bank and Bank of Buffalo,—is unchanged for two years. In 1839 the city becomes suddenly endowed with no less than seven banks, adding four to the previous list, as follows: United States Bank at Buffalo, P. A. Barker president; Merchants Exchange Bank, Sherman Stevens president; Mechanics Bank, O. H. Dibble president; Erie County Bank, G. N. Kinney, president.

In 1840 the City Bank has disappeared, and three new ones have arisen: the Bank of Commerce, C. H. Allen president; the Bank of America, Henry Roop president, and the Phoenix Bank, L. Eaton in its presidency. Then comes a great fall. The directory of 1841 names but two in its list of banks, the Bank of Buffalo and the Commercial Bank; and in 1842 it reports the whole list of 1840 under the sinister caption, "Suspended Banks," with names of the

receivers who are winding up their affairs. Not a bank in the city is recorded outside of that catalogue of the moribund, either that year or the next.

But in 1844 a fresh planting of institutions for banking is seen to have occurred. The twelve of the old list are named as being still in the receivers' hands, but seven new ones had been established, one of which had a long career, running on till not quite a decade ago; while several others of the number came down to times within the memory of people who are not patriarchally old. The Bank of Attica enters then for the first time into the city directory, but is said to have been removed from Attica to Buffalo in 1842. The other six were Oliver Lee & Co.'s Bank, White's Bank, George C. White president; the Patchin Bank, A. D. Patchin president; the Exchange Bank, of Robert Codd; the Merchants', M. Perry president, and the Farmers' and Drovers', James N. Earl.

It is evident that the fresh creations of 1844 mark the opening of a period of improved stability in banking at Buffalo, though many banks have come and gone since that year, and not one of the institutions born then is in existence now. Some of the many that are but names in our local history have ended business voluntarily, leaving an honorable record of success. In some cases a record of failure has been honorable, nevertheless; while some have gone down in disgraceful as well as disastrous wreck.

Two of the banks that have disappeared had a long and important career, bearing a part in the business history of the city which cannot be overlooked. One of these was the Bank of Attica, founded by Gaius B. Rich at the village of Attica, in 1836; re-established at Buffalo in 1842, and re-organized and re-incorporated in 1850, under the banking laws of the State. During the sixty years of its useful and prosperous existence in Buffalo, "the conservative basis on

which it was organized originally was never impaired, and the principles for its guidance laid down by its founder were steadily adhered to," by the son, Andrew J. Rich, who succeeded him, and by the grandson, G. Barrett Rich, who came to the presidency of the bank in 1895. In 1890, for business reasons, the name of the institution was changed, and it was known thereafter as the Buffalo Commercial Bank, until 1902, when it was merged in the Marine National Bank.

Another bank of the past which had an early, long and important career, was the Farmers' and Mechanics', organized originally at Batavia, about 1840, and removed to Buffalo in 1852. On the establishment of the bank in Buffalo the Hon. Elbridge G. Spaulding, previously in the practice of the profession of the law, became its president and devoted himself to its administration, except as he gave large parts of his time and attention to public affairs. Serving repeated terms in Congress, first in 1849-50, then in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh congresses of the Civil War period, he became a notable actor on the national stage, and exercised an important influence in the shaping of the financial legislation of the war. As chairman of a sub-committee of the House Committee of Ways and Means he was the recognized author of the Legal Tender Act, and was popularly known as the "Father of the Greenbacks" in his day. He had hardly less to do with the framing and passing of the National Bank Act, in co-operation with Secretary Chase. The Bank over which he presided was reorganized under that act in 1864, becoming the Farmers' and Mechanics' National Bank. In common speech it was more often alluded to as "Spaulding's Bank." It continued to be a factor of importance in Buffalo business until 1897, when its business was closed.

Of the banks of discount that are now doing business in

He was married in 1842, and his wife died in 1847. He was a member of the New York State Bar Association, and was a member of the New York State Bar Association. He was a member of the New York State Bar Association, and was a member of the New York State Bar Association. He was a member of the New York State Bar Association, and was a member of the New York State Bar Association.

ELBRIDGE G. SPAULDING.

Banker and publicist; born Summer Hill, New York, February 24, 1809. Obtained a liberal education, studied law, and began practice in Buffalo. Held several city offices, including that of mayor in 1847. Was elected to the 31st Congress as a Whig; treasurer of the State of New York, 1854-55; elected to the 36th Congress (1861-63) as a Union candidate and re-elected to the 37th Congress. Took an active part in the framing of the Legal Tender Act, under which the greenbacks were issued during the Civil War. Organized in 1864 the Farmers' & Mechanics' National Bank of Buffalo; died May 5, 1897.



Yours truly,
A. G. S. M. C. S.

Buffalo the Marine National is the oldest, having been organized as a State bank in 1850. Only two of its original incorporators,—George Palmer and James M. Ganson,—were resident in Buffalo; the remainder were men of capital and business weight from other parts of the State. George Palmer, one of the broadest and strongest of our men of business in the past, was its president for fourteen years. In 1881, after an interval in which several changes in the presidency occurred, Mr. Stephen M. Clement, previously cashier of the bank, since 1869, was elected to the presidency, and retained that office till his death, when he was succeeded by his son of the same name. The first location of the bank was far down Main Street, immediately below its crossing of the Canal. In 1880 it was removed to 220 Main Street. In 1896 the adjoining property, at the southwest corner of Main and Seneca streets, was acquired, and the quarters of the bank enlarged. Five years later the entire property was remodelled, and, again, in 1907, an extensive reconstruction occurred, to give the bank the large spaces for inner work and outer lobby which its growing business required. Until 1902 the Marine Bank was a State institution. In that year, shortly before its absorption of the Buffalo Commercial Bank, it obtained a charter as a National Bank, since which entry into the national system its deposits have increased over \$5,000,000. In 1906 its accumulated surplus, exceeding \$2,000,000, was partly capitalized, by an enlargement of the capital stock from \$230,000 to \$1,500,000, through the declaration of a dividend from the surplus to stockholders of 552 per cent. A recent financial statement of the bank to the Comptroller of the Currency showed \$17,056,495 deposits, with surplus and profits of \$1,182,883.

The next in age of the existing banks of discount, as well as the next in magnitude of business, is the Manufacturers'

and 'Traders' National, which was organized under the State law in 1856, and reorganized as a National Bank within quite recent years. Its original capital was \$200,000, which has been increased successively to \$500,000, to \$900,000, and, finally, to \$1,000,000. Its reported statement of condition in 1907 showed: deposits, \$12,466,989; surplus and undivided profits, \$1,451,313. The first president of the bank was Henry Martin; the first vice-president Pascal P. Pratt, and those offices were unchanged for many years. Mr. Martin was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Pratt, who held the office until 1900, when he retired from business, and Robert L. Fryer came into his place. The offices of the bank were opened in 1856 at No. 2 East Swan Street; removed the same year to 273 Main Street, and to 22 West Seneca Street in 1861; whence it went, in 1880, to the corner of West Seneca and Main.

The Third National Bank of Buffalo was organized in 1865, under the National Bank Act of the previous year, and designated soon afterward as a depository of public moneys of the United States. Its original capital of \$250,000 has been increased since to \$500,000. Its surplus and undivided profits stated in 1907 were \$166,059; deposits \$2,676,184. Mr. Abel T. Blackmar was the president of the bank till 1869, when he was succeeded by Mr. Abraham Altman, who occupied the office until 1881, when Mr. Charles A. Sweet was elected, and held the presidency till failing health compelled him to resign, in 1902. Mr. Sweet was succeeded by Mr. Nathaniel Rochester, who had been the cashier of the bank for many years. Mr. Rochester died in 1906, and Mr. Loran L. Lewis has been president of the bank since that time. The Third National has occupied its present place of business, at the corner of Main and Swan streets, since 1867.

The existing Bank of Buffalo had two or more prede-

cessors of the same name, but is related to them in no other way. It began business in 1873, with a capital of \$300,000, which was raised to \$500,000 in 1903. Its surplus and undivided profits in 1907 were \$703,934; its deposits \$7,159,434. It is said to have paid dividends every year since 1874, and to have paid in all, to 1908, \$1,113,000. The first president of the bank was Sherman S. Jewett, who was succeeded by John N. Scatcherd in 1892, and the latter by Elliott C. McDougal in 1896. The first location of the bank was at 236 Main Street, occupying part of the ground on which, in 1895, it erected the substantial building at the corner of Main and West Seneca streets in which its increasing business is now carried on.

In the order of time, the next of the existing banks of discount to appear was the German-American, organized under the State law in 1882. Its original paid-up capital of \$100,000 was increased to \$200,000 in 1889. It opened business in the basement of the building which it now owns and occupies, at the corner of Main and Court streets, but which was then the property and the home of the Erie County Savings Bank. In 1883 it took quarters at 440 Main Street; doubled them in 1888 by taking in the adjoining premises; and bought, in 1893, the building which the Erie County Savings Bank had outgrown. The deposits held by the German-American Bank when reported in 1907 were \$4,083,892; its surplus and undivided profits \$203,691. The president of the bank at the beginning was Henry Hellriegel. The office is now held by Edwin G. S. Miller.

In 1889 the People's Bank was organized, with a capital of \$300,000. Its president for a number of years, Daniel O'Day, was much engaged in other affairs, and the active duties of the office were performed, practically, from the first, by the vice-president, Arthur D. Bissell, who succeeded to the presidency in 1903. The first location of the bank

was in the Coal and Iron Exchange building, on Washington Street; but the growth of its business required a change, which was made in 1905. By an extensive remodelling of the building on the southeastern corner of Main and Seneca streets it secured admirable quarters, at a most desirable point. The surplus and undivided profits of the bank at the latest reporting were \$240,375, and it held deposits to the amount of \$3,781,086.

The Citizens' Bank, chartered in 1890, was established in an eastern quarter of the city, at the corner of William and Sherman streets, where its business is still carried on. The president is Joseph Block. The capital of the bank is \$100,000; its surplus at the time of the report for 1907 was \$265,820; its deposits \$1,967,068.

The Columbia National Bank, organized in 1892, was located on the first floor of the Prudential Building, at the corner of Pearl and Church streets, until 1907, when, on the opening of the new Chamber of Commerce Building, it occupied the first floor there. The president of the Columbia National is George F. Rand. Its capital is \$700,000; its surplus, reported in 1907, \$1,006,842; and it held deposits to the amount of \$4,897,756.

The Market Bank was organized by the stockholders of the Bank of Buffalo in 1903 for the accommodation of uptown banking needs. Its first location was at 598 and 600 Main Street, a little above Chippewa, and it was removed to the corner of Chippewa Street in 1906. The capital of the bank is \$100,000; its latest report of surplus \$32,346; its deposits \$974,595.

For the special benefit of the live stock commission merchants, the butchers, manufacturers and other business men of the East Buffalo region, the Union Stock Yards Bank was established in 1904, having its well-appointed place of business in the Live Stock Exchange building, at the cor-

ner of William and Depot streets. The capital of the bank is \$150,000; its surplus in 1907 \$38,341; its deposits \$716,000. Its leading organizers were Hiram Waltz, the president, and Irving E. Waters, the cashier.

The youngest of the banks in the city is the Central National, established in 1906, and located in the offices that were vacated when the German Bank failed, at the corner of Main Street and the Lafayette Park. It has a capital of \$200,000, and reported a surplus in 1907 of \$55,520, with deposits to the amount of \$1,236,688.

The first of the Trust Companies to be instituted in Buffalo was the Buffalo Loan, Trust and Safe Deposit Company, chartered in 1881, but opening active business in January, 1883. It was, furthermore, the first safe-deposit institution. Its offices and vaults are still where first located, at 449 Main Street. The original capital of the company, \$137,000, paid up, has been increased to \$200,000. It held deposits, at the time of the latest statement, aggregating \$940,589, and its accumulated surplus was \$80,460. George Urban is the president of the company.

In 1892 the Fidelity Trust Company was organized, under the presidency of Mr. George V. Forman, who has been its chief executive since. While performing the functions of a trust company, as executor and administrator of many estates, and as receiver for the defunct Empire State Savings Bank, it has also conducted a general banking business. It is founded upon a capital of \$500,000; had accumulated a surplus of \$400,000, as appears in a recent published statement, and held deposits to the amount of \$6,969,421. For more than eight years past "the company has paid monthly dividends of 1 per cent. on its capital stock." Until 1903 the company occupied the front room on the ground floor of the Erie County Savings Bank building. It then took possession of the massive building it had

erected for itself on the northwestern corner of Main Street and Swan.

The latest in birth of the financial institutions which combine the trust function with banking is the Commonwealth Trust Company, formed in 1903. It occupies the room in the Erie County Savings Bank building that was vacated by the Fidelity Trust Company that year. Mr. E. O. McNair has been the president of the company from the beginning. Its capital is \$500,000; its accumulated surplus \$317,732; and it held deposits to the amount of \$5,644,939 when reporting them in 1907. The stock of the company is said to have reached a dividend-paying basis at the end of the first year.

Of institutions for savings, the Buffalo Savings Bank, founded in 1846, was the earliest to be formed. Among its incorporators were such notable citizens of that period as Millard Fillmore and Albert H. Tracy. It opened business in the old Spaulding's Exchange, on Main Street immediately below the Terrace, but was soon removed elsewhere, going through two changes of location in its first year. Then, till 1852, it was quartered at the corner of Main and Erie streets; whence it was removed to the old Bank of Buffalo building, on Main Street, south of Court. In 1867 it took possession of the building it had erected for itself at the corner of Washington Street and Batavia (now Broadway). Toward the close of the century, having outgrown the accommodations available there, it built again, on a greater scale and in a nobler style, on the conspicuous corner of Main, Huron and Genesee streets, and entered this fine new home in March, 1901. Among its presidents in the past were Warren Bryant and Edward Bennett. In recent years the office has been held by Spencer Clinton. John U. Wayland, its long time secretary, resigned not many years ago, becoming a resident of

California, and was succeeded by Edward G. Becker. The assets of the bank, reported on the 1st of January, 1908, were \$28,069,784; due depositors, \$26,280,619; surplus, \$1,789,614. Number of open accounts, 49,012.

The Western Savings Bank is but five years younger than the Buffalo, having been organized in 1851. Gaius B. Rich was its first president, with Dean Richmond for vice-president. It began business on Seneca Street, near Main; was removed to the corner of Main and Genesee streets in 1855; was again removed to Main and Mohawk streets in 1859; and then, after a few years, built for itself, where its business has been conducted since 1872, on the northern corner of Main Street and Court. Its president for many years past has been Albert J. Wheeler. Its assets on the 1st of January, 1908, were \$7,778,224; amount due depositors, \$7,151,933; surplus, \$626,291.

Three years later than the Western, in 1854, the Erie County Savings Bank was established. Until 1908 it had had but four presidents, William A. Bird, James C. Harrison, Gibson T. Williams and David R. Morse. On Mr. Morse's death, early in 1908, Mr. Robert S. Donaldson, secretary and treasurer for many years, became president. The successive locations of the bank have been at the southeast corner of Main and North Division streets, at the corner of Main and Erie, at the southern corner of Main and Court, in the brownstone building which it erected, and which is now owned and occupied by the German-American Bank, and, finally, in its present imposing edifice, on the site of the old First Presbyterian Church, bounded by Main, Niagara, Pearl and Church streets. The deposits of the Erie County bank have grown to the enormous sum of \$40,416,536; its assets, reported on the 1st of January, 1908, were \$43,235,168; its surplus, \$2,818,630; number of open accounts, 79,583.

On the 1st of January, 1910, the total deposits in the banking institutions of Buffalo were \$173,872,560.98; of which \$80,842,858.96 were savings bank deposits. The total clearings of the clearing house banks at the close of that year were reported to have been \$502,826,696.

INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

TANNING AND THE LEATHER TRADE

TANNING was the first productive industry in Buffalo that connected itself importantly with more than a local trade, and for many years it was the principal source of wealth that the town created within itself. A quite notable proportion of the older family fortunes were derived from its vats. The business arose naturally here from the abundance of hemlock in the forests of the neighboring country, supplying the needed tan-bark. It flourished till the neighboring supply was exhausted, and then most of it passed elsewhere. It had great stimulation in the period of the Civil War, and for some years after, before the advantages which Buffalo had enjoyed in it began seriously to decline.

It is possible to trace back the early tanning business of Buffalo, if not to its actual beginnings, at least to the beginning of importance in it as a growing commercial plant. The first directory of the village of Buffalo, published in 1828, "containing names and residences of the heads of families and householders on the 1st of January" in that year, names one firm and eight individuals who are designated as "tanners and curriers." The firm, Bush and Chamberlain, was presumably the proprietor of a tannery, in which some of the eight other tanners and curriers must have been employed. One of the latter, Noah H. Gardner, who appears soon afterward as a member of the firm which took the leading rank in the business, may have entered it independently already, but the fact is not known. N. Ran-

dall, who is described in the directory as a shoe dealer *and* tanner, is quite likely to have tanned the leather of the shoes in which he dealt. The remaining six names provoke no surmise.

The first really historical record of early undertakings in the manufacture of leather at Buffalo is found in a biographical memoir of that notable leader of local enterprise in his day, George Palmer, who died in September, 1864. The memoir was prepared by the Hon. George R. Babcock, and read at a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society in the year following Mr. Palmer's death. We learn from it that Mr. Palmer, who came to Buffalo in 1828, had learned the tanner's trade, and had been in partnership with a tanner at Palmyra for a number of years. He came here with some capital, not to exceed fifteen thousand dollars, says Mr. Babcock; but that was a large capital in those days. What he did at the outset is told thus by his biographer:

"The Buffalo Hydraulic Association had completed a dam, at the junction of the Seneca and Cayuga branches of the Big Buffalo Creek, and a small canal, with a view to creating a water power, near the intersection of Swan and Seneca streets, then called Clintonville. Of this company he purchased a lot of land and water power, sufficient for a bark-mill, on the north side of Seneca Street, adjoining the Indian Reservation, upon which he erected the tannery now [in 1865] occupied by Noah H. Gardner. The ground was a swamp, and covered with trees. The road (now Seneca Street) was a 'corduroy', cut through the forest, and for half the year almost impassable. So soon as his works were completed he commenced the manufacture of leather upon what was then considered a large scale, having his store for sales upon Main Street," a little north of Seneca.

Further on in his sketch of biography Mr. Babcock

relates that Mr. Palmer, in 1830, "formed a partnership in his tanning business with his brother-in-law, Noah H. Gardner, and subsequently, in 1835, another in the purchase and sale of hides and leather, with Jabez B. Bull. These partnerships continued until Mr. Palmer's death." He had made considerable purchases of lands in the city, and "he engaged largely in building upon his vacant lots." "The large stone tannery, now [1865] and for many years past occupied by Rumsey & Sons, on the south side of the Main and Hamburg streets Canal, near Alabama Street, was erected by him. This was the most complete and extensive establishment of the kind in Western New York. The walls were erected in 1844, and on the 18th of October of that year the city was visited by the most disastrous gale known in our annals. The water of the lake rose to a great height, overflowing all the low grounds of the city, and causing great destruction of life and property. The walls of this building were undermined and prostrated, rendering it necessary to rebuild them, which was done, and the entire manufactory completed and occupied in November, 1845."

After the directory of 1828, none appears to have been published until 1832. Those which go on from that time supply the only further record of early leather-making and dealing to be found. In 1832 the firm of Bush and Chamberlain is still in business, and announced as conducting a shoe and leather store at 193 Main Street. That the senior of this firm was the John Bush who appears in 1835 as the proprietor of a "morocco factory," on Crow Street, seems probable, from the fact that, in that same year (1835) Aaron Rumsey comes into the directory as a "leather manufacturer" doing business at 193 Main Street,—the place which Bush & Chamberlain had occupied. The fair inference is that the Bush & Chamberlain business had passed

to Aaron Rumsey, and that John Bush the morocco manufacturer came out of the dissolved firm.

The directory of the same year, 1835, introduces for the first time the name of George Howard, and describes him as a tanner, in Rumsey's employ. He is thus represented during 1836 and '37; but in 1838 the firm of Rumsey & Howard appears, and the junior partner is George Howard. This arrangement of business continues for six years. Meantime Myron P. Bush, son of John Bush, has come into the record, first as a "morocco dresser"—in his father's factory, no doubt—from 1838 till 1842, and then as the proprietor of a "leather shop." Two years later, in 1844, the Rumsey & Howard firm disappears from the directory and that of Bush & Howard arrives, to have prominence in the business for the next thirty or forty years. Aaron Rumsey continues in the business with no partner until his sons join him in the firm of A. Rumsey & Co.

Jabez B. Bull, presented first in the directory of 1835 as a clerk, is named next year as the partner of George Palmer, in the mercantile side of the latter's business, and remains so till 1842, when the firm of J. B. Bull & Co. is announced. Of other names that acquired a well-remembered prominence in the leather manufacture and trade of later times, the next to appear in the directory is that of John M. Hutchinson, who came on the scene of business in 1840, as a member of the firm of Terry & Hutchinson, continuing in that partnership till 1844, when his name stood alone. The tannery of Mr. Hutchinson was at Williamsville.

The name of Nehemiah Case came into the directory in 1844, as that of a clerk; but in 1847 he had entered business for himself in the leather trade, and the firm of N. Case & Co. was formed.

Another name which made its first appearance in the directory of 1844 is the only one that remained continuously



J. H. Schoellkopf
JH

JACOB L. SCHLOTTERKOFF (SENIOR)

Owner and miller; born Kirchheim u. Teck, Wurtemberg, Germany, November 15, 1819; educated in Germany. Was vice-president Third National Bank; president Niagara Falls & Hydraulic Power Manufacturing Company and director in Merchants and German Banks of Buffalo and Power City Bank of Niagara Falls. Was trustee of Buffalo General Hospital; member Historical Society of Buffalo and German Young Men's Association; died at Buffalo, September 15, 1899.

important in the business of tanning, down to the present day. It is that of Jacob F. Schoellkopf, who opened then a "leather and finding store," and established a sheep-skin tannery not many years later. From that time till his death the main interest of Mr. Schoellkopf, among the many he acquired, was in his tanneries, which his sons are still carrying on. It had been the business of his father, in Germany, and he learned it before coming to America. The surviving manufacture of both sole leather and sheepskins in Buffalo, on an extensive scale, is that which he left, in the large sole leather tannery of J. F. Schoellkopf's Sons, at the corner of Hudson and Efner streets, and in the immense sheep-leather and pulling-wool manufactory of Schoellkopf & Co., on Perry, Mississippi and Liberty streets. The output of the latter, which was founded in 1862, is now over 12,000 skins per day, besides a heavy output of pulled wool. It produces every variety of leather manufactured from a sheepskin; employs 750 men; maintains branches in nine of the large cities of the United States, and three purchasing agencies, in South America, England and France.

Of firms and individuals that engaged in the leather manufacture and trade somewhat later than these hitherto named, the more important, perhaps, were Root & Keating, Curtis & Deming, Laub & Zeller, and George L. Williams.

The early tanneries of the Buffalo manufacturers were generally within the city. As near-by hemlock forests were destroyed, and the supply of bark receded to farther and farther distances, the tanneries followed it, southward, for the most part, to Salamanca, Olean, and other points. At the same time competition from many quarters increased, and the business had discouragements which caused its decline. Yet the Schoellkopfs continue to show that it is a profitable industry in Buffalo still.

CHAPTER II

THE MANUFACTURE OF FLOUR

MR. PILLSBURY, of Minneapolis, the magnate of flour manufacture, is said to have predicted in 1888 that Buffalo would become the great milling center of the country. That the prediction was well grounded, and that the grounds are as substantial to-day as they were twenty years ago, is the judgment of men long experienced in the local manufacture and trade. Taking account of facilities and economies from beginning to end of the business,—in the assembling of wheat from the Northwest, in the milling of it and in the delivery of the product to the markets of both sides of the Atlantic, they maintain that the advantages offered here are beyond those of any other point. The past twenty years have carried Buffalo well on the way to a full realization of what Mr. Pillsbury foresaw.

While Black Rock and Buffalo were distinct villages, the milling industry was drawn to the former, by force of the water power which the building of the Erie Canal created. Along a considerable stretch of the canal it served as a mill-race, drawing water from the high level of the Niagara River at its head, and holding it at that level, while the closely contiguous river slips rapidly down. In 1826, the year following the completion of the canal, Messrs. Kingman & Durphy led off in the utilization of this water power, engaging Stephen W. Howell, a professional millwright, to erect for them the first mill of considerable capacity in this part of the State. This Erie Mill, as then named, was known in later years as the Marine. Soon after its completion Mr. Howell built the Niagara Mill, at Black Rock, for himself, and a third mill not long after, called the Globe.

The Globe Mill was bought in 1845 by Thomas Thornton and Thomas Chester, establishing the firm of Thornton & Chester, which has been prominent in the milling business ever since. They operated the Globe Mill till it was burned, in December, 1878, beginning with a production of 50 barrels per day and increasing it by improvements from time to time. Within the same period, from 1866 to 1875, they were connected with Mr. J. F. Schoellkopf in the operating of the Frontier and North Buffalo Mills at Black Rock, the joint productive capacity being 600 barrels per day. In 1868 the firm enlarged its operations by building the National Mill, at the foot of Erie Street, in Buffalo, starting it with a capacity for the production of 250 barrels per day. This location of the mill involved, of course, the use of steam power, the first resort to which in the flour manufacture of this city is said to have been made by Oliver Bugbee ten years before.

In 1872 the Spaulding Mill at Lockport, having a daily capacity of 350 barrels, was added to the business plant of Messrs. Thornton & Chester, who worked it for the next ten years. In 1880, after the burning of their Globe Mill, at Black Rock, they rebuilt it alongside of their National Mill, on Erie Street. This added 250 barrels daily to the producing capacity of their plants, making a total, at Buffalo and Lockport, of 850 barrels. The Lockport mill was burned in 1882, and not rebuilt; but the capacity of the mills at the foot of Erie Street has been increased gradually since that time, and their maximum daily output is now 1,200 barrels. In 1899 the old partnership was incorporated, under the name of the Thornton & Chester Milling Company.

In 1875 the firm of Schoellkopf & Mathews, composed of Jacob F. Schoellkopf and George B. Mathews, entered the business, by purchasing the Buffalo and the Frontier Mills,

at Black Rock. A much larger interest in flour milling was opened to this firm a little later, resulting incidentally from the first endeavor that was made to exploit the water power of Niagara Falls in an extensive and distributive way. That undertaking had been conceived as early as 1846, when surveys were made and plans drawn for the excavation of a canal through lands purchased on the American border of the Niagara, from a point a mile above the Falls to a point a mile below. The excavating of the canal was not begun, however, until 1853. As then made it was thirty-five feet wide and about six feet deep. The water power obtainable by this delivery of a considerable stream from above the Falls to a stretch of the river cliffs below them does not appear to have become useful until 1872, when it was applied to a flouring mill, built then on the canal, with a capacity for the production of forty barrels per day.

Thus far, the Day Hydraulic Canal, as it had been known, was not successful financially, and in 1878 it was bought by Mr. Schoellkopf at a public sale. He conveyed the property to the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company, incorporated under the laws of the State, in the possession of which company it has remained. In that same year the firm of Schoellkopf & Mathews built its first flouring mill on the canal. In 1883 this mill became the property of the Central Milling Company, organized for the purpose, with Mr. Mathews as its president, and the company proceeded to erect a second large mill at Niagara Falls. In 1900 the company was reorganized and renamed, and, as the Niagara Falls Milling Company, now operates these mills. Together they have the capacity to produce about 3,000 barrels of flour per day.

Of the two original mills of Messrs. Schoellkopf &

Mathews, at Black Rock, one, the Frontier, was operated by them till it burned, a number of years ago, the other, the North Buffalo Mill, was leased. It has since been burned. There are no mills now in operation at Black Rock.

The mill mentioned above, as having been built in 1872 on the Day Hydraulic Canal, at Niagara Falls, being the first to utilize the water-power from that canal, is now the property of the Cataract City Milling Company, of which Captain J. T. Jones, of Buffalo, is the president, and Mr. George J. Colpoys the general manager. The mill was built by Colonel Charles B. Gaskill, with an original capacity for the daily production of about 40 barrels. By successive remodellings, in 1903 and 1906, the capacity was raised first to 600 barrels daily, and is now about 1,000.

In 1879 the firm of Esser, Ogden & Co., composed of John Esser, Frederick Ogden and H. C. Zimmerman, began operating the Banner Mill, at Black Rock. Three years later the manufacture was transferred to a plant established at 378 Ohio Street. Mr. H. F. Shuttleworth was then admitted to the firm, and the partnership name was changed to Banner Milling Co. In 1887 Mr. Zimmerman retired. The productive capacity of the Banner Milling Co. has been raised from 250 to 800 barrels.

In 1881 Mr. George Urban, who had been an extensive dealer in flour since 1846, erected a mill at the corner of Genesee and Oak streets, which could then produce 300 barrels of flour a day. This was operated by Mr. Urban and his son, George Urban, Jr., who succeeded him, until 1899, when it was taken up by the combination known as the United States Flour Milling Company. In 1901 it passed to the ownership of the Standard Milling Company, by which it is operated at the present time. The daily producing capacity of the mill is now 1,000 barrels.

After disposing of his original mill, Mr. George Urban, Jr., proceeded at once to build anew, at the corner of Urban Street and the New York Central Belt Line tracks. The new mill, which represents everything that is most improved in the mechanism of flour manufacture, was started in 1903. Its producing capacity is 1,300 barrels per day. It is operated by the George Urban Milling Company, of which George Urban, Jr., is president, and George P. Urban is the secretary and treasurer.

The latest and largest of the flouring mills in Buffalo is owned and operated by the Washburn-Crosby Company, of Minneapolis. It is one of the many extensive plants of that company, established at Minneapolis, Minn., Great Falls and Kalispel, Mont., Louisville, Ky., and Buffalo. The founder of the great industry which has grown and branched to such dimensions was the late Governor Cadwallader C. Washburn, of Wisconsin,—one of the famous Washburn brothers, of Maine, who wrote their names so large in different chapters of American history.

Governor Washburn built his first mill at Minneapolis in 1866, choosing the location because of the water-power, and because of its relation to the spring wheat fields that were being developed at that time in the Northwest. He is regarded as the pioneer in the milling of the wheat grown in that section, known as spring wheat, which was not used successfully for making desirable grades of flour till the invention of the purifier, in 1871. This removed the dark color which had discredited spring wheat flour, and brought it so much into favor that, ultimately, it was priced above the flour from winter wheat, producing a superior quality of bread.

The first Washburn mills had capacity for producing but a few hundred barrels per day, and the growth of the industry was not great until the introduction by Governor

Washburn, in 1878, of the first complete roller mill. Flour milling in this country was revolutionized then, by the change from grinding between stones to the Hungarian process, so called, of crushing between steel rolls.

When Governor Washburn died, in 1882, the mills at Minneapolis had grown to a daily producing capacity of about 7,000 barrels. Now their capacity is 30,000. The first of the Buffalo mills, started in operation at the beginning of 1904, and located on South Michigan and Ganson streets, could produce no less than 6,500 barrels daily, and was operated to its full capacity; but it did not satisfy the needs of the company's business, and the building of a second mill on contiguous ground was undertaken in 1908. The new mill doubles the capacity of the plant, bringing it up to about 13,000 barrels per day. It is of steel and brick construction, costing half a million dollars. Connected with it, a concrete storage elevator has been built, costing \$200,000, and equal to the storage of 850,000 bushels.

The total production of flour by mills in Buffalo and vicinity during 1907 was 3,107,529 barrels, of which 2,625,682 barrels were the product of the city mills.

Analogous to the flour-milling interest is that of the manufacture of various cereal breakfast foods, etc., of which the production in Buffalo is quite extensive. The H. O. Company, organized by Alexander Hornby in 1893, removed its New York mill to this city soon after, and, while it has other mills elsewhere, this has been its main plant, and the headquarters of its business are here, at 54 Fulton Street. The president of the company is Mr. Robert L. Fryer. The Quaker Oats Company has a manufacturing plant, operated by electric power, located on Elk Street and the Abbott Road. The Buffalo Cereal Company and the United Cereal Mills, Ltd., have their business headquarters in the Dun Building and at 781 William Street, respectively.

CHAPTER III

PRODUCTION OF IRON AND STEEL

A FEW men in Buffalo had early discernment of the fact that the position of their city is peculiarly advantageous for the manufacture of iron. Ores from Northern Michigan, coals and cokes from Pennsylvania and limestone from our own vicinity, can be brought together at the least possible cost, while facilities for the distribution of the product east and west are unsurpassed. One citizen who saw this very clearly half a century ago was Mr. John Wilkeson; another was Mr. Bradford A. Manchester; and both of those gentlemen urged attention to the subject for a number of years before anything was undertaken in the line proposed. In January, 1864, Mr. Wilkeson prepared a paper for the Buffalo Historical Society on "The Manufacture of Iron in Buffalo," discussing the favorable conditions under which it is carried on at this point, with a preluding sketch of the small progress of the industry to that time.

From Mr. Wilkeson's record we learn that the blacksmith was the only iron-worker of the village until 1826, when a foundry for making plow-irons and other small castings was erected by Edward Root. A second foundry of the same character was started soon after by Isaac Skinner; while a larger establishment, both foundry and machine-shop, turning out large steam engines, was brought into operation at about the same time by Messrs. Gibson, Johnson and Ehle, at Black Rock. The first machine-shop and foundry in what was then Buffalo came in 1828, erected at the corner of Ohio and Indiana streets by Beals, Mayhew & Co. Between that time and the year of Mr. Wilkeson's writing the number of foundries and machine-shops had in-

creased to about twenty; and, said Mr. W., "for more than twenty years our founders and machinists have been able to construct engines of any size required for our lake navigation."

In 1838 Mr. Justin built a forge at Black Rock Dam. In 1850 Mr. Charles Delaney built the Niagara Forge. The first rolling mill erected here was established in 1846 by Corns & Co., "an association of operatives from Pittsburg," and known as the Buffalo Iron and Nail Works. This passed a little later into the hands of Messrs. Pratt & Co., the extensive iron and hardware merchants of the city, and was enlarged and improved.

It was not until 1860 that the production of iron from the ore was undertaken at Buffalo, and then in connection with circumstances which Mr. Wilkeson relates as follows: "During the winter of 1859-60 our citizens became very much interested on the subject of the promotion and extension of manufactures. The depressed condition of our lake commerce and navigation interests, for some years, had convinced all that our city could never maintain its standing with other cities in the basin of the lakes, and hope for a continued increase of population, without providing some certain means of employment during the winter as well as the summer for our working people. The discovery of numerous inexhaustible deposits of iron ores in Northern Michigan, and their successful use in the blast furnaces of Eastern Ohio, and the opening of canal and railroad communication with the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, led some of our citizens, who were familiar with iron smelting, to the conclusion that no place in all the lake basin was so favorably situated for the prosecution of that great branch of human industry as our city. * * * Several meetings were held, where the subject of manufacturing was discussed, and much light thrown on iron smelting. The result

was a determination on the part of several gentlemen to build a furnace. In the meantime Messrs. Palmer and Wadsworth concluded to build one, and, shortly after, Messrs. Warren and Thompson decided to build another; and thus the original project fell through, as it was thought sufficient that these gentlemen should test the feasibility of iron-smelting here. In the spring of 1860 the gentlemen named proceeded with the construction of their two blast furnaces, and the next year Messrs. Palmer and Wadsworth put theirs in operation. Its success was so flattering as to convince all that iron-smelting in Buffalo would be profitable. In 1862 the two establishments were consolidated in interest, another furnace built, and also a very large and complete rolling mill. These works, termed the Union Iron Works, are exceeded in capacity by few similar ones in the United States."

A fourth blast furnace, erected by Messrs. Pratt and Co., went into operation at Black Rock in 1864.

Notwithstanding the early success and encouraging prospects of the Union Works, the affairs of the company became embarrassed, about 1870 or 1871, and the works went into the hands of a receiver. This resulted in the organization of a new Union Iron Company, which acquired the property. The president of the new organization was Mr. Ario Pardec; the vice-president, Mr. Guilford R. Wilson; the secretary and treasurer, Mr. George Beals. In 1873 the office of secretary was separated from that of treasurer, and taken by Mr. T. Guilford Smith. Mr. Smith had then come lately to Buffalo, after graduation from the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, followed by a period of travel abroad in which he had acquainted himself with foreign methods and processes in the manufacture of iron.

The undertaking of the new company at the Union Iron Works proved to be timed unfortunately, for it was followed

soon by the financial panic of 1873, which checked everything of the nature of enterprise in the country at once. Fires went out in most smelting furnaces and rolling mills were brought to a stop. The Union Company suffered paralysis with the rest; and, when reviving conditions recurred, it was embarrassed in a more personal way, by deaths among its stockholders, which had tied up large blocks of its stock in unsettled estates.

After the property had been lying unused for a considerable time, and the furnaces had been dismantled, Mr. Frank B. Baird obtained an option on it and began to put it in condition to be brought again into use. He had faith in the many advantages of the site. In 1892 he rebuilt one furnace, which is now known as Furnace A. In 1899 Furnace B was built by an organization named the Buffalo Furnace Company; and Furnace C was erected the next year by a company of which Mr. Baird was president. Then, in that year, the several interests in the three furnaces were consolidated by the organization of the Buffalo Union Furnace Company. The whole plant is operated under a lease by the firm of M. A. Hanna & Co., of Buffalo and Cleveland, producing high grade foundry and malleable iron. The lease does not expire until 1918; but M. A. Hanna & Co. began preparations in 1908 to build a large additional plant on another site, just outside of the limits of Buffalo, on the Niagara River shore. They purchased a tract of fifty-two acres, known heretofore as the Hotchkiss Farm, lying just below the ferry to Grand Island, and preliminary work on it was begun on the first day of December, 1908. Two furnaces and two coke ovens were to be included in the plant, which would represent an investment of \$3,000,000, and employ not less than 700 men. Completion of the work was not expected in less than two years.

The fifth blast furnace to be built in connection with the

manufacturing interests of Buffalo was located at Tonawanda, by a company organized about 1875. Its leading members were Pascal P. Pratt, Sherman S. Jewett, Francis H. Root, Robert Keating and George B. Hayes. The enterprise did not prove satisfactory to the company, and the operation of the plant appears to have been carried on for not much more than a year, in 1874-5. It was then closed and so remained for about fourteen years. An option on the property was then obtained by Mr. Frank B. Baird, and he sold it to the firm of Rogers, Brown & Co., at their central office in Cincinnati.

The new owners organized, in the spring of 1889, the Tonawanda Iron and Steel Company, which has operated the plant ever since. After being repaired and worked on trial for six months, the single furnace was found to need remodelling, while the location of it was proved to be good. The remodelling was accomplished in 1890, and it was then that Mr. William A. Rogers removed his residence from Cincinnati to Buffalo, to manage the Tonawanda Iron and Steel Company, and to establish and conduct a Buffalo branch of the great house of Rogers, Brown & Co. From that time the company has had a prosperous career.

The producing capacity of the original furnace was 90 tons of pig iron daily; after being remodelled it made something over 200 tons per day. In a few years the company decided to double the production, by building an additional stack. This was finished during the summer of the McKinley-Bryan campaign (1896), but, owing to the uncertainty of the business outlook while that important election was pending, it was not brought into use till the vote of the nation had been cast. An arrangement was made with Mr. McKinley that, if elected, he should light the new furnace by an electric spark sent over the wires from Canton. This was done on the Thursday after election, in the presence of

a large concourse of people, and attracted much attention both in this country and abroad.

The plant can produce about 165,000 tons of foundry pig-iron per year, branded as the "Niagara," and having a high reputation in the market. This "Niagara" iron has been accepted by the United States government as a standard iron, and it has gone into machinery installed in a number of our battleships. It is shipped widely in this country, even to the Pacific coast, largely into Canada, and in smaller quantities to Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Australia and Japan.

The blast furnace plant of the Tonawanda Iron and Steel Company is one of some twenty-three, in different parts of the country, in which the firm of Rogers, Brown & Co. is interested, and whose product it sells, along with that of many more. The firm has its headquarters in Cincinnati, where it originated about twenty-seven years ago, and it has branches in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis and Birmingham. It makes a specialty of the foundry-iron business. It does not manufacture or deal in steel. In the line of merchant pig-iron it does the largest business of any house in the world.

One of Messrs. Rogers, Brown & Co.'s numerous iron manufacturing interests is a plant of two blast furnaces at South Chicago, operated under a corporation known as the Iroquois Iron Company. Messrs. J. J. Albright, Edmund Hayes and S. M. Clement, of Buffalo, who had interests in the company, had never seen its property, until Mr. Rogers invited them to accompany him on one of his visits to it. Mr. Frank H. Goodyear, president of the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad Company, tendered the use of his private car to the party and was invited to join it, which he did. What he saw at Chicago gave him ideas of the importance

of the furnace plant as a producer of freight for a railroad, which led to negotiations with Mr. Rogers, resulting in the formation of the Buffalo and Susquehanna Iron Company, and the building of a pair of blast furnaces, in South Buffalo, which are the most modern and the most perfectly equipped of any now existing. They were built under the direction of Mr. Hugh Kennedy, of Pittsburg, who is the company's general manager.

The two furnaces are each 80 feet high, and of 20 feet diameter in the bosh. They are located alongside of a canal, 200 feet in width, 23 feet deep, and nearly 3,000 feet long, connecting directly with the outer harbor, so that vessels of the largest size float their cargoes underneath the unloading bridges. The canal was built jointly by the B. & S. Iron Company, the B. & S. Railroad Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, with each of which roads the furnace plant is connected.

There are five unloading machines, sufficient to unload a cargo of 10,000 tons in a few hours, each bucket grasping and carrying five tons at a single lift. They are operated by skilled men, who touch buttons and pull levers, controlling electricity and steam, which do the entire work. From the time that the ore leaves the mines of Minnesota and Michigan, that the coke leaves the ovens of Pennsylvania and the limestone leaves the near-by quarries, until the pig-iron product of the furnaces is delivered in some distant customer's yard, not a pound of the material is lifted by the hand of man. Each furnace is equipped with four stoves for heating air for the blast. These stoves are 102 feet high and 22 feet in diameter, having a network of fire-brick flues within. The product of the furnaces goes west and east, from Minnesota to Maine.

The officers of the Buffalo and Susquehanna Iron Company are William A. Rogers, president; Hugh Kennedy,

general manager; S. M. Clement and C. W. Goodyear, vice-presidents; H. D. Carson, treasurer.

The greatest of events in the development of iron-making and iron-working at Buffalo came, in circumstances that were singularly in the nature of a surprise, in 1899. It was the outcome of conditions at Scranton, Pa., which made it desirable to remove an important steel plant from that place. The plant in question had been founded in 1840 by the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, which rolled iron rails until 1875, and then prepared itself for the production of Bessemer steel. In 1891, on consolidation with the Scranton Steel Company, it took the name of the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company, and continued operations at Scranton until 1899.

Disadvantages in the location of its plant had then convinced the company that its business must be removed to another seat, and the situation of Buffalo was the most promising that it saw. To look over the contemplated ground, Mr. Walter Scranton and Mr. Wehrum, of the company, came to Buffalo, on the 23d of March in that year, with a letter of introduction to Mr. John G. Milburn from the attorney of their company. Mr. Milburn knew, no doubt, that two enterprising men in Buffalo, Mr. J. J. Albright and Mr. William A. Rogers, had been discussing the project of a steel plant in this locality for some time past, and he invited Mr. Albright into conference with the gentlemen from Scranton at once. Mr. Rogers was absent from the city at the time, but Mr. Albright called him back from Cleveland by telephone, and the great project realized within the next few years was planned substantially and agreed upon at a conference the next day.

A site on Niagara River had been in contemplation; but after the party had driven to South Buffalo that day, and had looked over the ground which the plant of the Lack-

awanna Steel Company now covers, their choice of it was fixed. Mr. Albright undertook negotiations for the property. A week later the first payment for an option was made, and within about a month the whole purchase of land was practically an accomplished fact. It comprises about 1,500 acres, lying along the lake shore, at Stony Point, starting from the line of the city limits of Buffalo, but lying at the extremity of the large outer harbor of Buffalo, created by the construction of miles of breakwater, as described in a previous chapter of this work.

Before the end of April, \$1,095,430 had been paid for this real estate, and the Lackawanna Steel Company had been formed, with more than \$2,000,000 of its stock subscribed for by capitalists in Buffalo. Afterwards the subscriptions were increased largely, and powerful interests, both eastern and western, were enlisted in the undertaking. General Edmund Hayes, who had been at Jekyl Island when the project sprang to life, became active in it when he returned home. The important legal business involved was in Mr. Milburn's hands. Mr. Albright and General Hayes were chosen to seats in the board of directors when the organization became complete.

The authorized capital stock of the company is \$60,000,000, of which \$20,000,000 was issued, share for share, for the stock of the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company, and \$14,971,400 has been taken up for cash.

The systematic arrangement of the company's plant, to secure the most perfect economy of labor, in the carrying of everything that is handled through all the processes of manufacture, from the receiving of the raw material to the delivery of the finished product, is greatly admired. Its shaping feature is a ship canal, 22 feet deep and 200 feet wide, running in from the harbor to a length of 3,295 feet. There is room in this canal for the simultaneous unloading

of five of the largest vessels on the lakes. Parallel with the canal on its outer side, toward the lake shore, is the by-product oven plant and the coal-storage ground. Along the inner side of the canal stretch, first, the ore dock, with its unloading, handling and stocking machinery; then the line of blast furnaces, with the auxiliary plant; finally, on similar parallel lines of arrangement, the steel-plant,—rolling mills and shops. Under the canal runs a tunnel for passage from one to the other side.

For all handling of ore, coal, coke, limestone, or any other material in use, and for every movement of steel through the successive stages of its manufacture, storage and shipment, the latest perfection of mechanism is employed, with an extensive use of electric power. To a large extent, but not wholly, the electric power is generated at the plant, by utilizing the blast furnace gas, which went in former days to waste. This is one of the features of the Lackawanna plant which has been most interesting to the makers of steel. It was considerably experimental when adopted, and careful studies were made in Europe before the system was installed. The result has been a great economic success. In addition, however, to the electric power thus generated on the spot, Niagara power supplied by the Niagara, Lockport and Ontario Power Company, through cables stretched over a distance of forty miles, has been drawn upon to a large extent.

On the 7th of January, 1904, *The Iron Age* gave an elaborate description of the Lackawanna Steel Company plant, as developed at that time, in an incomplete state. Three years later, on the 3d of January, 1907, the same journal returned to the subject, to describe the perfected works. Its former article, it remarked, “represented the results of more than four years of construction work on the largest individual steel plant in the world. The single finished prod-

uct at that time was steel rails in standard sections." Now *The Iron Age* had extensive enlargements of product to report: "The mills and open hearth plant added in the next two years extended the operations of the company greatly, broadening the list of finished materials to include plates, structural shapes, light rails and bars. Perhaps no other piece of construction work in connection with the iron industry had attracted attention so widely, and various phases of the enterprise, from the first breaking of ground at South Buffalo, have probably been the subject of more comment in steel engineering circles than any other undertaking in the history of the industry. It is to be said, however, that in all essential elements the plans originally made, when it was decided to remove from Scranton to Buffalo, have been carried out, and the Scranton rail, on which the success of the company's Pennsylvania career was based, remains at the foundation of its operations, even while other lines have been entered upon with like success. To-day, with the fuller development of the plans for the Lake Erie situs, a capacity of 100,000 tons a month of various forms of rolled steel has been reached,—a noteworthy achievement in view of all that has been met and overcome. While this is the tonnage aimed at in the beginning, it is believed entirely possible to increase this amount by 25,000 tons a month."

The annual report of the company, on the 31st of December, 1907, showed its production for the year to have been 852,055 gross tons of Bessemer ingots and 425,789 gross tons of Open Hearth ingots, making a total of 1,277,844 tons of steel ingots. Its total shipments of product within the year had been 991,700 tons, of which 523,200 had been of standard rails, and 141,455 of structural shapes. It had received during 1907, from mines which it owns or in which it is interested, 1,941,376 gross tons of iron ore, and had pro-

duced a total of 788,784 gross tons of coke and 1,008,588 of pig iron and spiegeleisen.

The cost of the company's properties, real estate, buildings, plant, machinery, etc., as reported at the close of 1907, had been \$60,615,066.69, exclusive of investments in ore companies, etc., to the amount of \$5,032,320.93. Its bonded debt was \$15,000,000, and the bonded debt of its subsidiary companies \$8,404,000. Of gold-note and purchase money obligations it reported \$15,000,000, aside from purchase money notes of the Ellsworth Collieries Company (organized for the purpose of acquiring and operating the properties of the Ellsworth Coal Company) to the amount of \$1,500,000.

The total net earnings of all the company's properties in 1907, after deducting all expenses, including repairs and maintenance, were \$6,431,453.55. Its surplus income for the year, \$2,443,846.16.

The general officers of the company in 1908 were: E. A. S. Clarke, president; Moses Taylor, vice-president; C. H. McCullough, Jr., vice-president and general manager; Arthur J. Singer, assistant to president; Fred F. Graham, secretary; J. P. Higginson, treasurer; Marshall Lapham, comptroller.

Directors: E. A. S. Clarke, G. R. Fearing, Jr., Edmund Hayes, Samuel Mather, D. O. Mills, Moses Taylor Pyne, Robert B. Van Cortlandt, J. J. Albright, C. Ledyard Blair, Warren Delano, Jr., J. G. McCullough, James Speyer, Moses Taylor, Henry Walters, Mark T. Cox, B. S. Guinness, Adrian Iselin, Jr., John J. Mitchell, H. A. C. Taylor, H. McK. Twombly, Cornelius Vanderbilt.

Subsidiary manufactures, making use of the steel product of the Lackawanna Steel Company, are springing up in the neighborhood of the latter's plant, and their number is certain to increase. The most important of the works of this

character established in that vicinity thus far are those of the Shenandoah Steel Wire Company, the Buffalo Brake Beam Company, and the Seneca Iron and Steel Company. The latter company, organized in 1906, turns out black and galvanized steel sheets and corrugated sheets. Its officers are James S. Paterson, president; Hugh Kennedy, vice-president; H. M. Van Horn, secretary; Alexander Paterson, treasurer.

Before the completion of the Lackawanna Steel Company's plant, another important enterprise had been organized in the same field, by the New York State Steel Company, incorporated in 1905, for the manufacture of iron and steel. The site of its undertaking is on Buffalo River, contiguous to the crossing of the Abbott Road, where it acquired fifty-seven acres of land, and where it has connections with the Buffalo Creek, the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western railroads. The plant designed by the company includes two blast furnaces, "two 200-ton basic open hearth Talbot furnaces, with a capacity of 100,000 to 120,000 tons of ingots, and a 36-inch blooming mill to produce the equivalent in slabs, blooms and billets." Mesaba ore property has been secured by lease.

The original capital stock of the company was \$1,000,000. In 1906 it was increased to \$2,500,000. The bonded debt was reported in 1907 to be \$3,000,000, with an authorized issue to the amount of \$5,000,000. The financial disorders of the time caused embarrassments to the company, in the winter or spring of 1908, and its property went into the hands of receivers. A reorganization of the company, with an addition of \$1,000,000 to its capital stock, was accomplished in the early days of January, 1909, and the receivers were discharged.

The Wickwire Steel Company, which has constructed an extensive plant on Rattlesnake Island, between the American shore of the Niagara River and Grand Island, near its upper end, is the first large manufacturing organization that has taken advantage of the great improvement which the government is making in the river channel between Black Rock and Tonawanda. This improvement, already described in a previous chapter, is a continuation of the improvement of the Black Rock Harbor, so called, and will give deep water and safe harborage along the whole river front, half-way, at least, to Niagara Falls. The works of the Wickwire Steel Company were brought into operation in the fall of 1908 and began turning out their product of pig iron, steel billets, rods, wire and wire netting. The company is capitalized at \$2,500,000.

The receipts of iron ore at Buffalo and Tonawanda in 1907 were 5,580,438 gross tons, being 915,000 tons less than the receipts at Cleveland, nearly 2,000,000 tons less than went to Ashtabula, and slightly less than Conneaut received. The pig iron production of the Buffalo district in the same year was 1,405,635 gross tons.

The ore docks at Buffalo and their appliances for unloading cargoes of ore are set forth in the following, derived from a statement in the annual report of the Chamber of Commerce for 1907: The Lehigh Valley Railway, on its Tifft Farm improvement, has a plant which consists of three Brown hoists, and six Thornburg hoists, with ample storage facilities. The Buffalo Dock Company (H. K. Wick & Co.), on the Blackwell Canal, has six McMyler hoists and storage trestles combined. The Minnesota docks (N. Y., L. E. & W.) on the river, has five McMyler hoists and storage trestles combined. The Coit docks in the Erie Basin (N. Y. C. & H. R. R.), has two McMyler hoists

and storage trestles combined. The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad has one set of six Thornburg hoists only, located in the Erie Basin. The total dock frontage aggregates 4,000 feet. The Pennsylvania Railroad, located on a private canal from the outer harbor, built and owned jointly by that road, the Buffalo and Susquehanna Railroad and the Buffalo and Susquehanna Iron Company, has two Brown hoists and one Hulett unloader, with dock frontage of about 2,300 feet. The Iron Company's dock extends the full length of the company's frontage on the canal (about 2,700 feet), and adjacent to the dock is an iron ore yard of concrete construction, measuring about 200 by 800 feet. The ore unloading, storing, and rehandling machinery includes five electrically driven, single-span bridge tramways, each equipped with a five-ton grab bucket and man trolley, the machines being of the Brown Hoisting Machinery Company's manufacture.

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