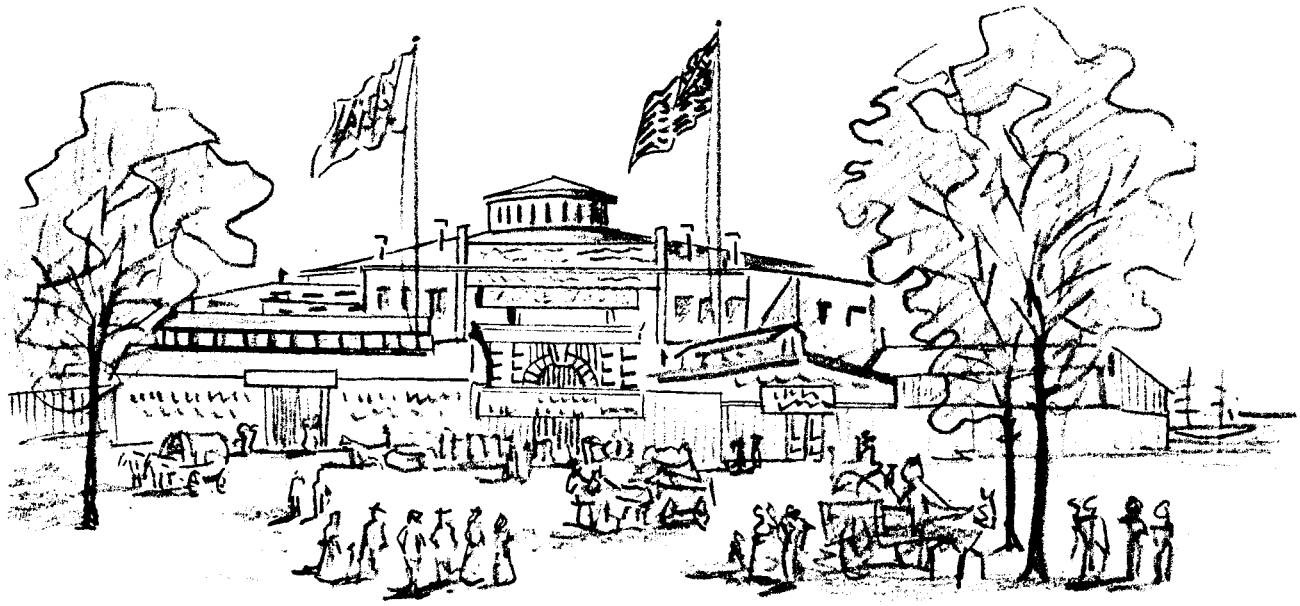
D-5
IN
STORAGE

CASTLE GARDEN AS AN IMMIGRANT DEPOT 1855-1890



December 2, 1968

B&W Scans
8/27/2002

ON MICROFILM

PLEASE RETURN TO:
TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTER
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Castle Garden As An Immigrant Depot, 1855-1890

by

Dr. George J. Svejda

To John
with my best wishes
George J. Svejda

DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office Of Archeology And Historic Preservation

December 2, 1968

National Park Service

U.S. Department of the Interior

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
INTRODUCTION		ii
I.	THE BEGINNING OF IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA	1
II.	OFFICIAL NATIONAL AND STATE IMMIGRATION POLICY BETWEEN 1790 and 1872	7
III.	STEERAGE PASSENGERS OF IMMIGRANT VESSELS	14
IV.	EFFORTS OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP IMMIGRANTS AND PUBLIC MEASURES TAKEN FOR THEIR PROTECTION	18
V.	CASTLE GARDEN AS AN IMMIGRANT DEPOT, 1855-1890	34
APPENDICES		147
BIBLIOGRAPHY		160

INTRODUCTION

Castle Garden as an Immigrant Depot, 1855-1890 (CACL-H-2) is a study of American immigration history during the second half of the 19th century.

No official national immigration policy was clearly set forth during the early days of our country. Policies differed among the various colonies regarding the selection of the foreign-born on the basis of religious belief and physical, mental, moral, and economic suitability. Up to 1819 the immigrants were packed like cattle into the steerages of their ships without any consideration of how the ships were thus overloaded with human flesh. On March 2, 1819, Congress passed a law designed to improve steerage conditions, providing that two passengers at most were to be allowed for every five tons' capacity. This measure improved the travelling conditions of the steerage passengers somewhat; nevertheless the conditions during their voyage to the New World continued to be deplorable. The voyage across the ocean was long and difficult, and only the robust in body and spirit could survive this ordeal, which lasted sometimes three months, with the immigrants left to the mercy of the captains and their sailors. The difficulties faced by these people during their voyage did not end upon their arrival in New York. Very often these people were again fleeced and robbed of whatever of their personal

possessions had not been stolen on shipboard. Through the work of the German and Irish Emigrant Societies, and despite considerable opposition, on May 5, 1847, the New York State Legislature created a Board of Commissioners of Emigration, with the purpose of regulating immigration practices. Although the new measures improved the immigrants' lot somewhat, they were not yet sufficient to guarantee the newcomers a decent reception upon their first hours of arrival here. The real need was for a permanent immigrant depot, where the new arrivals would be protected from sharks and runners, and where they would be given assistance in exchange of money, in purchase of tickets for their final destination, and attending to other personal needs. This lack was finally met by the action of the New York State commissioners of Emigration on August 3, 1855, opening Castle Garden as a landing depot for the immigrants. Between this time and April 18, 1890, Castle Garden functioned as a receiving center for the immigrants, guaranteeing them a decent and honest reception upon their arrival on these shores. In spite of political jobbery, patronage, and even corruption in the management of New York State's Immigration Department, Castle Garden was not only a monumental work but also a great human expression, which can be placed among the shining achievements of American history during the 19th century because it performed outstanding service for the immigrants at a time when the Federal Government was showing but little concern for them.

The research for this work was done at the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the New-York Historical Society. Because of a time limit of eight weeks for this project the writer was constrained to spend almost as much again of his own time, during evenings and week-ends, to cover the voluminous body of material on this subject. Consequently he has limited himself to presenting only the most important events of the immigration history of the Castle Garden period, and his work must be judged in the light of this limitation. He has found the subject fascinating and rewarding, because this was a period of great human deeds. The great German poet Schiller has left to us the following words of wisdom: "We are too prone to find fault; let us look for some of the perfections," and this admonition was primarily in the author's mind in writing this report. To his friend and former colleague Dr. Thomas M. Pitkin he is very grateful for reading this manuscript.

To Mrs. Maxine Gresham I am grateful for her excellent work in typing this study.

George J. Svejda

I. THE BEGINNING OF IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA

History is scarcely anything but a record of human calamity, occasioned by the successful ambition of individuals and nations who oppress the weak and tyrannize over the innocent. From time immemorial there have been people who have left one country and gone to another. Each immigrant has had his own Herod, or force that drove him from his homeland, and each immigrant has had to walk through the wilderness when the world in which he lived became a desert for him.

In human life there are certain elements that appear never to have changed. The Roman proverb Homo hominis lupus - man is the wolf of man - has circulated throughout the world for two thousand years, and nobody has yet ventured to assert that man is the sheep of man.

Basically there are three broad reasons for movements of peoples - religious, political, and economic. Thus the archfather Abraham emigrated from Mesopotamia into Canaan, Jacob from Canaan into Egypt, Cadmus from Phoenicia, and Cecrops and Danus from Egypt into Greece. The celebrated Roman poet Ovid for some mysterious reason was exiled from Rome in A. D. 8 by the Emperor Augustus.

During the Middle Ages the Normans were anxious to seek out foreign regions where they could settle.

Religious intolerance drove the Jews and Moors from the Pyrenees, the Puritans from England, the Huguenots from France, and the Czech or Moravian Brothers - Fratrum Unitas - from their homeland.

The great Dante was exiled from his native Florence, without rights, without home, and even forbidden to participate in civic activity.

The Enclosure Movement in the Scottish Highlands caused the destruction of an ancient system; little farms were converted into great sheep pastures, and the dispossessed drifted to the cities or emigrated abroad.

Famine and political wrongs have driven a large number of Irishmen from their country.

As from the suffering of Dante there emerged his Divine Comedy, so by the work and activities of the immigrants many barren regions have been turned into fertile and civilized nations. The New World and particularly the United States has profited from the European migration, since from the time of its establishment it has attracted the largest flow of immigrants of all the modern countries.

The history of America is one of great adventures, of wonderful discoveries, and of heroic deeds. The landing in America of Columbus in 1492 marked a new epoch in the history of the world. When the early explorers returned to their home countries and told of the value of this unknown land and its untold riches, a mad scramble for possession took place. French, Portuguese, Spanish and English all sent their daring seafarers to America to claim a part of it as their own. Each of these countries carved out its section of the American continent and established its own customs and government.

The various colonies were settled by people who differed widely from each other in religion and forms of government. Each group naturally introduced its own institutions and traditions into the new land and these have come down through the years as characteristics of the various sections of the United States. A glimpse into the lives of these settlers, whose customs and ideas still influence our lives today, will give valuable insight into our social history. The colonists settled from Maine to Florida, and each section was settled by people of widely different status, who brought their own unique contributions and left their particular section with the stamp of its original habitation.

Although the Dutch, Spanish and Germans settled many of the colonies, the English influence was predominant. John Cabot, or Giovanni

Caboto, an Italian sea captain in the service of the King of England, was the first man to explore North America in the name of England. He landed on the eastern coast of North America in 1497, and explored as far south as Virginia. He did not start a colony, but he carried tales back to England which encouraged migration to the New World.

Although the founders of the colonies differed widely from each other, they also shared many common characteristics, which are also predominant in the American people as a whole. These were the Christian people of Europe, who despite their variety of languages and national characteristics had a basically common culture and way of life.

The beginning of the "melting pot" had already appeared at the Jamestown Colony, where many people of various backgrounds and ethnic origins settled. Even during the Colonial period, when the English immigration was predominant and established America's basically Anglo-Saxon institutions, the non-English immigration at that time, though numerically small, also contributed to the democratization of these institutions. The influence of these smaller groups was particularly significant in the social, economic and cultural development of colonial America.

Jamestown was followed by many other colonies. The Pilgrims were the first to settle in Massachusetts. A colony under Dutch rule was established in New York. New Sweden was founded on the Delaware River by the Swedes and Finns. Then came the Scotch-Irish, who settled the frontier of the middle colonies. The Czech immigrant, Augustine Heřman, serving the Dutch colony of New York and later the English colony of Maryland, became a pioneer in colonial trade, and was influential in the affairs of six of the original colonies; he was the first surveyor and map-maker of Maryland, first naturalized citizen of Maryland, first planner of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal (1680) and Lord of Bohemia Manor in Cecil County, Maryland. William Penn established a state for Quakers and other religious dissenters.

After the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) the whole of the European continent had been left in despair. The treaty of Westphalia, which finally ended this prolonged conflict, did not bring the desired peace, and soon afterwards a new menace arose in the person of Louis XIV, who is said to have once boasted "L' état c'est moi" (I am the State), and who built an absolutist system on the foundation laid by Richelieu. Ecomomic difficulties and religious intolerance resulting from Louis' policies were the main causes of the Palatine immigration to the United States.

In the second half of the 17th century there were eighteen different languages spoken in the New York colony; in addition to Dutch they included English, Swedish, Finnish, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Norwegian, Czech, Danish, Italian, German, and Polish.[1]

As the various colonies gained strength and self-reliance, they outgrew British authority. The spirit of democracy gradually grew out of this spirit of self-reliance, and it first found its voice in the Declaration of Independence. From the American Revolution there emerged a new nation based on the dignity of man. And in this development the immigrants shared fully in the struggle.

---

1. Alexander C. Flick, Ed., *History of the State of New York.* Vol. 1. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), p. 285.

II. OFFICIAL NATIONAL AND STATE IMMIGRATION POLICY BETWEEN 1790 AND 1842

During the early days of our country no official national immigration policy was clearly set forth. Policies differed among the various colonies regarding the admission of the foreign-born on the basis of religious belief and physical, mental, moral and economic suitability.[1]

It was the general policy to accept immigrants but not to encourage them. Immigration control was left to the States, as it had been to the former Colonies (except for occasional British Government interference).

Although the Congress had acted as early as 1790 in regard to the naturalization of aliens, nothing had been done in regard to immigration as such. On March 26, 1790, the Congress passed as Act to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, by which an alien white could become a citizen, provided he had resided within the jurisdiction of the United States for the period of two years, and provided he submit his application "to any common court of record, in any one of the states wherein he shall

---

1. Marion T. Bennett, *American Immigration Policies. A History*. (Washington, D. C: Public Affairs Press, 1963), pp. 3-6.

have resided for the term of one year at least, and making proof to the satisfaction of such court, that he is a person of good character, and taking the oath or affirmation prescribed by law, to support the constitution of the United States, which oath or affirmation such court shall administer." Citizenship was also bestowed on children under the age of twenty-one of naturalized citizens residing here, as well as on children of citizens born abroad.[2]

During the administration of John Adams (1797-1801), changes in the naturalization law were passed on June 18, 1798. This Federalist immigration policy was a result of the war scare of 1798 with France, and among other things lengthened the residence period required for citizenship from five to fourteen years.[3] This law was followed by the Alien Act of July 6, 1798, which, having authorized the President to direct the confinement of alien enemies, necessarily conferred upon him all the means for enforcing such orders as he might give in relation to the execution of these powers.[4] With the coming of the Republicans to power and the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President the situation changed. A new naturalization law was passed on April 14, 1802, by which the required residence period for

2. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, I, 103-104.
3. Ibid., pp. 566-569.
4. Ibid., pp. 577-578.

naturalization was fixed at five years[5] and the Alien Act was allowed to expire.

Immigration to this country between 1793 and 1815 was practically cut off. From its beginning in 1789 the French Revolution had gradually reduced the European continent to turmoil: as a result of the Federalist policy which lengthened the residence period required for citizenship to fourteen years. The conduct of the War of 1812 by the Republican administration and the Federalist opposition, which resulted in the Hartford Convention, cut off immigration virtually completely. The revival came after 1815. The defeat of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna opened the way for a new migration from Europe to this country, which was the beginning of the greatest movement of population in human history. The appeal of America for Europeans was enormous and powerful.

It was only on March 2, 1819, that the Congress approved "An Act regulating passenger ships and vessels," requiring that the Secretary of State prepare annual reports to Congress on the immigrants, describing age, sex, occupation, country of citizenship and intended residence, together with the number of immigrants who died en route to the country. The original report was to

---

5. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 153-155.

be prepared by the captain or master of any ship or vessel, who was to deliver it to the Collector of the Customs at the ship or vessel's port of arrival; then it was to be sent to the Secretary of State, who was to deliver it to Congress.[6] This practice was established between 1820 and 1870.

Between 1819 and the 1840s there were no other proposals for immigration legislation at the national level. There were, however, State immigration regulations, as for example in the State of New York, which were in conflict with the Federal authorities in regard to the collection of revenue from immigrants and health inspection for them.

On February 11, 1824, the New York State Legislature passed "An Act concerning passengers in vessels arriving in New York." One of the provisions of this Act was that the Master of each vessel arriving at New York was obligated to report, within twenty-four hours upon his arrival, under certain penalties prescribed under law, the name, age and last legal residence of each passenger aboard his vessel. Another section of this law made it legal for the Mayor of New York City to require a bond of security from the Master of each vessel, to recompense

6. Ibid., III, 488-489.

the Mayor for any expenses which might result from each passenger not reported by the Master.[7] When in August of 1829 the vessel Emily arrived in New York with William Thompson as its Master, the City of New York brought an action against Mr. Thompson, stating that he had not reported that one hundred passengers had been brought by him to New York. As a result the City of New York tried to recover certain penalties imposed by the Act of 1824. When the defendant declared that the above Act was unconstitutional because it tried to assume responsibility to regulate trade and commerce, the case came before the Supreme Court. When the case, which is known as Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York, Plaintiffs, v. George Miln, reached the Supreme Court in January of 1837, the Court decided that the New York State Legislature's Act was not a regulation of commerce but rather of police, and being so, it was in exercise of a power which rightfully belonged to the State. Consequently the Act was held to be constitutional.[8]

However, the Revised Statutes of New York, adopted in 1830, imposed for the first time a tax upon immigrants. According to

---

7. *Laws of the State of New-York for 1824.* Chapter XXXVII, pp. 27-29.

8. *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term 1837.* By Richard Peters. Vol. XI. Third Edition. Edited with notes and references to later decisions, by Frederick C. Brightly. (New York: Bank & Brothers, Law Publishers, 1884), pp. 102-160.

these revised statutes the State of New York, in order to provide funds for the support of the marine and quarantine hospital on the eastern shore of Staten Island, ordered that the Health Commissioner collect from the Master of every vessel arriving in New York from a foreign port one dollar and fifty cents for himself and each cabin passenger; one dollar for each steerage passenger, mate, sailor, or mariner, and twenty-five cents for each person arriving on coasting vessels. The money thus collected, after deduction of a commission to the Health Commissioner of two and one-half per cent for collection, was to be used for the marine hospital.[9]

On April 12, 1842, both Houses of the New York State Legislature passed "An Act for the relief of the county of Kings from the support of foreign poors."[10]

Another State which took similar action was the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. On April 20, 1837, the Massachusetts Legislature passed "An Act relating to Alien Passengers" and also established a bonding system, which however did not function well.[11]

---

9. *The Revised Statutes of the State of New-York*, adopted in 1830, Vol. I, pp. 444-446.

10. *Laws of the State of New-York for 1842*, Chapter 257, pp. 316-317.

11. *Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for 1837*, Chapter CCXXXVIII, pp. 270-271.

Sick and aged persons were generally allowed to land, without the required guarantee, by the officers, one of whom justified his action by declaring that "My only plea is humanity." And as early as 1847 a legislative committee found that not a single infringement of this law had been made.[12]

12. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 257.

III. STEERAGE PASSENGERS OF IMMIGRANT VESSELS

From continental Europe the immigrants reached the seaports by all possible means of continental transportation. Here distance played an important role; nevertheless Le Havre was the first port to which the early immigrants from continental Europe, German, French and others, were attracted.[1] Subsequently two German ports, Bremen and Hamburg, achieved importance for immigrant traffic, and by 1842 there were three continental European ports; Le Havre, Bremen and Hamburg, which were responsible for the transportation of the European immigrant traffic.[2] However, in addition to these three, there was one other port which was no less important; this was Liverpool. According to the estimates of the British authorities, from 1832 on about nine-tenths of the immigrants from Liverpool were Irish.[3]

For the immigrants the trip across the sea to the new land was very difficult. Up to 1819 they were packed like cattle into the steerages of their ships without any consideration of how the ship was overloaded with human flesh. On March 2, 1819, Congress passed a law to regulate steerage conditions, providing that two passengers at most were to be allowed for every five tons'

1. Ibid., pp. 185-187.
2. Ibid., pp. 192-195.
3. Ibid., p. 183.

capacity.[4] This improved the travelling conditions of the steerage passengers somewhat, since the ship was no longer overloaded with human freight, but nevertheless the conditions during their voyage to the New World continued to be deplorable.[5]

This situation in transportation, under which the westward Atlantic crossing was a great ordeal for the millions of often impoverished European immigrants, which repeatedly brought them to face with disaster, lasted approximately up to the middle of the 19th century. The immigrants were poorly protected.[6] After

---

4. U. S., *Statutes at Large*, III, Chapter 3, Section 2, 488-489.

5. The principal reproduction showing the interior of an immigrant ship first appeared in the weekly *L'Illustration, Journal Universal*, February 10, 1849, p. 369, with the French caption "Aménagement intérieur d'un bâtiment américain frêté pour la Californie." It is presented in Appendix A. To the author's knowledge, this is actually the first reproduction of any ship interior showing the appearance of the steerage. This picture was extremely popular and since its first appearance has been reproduced many times by magazines and books in various languages and under various titles. For example Edwin C. Guillet in his book *The Great Migration* uses this same picture facing page 100, entitled "Emigrants at Dinner."

6. The Chicago Czech weekly *Katolík*, in its issue of October 12, 1962, p. 2, printed an article entitled "The Czech Pioneers in New Zealand" in which was described the grievous voyage, during which two of their number died and numerous others fell ill, of several dozen Czech families from the vicinity of Pilsen, Bohemia, who arrived in the port of Auckland, New Zealand, in June 1863. These immigrants had intended to come to Nebraska, but in Hamburg they entrusted their travelling destiny into the hands of an unscrupulous agent by the name of Kohn, who was receiving bonus money from the English for each newly arrived immigrant. And so it happened that the Czech immigrants were sent by this agent, instead of to Nebraska, to New Zealand. The agent evidently thought that these places were the same, and he was in a sense, ironically, not too far from the truth. "Nebraska," in a dialect of the Otoe Indians, means "flat water," and the Czech immigrants finally reached a place in New Zealand which the Maori call Puhoi, which is "lazy water."

having usually been fleeced at the port of embarkation, they were generally crammed into pitifully small sailing packets[7] where they were herded like cattle into the steerage, the space between decks, which was known as "'tween decks"[8] in the African slave trade. Indeed, as a rule, immigrants on board ship fared only slightly better at the hands of ruffian crews,[9] than the Negroes on the slave ships, unattached immigrant women often being forced to protect themselves from drunken seamen.[10] Through the first half of the 19th century it was considered commonplace for those making the transatlantic crossing, which averaged anywhere from about one month to three months depending on the weather,[11] cramped as they were in overcrowded, unventilated, unsanitary and inflammable quarters, to have run the gamut of some of the following experiences: suffocation,[12] starvation,[13]

---

7. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), pp. 43-48. By *packet* one understands originally a vessel appointed by a Government to carry mails and express in the quickest way. This category was later extended to include immigrants, consequently the term 'packet ships.'

8. Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), p. 341. For a typical example of the steerage's appearance see Appendices B and C.

9. Edwin C. Guillet, *The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-Ship Since 1770.* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937), pp. 86-87; Handlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

10. Guillet, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Handlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

11. Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

12. Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America. The Saga of the Immigrant.* Revised Edition. (Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University 1964), p. 114; Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

13. Herman Melville, *Redburn: His First Voyage.* Reprint. (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), p. 272; Albion, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344; Guillet, *op. cit.*, especially p. 72.

thirst,[14] disease and pestilence,[15] fire,[16] shipwreck,[17] and, of course, the inevitable stormy weather.[18] Small wonder that the sufferings of the transatlantic crossing have been compared to the horrors of the African slave trade.[19] The slow crossing resulted in the vessel becoming a floating world in itself, with the miserable immigrants left to the mercy of the captain and his crew. Despite the tiny size of the vessels, which were on the average about three hundred tons, there were often packed into it from four hundred to one thousand wretches.[20] Although these poor people formed themselves into voluntary organizations based on codes of agreement by which watchmen were appointed from along themselves to protect the passengers' lives and scanty property, they were unable on higher issues to resist the captain and his often ignorant and barely skilled crew.[21]

With the displacement of the sailing packet by the much faster and more dependable steamship in the closing years of the first half of the last century, conditions hitherto governing the transatlantic crossing were considerably improved.[22]

---

14. Albion, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344; Guillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

15. Guillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-96; Melville, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-279; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

16. Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

17. Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Albion, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-347.

18. Guillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

19. Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Guillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

20. Handlin, *op cit.*, p. 49.

21. Ibid., pp. 51-52.

22. Albion, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-349; Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

IV. EFFORTS OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP IMMIGRANTS AND PUBLIC MEASURES TAKEN FOR THEIR PROTECTION

The attitude of the American public toward immigrants has not always been friendly. In the period between 1834 and 1860 America saw the movements of "Nativism" and anti-Catholicism arise. The "Nativist" movement of the 1830s grew out of hostility to immigration in general and to the Irish in particular.

Early in 1834 the inventor of the telegraph, Samuel F. B. Morse, published in a weekly newspaper, The New York Observer, under the name of "Brutus," twelve letters in which he discussed the Austrian "Leopold Foundation," an aid society which was funded to assist missionary work, and specifically to help poor Catholic churches in America. Morse had heard about this organization during his stay in Europe between 1829-32. His letters had a tremendous effect on the public at large, particularly in New York City, in view of the fact that Irish immigrant Catholicism was particularly detested in that city. A year later, in 1835, Morse's letters were republished in book form under the title Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States[1] which was extremely popular until about 1860 and became a Bible of the Nativist crusade against immigrants and Catholics.

1. Samuel F.B. Morse, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States*. (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1835), *passim*.

The "Nativist" movement caused an excitement against the Irish in New York City[2] and riots in other places. A primary objective of this movement was to curb immigration.

In Colonial times Philadelphia was by far the most important port in America. The French Revolution and subsequent conflicts on the European continent brought prosperity to all the American ports, and above all to New York. By 1797 New York had passed Philadelphia in commercial activities and had become the principal American port, both in exports and imports, and with the construction of the Erie Canal New York became the undisputed champion in commercial activities.[3] And wherever ships landed, immigrants landed. It was the policy of the shipping lines during the entire 19th century to use New York City as the principal port of embarkation. Thus the overwhelming popularity of New York as a port of embarkation for immigrants placed in New York City a greater burden than those borne by Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans.

In the 1840s the rising influx of European immigrants arriving in New York as a result of deteriorating economic conditions in Europe in general, and in particular by hunger in Ireland and on

---

2. See the article "Excitement against the Irish" which appeared in the New York *Sun* on April 12, 1834, p. 2.

3. Albion, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-15.

the European continent, had become apparent. The difficulties faced by these people during their voyage did not end upon their arrival in New York. They encountered there not only hostility; they were also very often fleeced and robbed of their personal possessions by people who took advantage of their newness and ignorance of the ways of the country. Therefore protective measures became necessary, and various benevolent societies were founded which were basically designed for the relief of indigent immigrants. The two largest immigrant groups in New York City in the beginning of the 1840s were the Irish and the Germans. The German Society of New York was established in 1784, and from its very beginning was engaged in assisting German immigrants in their first steps on these shores.[4] The Irish Emigrant Society of New York was organized in 1841 and chartered in 1844; its objective was "to afford advice, information, aid and protection to Emigrants from Ireland, and generally to promote their welfare."[5]

A society founded in New York City in 1843 for immigrant relief had the Mayor as its president and Horace Greeley as its secretary.[6] Organizations such as these improved conditions somewhat but in general the situation regarding the reception of the immigrants

---

4. Moritz Fürsterwärther, *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika.* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: In der J. B. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1818), p. 92.

5. *The Irish Emigrant Society of New York.* (New York: No publisher given, 1869), p. 3.

6. Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

upon their arrival in New York was discouraging and even chaotic, as the majority of immigrants arriving in this country landed at the port of New York. As a result of this situation in 1843 and 1845 the Irish Emigrant Society framed addresses to the people of Ireland, widely circulated there, warning them of what to expect on their arrival in America.[7]

In the 1840s the notorious state of affairs regarding the reception and treatment of immigrants in New York City became the object of sharp criticism and public discontent, in which the Irish and German Emigrant Societies in New York City played an important role. As a result of numerous public meetings, and thanks to the work of Andrew Carrigan, President of the Irish Emigrant Society, and of Friedrich Kapp, his German counterpart, public opinion and conscience were aroused.[8] On May 5, 1847, despite opposition, both Houses of the New York State Legislature, Senate and Assembly, passed "An Act concerning passengers in vessels coming to the city of New-York," which created a Board of Commissioners of Emigration. This board was composed of ten members, of whom six were appointed by the Governor, while four were ex officio members; these were the Mayors of New York City

---

7. Richard J. Purcell, "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York." *Studies*, Vol. XXVII, No. 108 (December 1938), pp. 591-594.

8. Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

and of Brooklyn, and the Presidents of the Irish and the German Emigrant Societies. The Act which created the Commission also abolished the previous $300 bond and substituted for it a $1.50 tax on each passenger, in addition to the old hospital charge. Each ship's captain was required to pay a fee of one dollar for each passenger he landed in the harbor.[9] Enforcement of this legislation presented a problem for awhile, when the captains tried to avoid the per capita payment by disbarking immigrants along the neighboring coast of New Jersey, which was convenient for such a purpose.[10] This Act of May 5, 1847, which took effect immediately, thus repealed the Act of February 11, 1824, entitled "An act concerning passengers in vessels coming to the port of New-York," and the Act passed on April 12, 1842, entitled "An act for the relief of the county of Kings from the support of foreign poors."[11]

In the meantime, in Massachusetts the summer of 1847 brought a need for new legislation, as the influx of human wrecks was tremendous that new receiving rooms for sick immigrants had to be built at Boston Long Wharf, from which they were transported by boat to hospitals on Deer Island. Finally, on May 10, 1848,

---

9. *Laws of the State of New-York for 1847*, Chapter 195, pp. 182-188.

10. *Documents of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York.* From No. 1 to No. 90, inclusive - from May 1837, to May 1838. Vol. IV. (New York: Printed by Order of the Common Council, 1838), Document No. 10, pp. 61-75 and Document No. 12, pp. 81-84.

11. *Laws of the State of New-York for 1847*, Chapter 195, p. 188.

legislation was passed by which the bond was no longer limited to ten years, and heavier penalties for infringement as well as more efficient methods of enforcement were provided.[12]

During this period of agitation by the Nativist movement, Federal legislation favorable to immigrants was nevertheless passed. On February 22, 1847, Congress passed "An Act to regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels" by which the passenger law of 1819 was amended; as a result the number of passengers who could be taken on board vessels was limited. Specifically the Act stipulated that the passengers must be accommodated in proportion to space, thus providing "on the lower deck or platform one passenger for every fourteen clear superficial feet of deck, if such vessel is not to pass within the tropics during such voyage; but if such vessel is to pass within the tropics during such voyage, then one passenger for every twenty such clear superficial feet of deck, and on the orlop deck (if any) one passenger for every thirty such superficial feet in all cases, with intent to bring such passengers to the United States of America."[13]

A Native American Congressman from Pennsylvania, Lewis Charles Levine, wanted to amend the Bill of 1847 to read "A bill to

---

12. Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

13. U. S., *Statutes at Large*, IX, 127-128.

afford additional facilities to the paupers and criminals of Europe to emigrate to the United States." He saw in the measure a scheme to import votes from Europe and thus to weaken the Native American Party.[14]

On March 2, 1847, Congress passed "An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act to regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels,' and to determine the Time when said Act shall take Effect," which was to be from May 31, 1847.[15]

Then on May 17, 1848, Congress passed "An Act to provide for the Ventilation of Passenger Vessels, and for other Purposes." Some of the stipulations of this Act required passenger-carrying vessels to load an adequate supply of food at the port of departure. Furthermore, a cooking range had to be provided for the use of the steerage passengers.[16]

Similarly, at this time the British Government tried, through the rules and regulations issued in 1848, to remedy the evils of the the emigrant passenger traffic on English ships.[17]

---

14. U. S., Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission. Immigration Legislation.* (Presented by Senator William P. Dillingham, Chairman of the Immigration Commission), 61st Cong., 3d Sess., 1910, Senate Doc. 758. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 17.

15. U. S., *Statutes at Large,* IX, 149.

16. Ibid., 220-223.

17. Stanley C. Johnson, *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912.* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1913), pp. 110-112.

On February 7, 1849, the Supreme Court of the United States declared the emigration laws of the Northern States, New York and Massachusetts, to be unconstitutional interferences with foreign commerce. These "Passenger cases" included George Smith v. William Turner, Health Commissioner of the Port of New York and James Norris v. The City of Boston.[18] The Government thus forced on those States the round-about way in which they collected their emigration revenue.

As a consequence of political revolutions in Europe during 1848, migration from Europe to North America from 1848 reached an unprecedented height. Europeans in the difficult times following this upheaval began to view America with renewed respect and interest, and were envious of those who had already gone there. To them America was a country in which freedom of the individual was respected, and personal and spiritual freedom recognized.

As indicated above, the majority of immigrants arriving in New York in the late 1840s were Irish and German. According to the first annual report of the Commissioners of Emigration, covering the period from May 5 to December 31, 1847, during that period

---

18. *Reports of the Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term, 1849.* By Benjamin C. Howard. Vol. VII. Second edition. Edited, with notes and references to later decisions, by Stewart Rapalje. (New York: Banks & Brothers, Law Publishers, 1884), pp. 282-572.

129,062 immigrants arrived in New York, of whom 53,180 were Germans and 52,946 Irish.[19] Of the total number of immigrants arriving, about 10,594 received some form of relief. The commutation fund received from the immigrants for the above period amounted to $129,473.33, while the expenses of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration, including relief for the immigrants, amounted to $65,317.44, giving thus at the end of 1847 a profit of $64,155.89.[20]

For the entire year of 1848 the Board of Commissioners reported that 189,176 immigrants had arrived in New York and paid commutation fees; of these 98,061 were Irish, 51,973 German, and 39,142 natives of other countries.[21] For the year 1849 there were 220,603 immigrants who entered the country through New York Harbor, of whom 112,591 were Irishmen, 55,705 Germans and 52,307 immigrants of other ethnic backgrounds.[22] The statistics for the year 1850 show that 212,796 immigrants arrived in New York in 1,912 vessels. Of these 117,038 were Irish, 45,535 German and 50,223 immigrants from various other countries.[23]

---

19. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, from the Organization of the Commission, May 5, 1847, to 1860, Inclusive: Together with Tables and Reports, and Other Official Documents, Compiled and Prepared under Resolution Adopted by the Board, August 29, 1860.* (New York: John F. Trow, Printer, 1861), pp. 3 and 288. Hereinafter cited as *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860.*

20. Ibid., pp. 4 and 355.

21. Ibid., pp. 9 and 288.

22. Ibid., pp. 42 and 288.

23. Ibid., pp. 57 and 288.

With the increase of immigration there came also a revival of the "Nativist" movement, which had lessened somewhat during the Mexican War and the California gold rush. In the spring of 1850 Charles B. Allen founded the "Order of the Star Spangled Banner," which also came to be known as the order of the "Sons of the Sires."[24]

The new Know-Nothing movement had its origin in New York City around 1850, when the new organization was formed and assumed the character of a secret society. To a certain extent the Know-Nothing organization of the 1850s was a revival of the "American Protestant Association" of 1840. Some of its demands, as set forth by its journal, the American Crusader published in Boston on July 12, 1854, were the repeal of all naturalization laws and more stringent and effective immigration laws.

In 1854 the organization's secret character was discontinued. At the height of its success, in 1855, the "Know-Nothing" movement controlled the governorships and legislatures of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and California.[25]

When the Homestead Act was discussed in the Congress in 1854 the question arose as to whether the immigrants should be allowed to

---

24. Humphrey J. Desmond, *The Know-Nothing Party*. (Washington: The New Century Press, 1905), p. 50.

25. John Bach McMaster, "The Riotous Career of the Know-Nothings." *The Forum*, Vol. XVII (July, 1894), p. 534.

enjoy the advantages of this Act. Senator William H. Seward, Whig of New York, spoke strongly against an amendment of the Know-Nothings which asked that the part of the Bill permitting land to be granted to immigrants who had filed intentions to become citizens be left out. Seward saw in this a move which would discourage immigration, and declared:

> The ingress of the foreign population into this country is a fixed and unchangeable fact. It has its cause in one condition of society in foreign countries. Nothing could prevent the exodus of the population from Ireland when they were besieged in their native homes by famine and pestilence. They come here in obedience to a law which obliged them to come. So it is of those parts of the population of Germany and continental Europe which come here....It cannot remain at home; it must come here; and inasmuch as it must come here, we are to treat it as if it were justly and wisely here.[26]

In spite of Know-Nothing agitation, Federal legislation favorable to immigrants was passed in 1855 when the passenger laws were amended. It was preceded with the fact that a select Committee of the Senate had been appointed earlier to investigate the deplorable conditions of the immigrant steerage passengers, particularly "the causes and the extent of the sickness and mortality prevailing on board the emigrant ships on the voyage to this country," and also to determine what legislation might be necessary to improve the situation. The findings of this Committee were published in a report on August 2, 1854. In order to obtain

26. *The Congressional Globe*, July 12, 1854, pp. 1708-1709.

accurate information the Committee prepared a circular containing fourteen questions relative to police and sanitary management of emigrant ships. Copies of this circular were sent to members of the medical profession, merchants, navigators, collectors of customs, presidents of benevolent societies, and others. The answers indicated that the diseases which particularly affected the passengers were typhus, cholera, and smallpox. The causes of typhus were stated to be (1) the confinement of a number of people in apartments disproportionate to their requirements of wholesome respiration; (2) the retention in the same apartments of the excretions from the bodies of individuals thus confined; (3) the exclusion of pure air.[27] As a result of this report the Congress on March 3, 1855, passed "An Act to Regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Steamships and other Vessels." The Act specified the proportion of passengers to tonnage, space to be allowed on the ships, discipline, cleanlines, ventilation, and food and cooking provisions. By Section 13 of this Act any vessel bringing emigrants into the United States from a foreign country was compelled to furnish a list or manifest of passengers, and by the same section the collectors of

27. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Report from the Select Committee on the Subject of Sickness and Mortality on Board of Emigrant Ships, (S Bill 489), for the Protection of the Lives of Passengers on Board of Emigrant Ships Arriving in the United States*, Report No. 386, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1-23.

customs were required to return such lists quarterly to the Secretary of State to be laid before Congress at each and every session.[28] This law, with slight modifications, governed the transportation of immigrants to this country up until 1882.

Various States of the Union were interested in attracting immigrants to their particular areas. Wisconsin already in 1852 had its Commissioner of Immigration in New York City to stimulate the influx of immigrants to that State. A year later, in 1853, his first report was published.[29]

Although the measures described above lessened the immigrants' sufferings, they were, however, still not sufficient to guarantee the immigrants a decent reception upon their first hours of arrival here. In New York City the immigrants upon their arrival were put into filthy boarding houses which constituted an extremely harmful influence on them. It became evident that the real lack was a permament immigrant landing depot, where the arrivals would be protected from sharks and runners, and where they would be given assistance in exchange of money and in purchase of tickets for their final destination, and in

---

28. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, X, 715-721.

29. Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, Vol. 6. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 32.

attending to other personal needs. This lack was finally met by the New York State Commissioners of Emigration, which decided to look for a suitable receiving depot for the immigrants. The decision fell on Castle Garden, but much opposition had to be overcome before this objective could be realized.

On Thursday afternoon, March 23, 1854, an auction of leases of the Corporation docks, under the direction of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, took place in the Superior Courtroom in the New York City Hall. The sale, which lasted three hours, was attended by as many as could squeeze into the chamber. In the sale there was included a five-year lease on Castle Garden, beginning May 1st, 1854. It was pointed out that Messrs. French and Heiser for the ten years past had held "this beautiful resort" on a lease from the Common Council at two or three thousand dollars a year, during which time it had been enclosed, floored, fitted with galleries and a stage, and "the whole place beautified and rendered one of the finest, and in the summer season the most pleasant, concert rooms in the country." When this lease was put up, the announcement elicited the particular attention of the crowd. As the bidding commenced Heiser opened a bid at $3,000, and finally Mr. Allen got Castle Garden for ten thousand dollars a year. The lease also stipulated that

the contractors for enlarging the Battery could not close up the passageway on the bridge, but were only allowed to fill up around it, on condition that they not obstruct the passage.[30]

Since its founding on May 5, 1847, the Board of Commissioners of Emigration had been anxious to secure the establishment of hospital facilities which would provide care and hospitalization for sick and destitute immigrants. By the Act of December 15, 1847, the Marine Hospital at Staten Island, where persons were received who on arrival were afflicted with contagious or infectious diseases, was placed under the exclusive control of the Commissioners of Emigration. The problem remained however of finding a place which would take care of non-contagious but sick immigrants. Both Bedloe's and Ellis Islands were desired for this function, but the institution was finally set up on Ward's Island. Thus the establishment in 1847 of the Emigrant Hospital and Refuge at Ward's Island, in the East River,[31] above New York, was the first accomplishment of the Commissioners of Emigration. In addition to the problem of hospital and medical facilities, the Commissioners of Emigration had been trying to secure authority from the New York State Legislature to designate a single landing place for immigrants.

30. *The New York Herald*, March 24, 1854, p. 2.

31. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860*, pp. 13-24.

Finally, after eight years of fighting obstacles set up by runners as well as by certain New York City residents who were fearful of seeing their property values lowered, this was achieved on April 13, 1855, through a joint action of the New York State Legislature.

V. CASTLE GARDEN AS AN IMMIGRANT DEPOT, 1855-1890

On April 13, 1855, both Houses of the New York State Legislature passed "An Act for the protection of immigrants, second class, steerage, and deck passengers," Paragraph 6 of which invested the Commissioners of Emigration with the right to select a single landing place for immigrants in New York City.[1] After much consideration their choice fell on Castle Garden.[2] Originally known as Castle Clinton, this circular fort was built on an artificial island built with rocks, about 200 feet out in the water. Later, while it operated as a public resort, many memorable events took place there. Band concerts were held; General the Marquis de LaFayette, upon landing in New York in 1824, was welcomed officially at Castle Garden by about 6,000 New Yorkers and a reception was held in his honor. In 1842 Morse demonstrated his telegraph there. Others honored at Castle Garden included Presidents Tyler and Polk, 1847 and 1848, respectively, and a hero of the 1848 upheaval in Hungary, Louis Kossuth. A highlight of Castle Garden festivity occurred on September 11, 1850, when

---

1. *Laws of the State of New-York for 1855*, Chapter 474, pp. 850-853. This Act for the protection of immigrants took effect immediately. However, *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860* on page 185 mistakenly puts the passage of this law on April 18, 1855, while in the appendix, section entitled "Laws for the Protection of Emigrants," p. 49, the date is included correctly as April 13, 1855.

2. For a bird's-eye view of New York and the Battery in 1855 see Appendix D.

the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind, made her American debut there, being presented by P. T. Barnum.[3] Castle Garden served as a center of social, cultural and political activity during that period, not only for the immediate area but also for the Nation as a whole. By 1848 a proposal had been made to incorporate Castle Garden, then still surrounded by water, into Manhattan and thus to increase the Battery area to about twenty-four acres.[4]

The establishment of Castle Garden as the exclusive landing depot for immigrants under the authority and direction of the Act of April 18, 1855, was however challenged by a strong opposition. As mentioned previously, the City of New York had leased Castle Garden to Mr. Allen, at an annual rent of $10,000 for five years, beginning as of May 1, 1854.[5] Through negotiations the Commissioners of Emigration succeeded in having the lease transferred to them for four years as of May 5, 1855. However, because of the extensive repairs which were necessary, it was only on August 1, 1855, that Castle Garden was formally opened and assumed its role as a landing depot for immigrants.[6]

The opening of Castle Garden was challenged in the courts by parties who, through legal obstacles and for various reasons, mostly

3. Rodman Gilder, *The Battery*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936) pp. 129-130, 146-163, 169, 172-175 and 178-195.

4. Ibid., p. 187.

5. See *Supra*, pp. 31-32.

6. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860*, pp. 185-186. *Cf.* also *New-York Daily Times*, May 8, 1855, p. 1.

financial, tried to block the opening of this depot which would guarantee the immigrants a decent and honest reception upon their arrival on these shores. On May 14, 1855, Judge Hoffman of the New York Superior Court considered a motion of J. Phillips Phoenix for an injunction restraining the Commissioners of Emigration, Henry Conklin, and the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York from appropriating the public grounds known as the Battery and Castle Garden for the purpose of establishing of an emigrant receiving depot. The complaint went to the original grant for fortification and claimed that as of March 16, 1790, the people of the State of New York were the owners of this property and that by the Act passed by the New York State Legislature, this title was vested in the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York for the purpose of erecting thereon fortifications or public buildings, provided that they not sell or dispose of any part of the property. It was stressed that a part thereof, now included between Whitehall and State Streets, was reserved for the erection of a government house and was later sold to the city, which on June 19, 1815, conveyed it to John Hone. As the Act of the Legislature of April 13, 1855, authorized the Commissioners of Emigration to designate some place in New York City for the landing of immigrants, and since the Commissioners of Emigration had selected Castle Garden as the emigrant depot, this action was considered improper. The complaint cited statistics which showed

emigrants arriving in greatest number during the summer months, sometimes 5,000 a day, and stressed that the immigrants, who were formerly distributed at various piers at a distance of three or four miles up and down the East and North rivers, would now be concentrated at the Battery and Castle Garden. It further pointed out that the immigrants were frequently afflicted with loathsome and contagious diseases, which even after examination at Quarantine, would frequently break out. Consequently it was dangerous to keep the immigrants in Castle Garden and its vicinity, or in any one place, because of the fear that pestilence might be generated in the First Ward, with population of 30,000. It also pointed out that the presumed natural passage of emigrants from Castle Garden would be across the Battery and up to Broadway, and this would inconvenience people doing business and/or passing to and fromin that populous thoroughfare. Furthermore it was emphasized that the injury to private houses would be very great, and would in fact make them untenantable, as the warm south or southwest winds prevailing during the months in which these people landed in greatest number would blow into the windows pestilential and disagreeable odors, in consequence of which the people living in such houses would threaten to leave them, and the property would thereby be much depreciated in value. On the strength of these arguments Judge Hoffman granted a temporary injunction

requiring the proponents of Castle Garden to show by Monday, May 21, 1855, why this injunction should not be made permanent.[7]

During the meeting of the Board of Aldermen on May 14, 1855, the petitions of Abraham Moore and 145 other persons against transformation of Castle Garden into an immigrant depot, as well as that of J. Phillips Phoenix and about 1,500 others opposing Castle Garden's becoming a landing and receiving center for immigrants, were read. Their petitions were then referred to a special committee.[8]

Similarly during the regular meeting of the Board of Councilmen held on Monday evening, May 14, 1855, in the chamber of the Board at City Hall, one communication presented "was a remonstrance signed by the owners of the government house lots on Bowling Green and State Street, against permitting emigrants to be kept in Castle Garden, being a violation of the covenants granted on the sale of said property. The remonstrance terms this landing of 400,000 emigrants annually at one point a public nuisance, and calculated to injure property in the First ward very much, pecuniarily."[9]

Also, during the meeting of the Board of Aldermen on May 16, 1855, a petition of 530 merchants and other businessmen in the First

7. *The New York Herald*, May 15, 1855, p. 1.
8. Ibid., May 15, 1855, p. 8.
9. Ibid.

ward was read, remonstrating against proposition to convert Castle Garden into an immigrant depot.[10]

When conversion of Castle Garden into the landing place for immigrants was being discussed, an editorial of the New-York Daily Times said that the Commissioners of Emigration

> must have a very strange idea of their duties to the city to wish to aid in a scheme which would be inimical to its interests. To our own perception no sunbeam was ever more transparently clear than that Castle Garden, now that the Battery has been enlarged, is a very great nuisance, and that the only use to which it can be properly put, is to demolish it utterly. . . .As it now stands it only serves to obstruct the view of the harbor, and we are of opinion that its demolition would be hailed as a great benefit to the people. Let it slide.[11]

Indeed the New-York Daily Times was particularly vehement in denouncing the establishment of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot. Though this newspaper recognized the move as an act of humanity, it considered it also a desecration of Castle Garden. In its words:

> And yet it comes hard to surrender this favorite old resort of citizens to such purposes, fitting as it is. The City Hall would be a capital hospital ground, and the Fifth-avenue, from its width and freedom from travel, a delightful thoroughfare to drive pigs through to market. Still some people would object to such innovations.[12]

On Monday, May 28, 1855, the representations against the proposal were again considered in the Superior Court, in the Chambers of

---

10. Ibid., May 17, 1855, p. 8.
11. *New-York Daily Times*, May 24, 1855, p. 4.
12. Ibid., May 8, 1855, p. 1.

Judge Hoffman. Mr. Perry, on part of plaintiff, read 19 or 20 affidavits stating that establishment of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot would be injurious to local property and health. Mr. Lorenzo Delmonico, hotel owner situated at 25 Broadway, about 300 yards from Castle Garden, believed that the establishment of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot would be a serious injury to his business. Of like opinion was Cornelius Vanderbilt, owner and occupier of a $35,000 house at 5 Bowling Green, who in another statement declared that such an action would endanger health and cause a depreciation of the value of his property. Similarly Jonas Bartlett, keeper of Washington House, Battery Place, corner of Broadway. Stephen Whitney, resident of 7 Bowling Green, on the corner of the Battery for more than twenty years, stated that he had purchased his property on the understanding that Bowling Green and the Battery would never be used for any private purpose. He also believed his property and health would be materially injured. Dr. Jarvis L. Andrews, physician in the hotel at the corner of Broadway and Battery Place, as well as other parties from State Street, Bowling Green and Whitehall addresses claimed that the landing of immigrants at Castle Garden would not only be injurious to the health of the neighboring residences, but would also injure them materially. On the other hand Mr. Develin, who read numerous affidavits on behalf of the Commissioners of

Emigration, including several from physicians, stated that the proposed depot would not be dangerous to health.

James P. Fagan testified to a recent influx of low characters on the Battery and that the First Ward had one hundred and thirty-nine immigrant runners, drinking at boarding houses for immigrants, prostitutes, rummies, watch stuffers, thimble riggers, and pocket-book droppers, and that the Battery was thus "in warm seasons, at night, the scene of every kind of indecency." Owen W. Brannon, the New York harbor master, was of the opinion that Castle Garden would be the best location for the landing of all immigrants and that he did not know of any other wharf so well adapted for the landing of emigrants. Others testified to their belief that the use of Castle Garden in this would be to the benefit of the City. The Commissioners of Emigration in their reply to the complaint denied that the Battery would become a lounging place for immigrants to the detriment of its ordinary use. But they agreed to erect a closed fence twelve feet high and to allow no communication with the Battery except by water, nor would Castle Garden be used as a lodging or victualling house. They also denied that Castle Garden was a part of the Battery, as it was separated from it by a bridge under which the tide ebbed and flowed regularly. In their support many affidavits were read from New York physicians,

who stressed the advantages which would result from the landing of immigrants in a central emigrant receiving depot rather than distributing them, as was then the practice, at different places throughout New York City.[13]

The decision to convert Castle Garden into an immigrant depot came on June 8, 1855, when Judge Hoffman of the Superior Court declared it a necessary move to facilitate the operations of the Commissioners of Emigration. He was of the opinion that there was no necessity of its becoming a nuisance, and thus he has therefore ordered the temporary injunction granted against the Commissioners to be removed.[14]

By July 14, 1855, progress had been made in the fitting up of of Castle Garden for its new use. It was reported that

> About 1,000 feet of fencing has been put up round the building with the exception of that portion of it which faces the water. . . . Internally, the galleries and permanent seating remain as heretofore. Under the dome, the fountain which formerly existed has been restored. . . . A Quandrangular range of enclosed desks is in process of erection almost in the centre, where it is intended to station clerks to elicit information from all passengers as to their destination and their means of supporting themselves. They there will receive such information as they need in regard to routes and the cost of passage, as well as the freights of extra baggage. The old refreshment rooms to the right and left of the main entrance have been converted into bath rooms, each one being supplied with a tank of 20 feet by 12 feet, and capable of holding a depth of three and a half feet

13. *The New York Herald*, May 29, 1855, p. 1.
14. *New-York Daily Times*, June 11, 1855, p. 3.

of water. Wash basins, in the manner of troughs, are also provided, and proper toweling. It is designed to have a constant flow of water through the tanks and wash basins. The buildings, formerly used as residences, near the gate, have been converted into offices.[15]

The establishment of Castle Garden as a place which would guarantee the immigrants a suitable reception upon their arrival on these shores was expected to bring the following five benefits:

First.-To the Emigrants. In a more safe and speedy landing of their persons and effects: In the greater safety of their effects after having been put on shore, depredators being limited to fellow-passengers, and but slight opportunity existing for successful pillage by them. In relief from the importunities and deceptions of runners and bookers. In being enabled to continue their journey without delay from the same wharf where they had just landed. In relief from all charges and exactions from landing, 'baggage smashing' and porterage; and where they are proceeding to the interior, from cartages. In being enabled to obtain passage tickets at the lowest rates directly from the various transporting companies. In having their baggage accurately weighed; and in being relieved from excessive charges for that which is extra. In obtaining reliable information relative to the various routes of travel throughout the country. In being relieved from the necessity of transporting their baggage to boarding-houses when exigencies require a temporary sojourn in the city of New York. And thus in being enabled to depart for their future homes without having their means impaired, their morals corrupted, and probably their persons diseased.

Second.-To the shipper. In the greater readiness with which passengers are discharged where freight and merchandise do not interrupt the process. In the ship being relieved of its passengers at once, and immediately on arrival. In the consignee being relieved from the supervision of the landing of the passengers.

---

15. Ibid., July 14, 1855, p. 8.

Third.-To the funds of the Commission. In the increased facility afforded for the discovery of cases liable to special bond. In the opportunity for ascertaining the means of passengers for support. In the reduction of sickness and distress among Emigrants. In the diminished proportional number that will become a charge to the Commissioners; and in the means to readily discover paupers and criminals transported hither.

Fourth.-To the statistician. In furnishing reliable data of the fiscal means of emigrants on arrival. In developing the points of individual destination; thus exhibiting the number of persons who, at the time of arrival, are destined for each State, and the money-means with which they are provided.

Fifth.-To the community in general. In the diminution of human suffering. In the reduction of calls on the benevolent throughout the country; and in the dispersion of a band of outlaws attracted to this port by plunder, from all parts of the earth.[16]

The operation expenses for Castle Garden as well as funds for care of destitute immigrants were to be covered by an immigrant poll tax which at this time amounted to $2.50.[17]

The first immigrants to land at Castle Garden arrived on Friday, August 3, 1855. They were on three ships which arrived up from Quarantine.[18]

With the opening of Castle Garden as an official immigrant receiving depot on August 1, 1855, and incidentally as the first official

---

16. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860*, pp. 187-188.

17. Ibid., p. 189.

18. *New-York Daily Times*, August 4, 1855, p. 1. For an illustration showing immigrants at Castle Garden see Appendix E.

receiving center for immigrants in the country, so severe a blow was struck against the business of the swindlers that it aroused resentment and opposition from the "runners," who saw in it an interference with their private vested interests.[19]

A reported attack on Castle Garden appeared in the New-York Daily Tribune on Saturday, August 4, 1855. The paper stated:

> At midnight it was reported that the Runners had made an assault upon the Castle Garden Emigrant Depot. We could learn nothing about it at the First Ward Station except the one of Rischmuller & Loeschner's Runners named Harry O'Donnel had just been brought in covered with knife-wounds and bruises, received in an affray with a Runner named Petty and others, on the Battery.[20]

In spite of the setback of Castle Garden the emigrant-robbers continued to flourish, to the extent that the New-York Daily Tribune was inpelled to comment:

> The foul brood of villains who have so long fattened upon the plunder of emigrants, don't relish the landing of the passengers at Castle Garden. Indeed, their exasperation breaks out in absolute violence. It is a great pity that this brood of scamps cannot enjoy the wholesome discipline of the State Prison for a few years. We understand that the ruffians are trying to get up some sort of political movement, with a view to selling their votes in November. Look out for them.[21]

After a protest meeting was held by the runners at the Battery on August 6, 1855, an editorial in the New-York Daily Tribune remarked:

---

19. For depiction of typical "runners" see Appendix F.
20. *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 4, 1855, p. 5.
21. Ibid., August 6, 1855, p. 7.

> A meeting of alleged citizens was held on the Battery last night, ostensibly to protest against endangering the public health by the landing of immigrants in Castle Garden, but really to devise means to throw the immigrants again into the hands of the thieves in that section of the City who have grown rich by robbing strangers. They howl about contagion in landing passengers at Castle Garden, but find it especially healthy to pour them indiscrimitely [sic] upon all the North River piers. If David O'Keefe and Alderman Brown desire to improve the health of the First Ward, let them shut up the nasty groggeries and dens of ill-fame along Greenwich and Washington Streets, where the immigrant robbers herd, and where candidates for office buy the votes that elect law-makers and judges.[22]

From the very beginning, operational procedures at Castle Garden were extremely effective due to the foresight of the Commissioners of Emigration, who adopted rules which made for efficiency. Generally the immigrants coming from the Quarantine on Staten Island, they were landed by steamboat at a wharf which was provided for that purpose on the north side of Castle Garden, thus preventing any communication between the vessel and New York City. When the immigrants landed at the depot, each was critically examined by a physician to ascertain if any ill person had escaped the notice of the Health Office at Quarantine; if this happened the ship was held responsible. Upon passing the examination the immigrants were brought to the large rotunda where they were registered by a clerk of the Commissioners of Emigration and then

22. Ibid., August 7, 1855, p. 4.

passed to another desk, where each immigrant received advice concerning his route to his destination. The interior of Castle Garden, together with the galleries and promenades, were free for the newly-arrived immigrants until departure to their destinations. Each immigrant was given a supply of Croton water for bathing before his departure from Castle Garden. The immigrants were then led back to the dock, where they gave the weightmaster the baggage checks which they had previously received on shipboard. Their baggage was then collected, weighed and laballed and a bill presented to its owner for what was extra. No runners were to be allowed at Castle Garden.[23]

Thus from the very moment Castle Garden opened as an immigrant receiving center it became evident that the Commissioners of Immigration had the power to give the immigrants proper protection. At Castle Garden an immigrant, after a long and tedious journey in steerage, was received, sheltered, and given reliable information on his trip to his final destination, and in his first moments on these shores, often without knowledge of the English language, he was protected from the runners and cheats who roamed the Battery at will.

---

23. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860*, pp. 409-410; *New-York Daily Tribune, July 13, 1855*, p. 7.

The new protection accorded to the immigrants was recognized by the New York State authorities. In his annual message to the Legislature, Governor Myron H. Clark on January 16, 1856, emphasized that the favorable location of Castle Garden was of great advantage to the immigrants, as it served to protect them adequately.[24]

Similarly in the following year Governor John A. King reiterated his predecessor's approbation and support for the Castle Garden immigrant depot.[25]

While the State authorities enthusiastically supported Castle Garden's use as an immigrant receiving center, the officials of the City of New York opposed it, primarily for political and economic motives, and tried to render the work of the Commissioners of Emigration more difficult and less effective. In a special Committee report issued by the Board of Councilmen on March 17, 1856, the Commissioners were accused of violating the lease of Castle Garden. The original lease had been awarded to Mr. Theodore J. Allen, who had assigned it to Mr. H. R. Conklin, who in turn had transferred it to the New York State Commissioners of Emigration.

---

24. *State of New York. Messages from the Governors Comprising Executive Communications to the Legislature and Other Papers Relating to Legislation from the Organization of the First Colonial Assembly to 1683 to and Including the Year 1906.* With Notes. Edited by Charles Z. Lincoln. Published by Authority of the State. Vol. IV. (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1909), pp. 851-852. Hereinafter cited as *Messages from the Governors.*

25. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 23ff.

By permission of the Commissioners, carts were permitted to go to and from Castle Garden via the Battery; this was however forbidden by the lease, except by permission of the Mayor, which was never given. In addition the special Committee had other grievances. The first was a concern for the health of New York City, which the report claimed was in great danger; in support of its thesis the report mentioned that one of the Commissioners had contracted a fatal disease at Castle Garden and was on the verge of death. The second grievance pointed out that the presence of the immigrants at the Battery, dirty in dress and body, had destroyed the use of this area for promenades and other recreations. Because of these circumstances, another grievance pointed out, the property values in the neighboring area had declined, and this meant smaller taxes for the City. Still another objection claimed that the immigrants were being subjected to inhuman treatment at Castle Garden and to robbery of their personal funds and belongings. The final grievance held that the Commissioners had unjustly compelled the immigrants to purchase their railroad tickets, etc., in Castle Garden and had charged a considerably higher sum than one would have paid on the outside. This charge was supported by a sworn statement from Mr. Schulte, who had had to pay $13.35 for his ticket to Milwaukee, while the railroad advertised the same ticket for only $10.17. Another example

indicated that Mr. Leopold Lorenz had paid $15.00 for his ticket to St. Louis on the Pennsylvania Railroad, when such a ticket normally cost $12.50. It was also stressed that the usual rate for shipment of baggage to Albany was twenty-five cents for one hundred pounds, while the rate at Castle Garden was thirty cents. When the cashier at Castle Garden, Mr. R. G. Crittenden, testified that twenty percent of the monies received from the sale of the railroad tickets went for the defrayal of Castle Garden expenditures, the Committee concluded that the Commissioners of Emigration themselves were responsible for the exaggerated rates, and consequently recommended that the Castle Garden premises "be re-entered at once by the city."[26]

As the physical attacks on the immigrants as well as on Castle Garden went on it became evident that they emanated primarily from runners who were in the employ of the booking-agents, boarding-house keepers and others who saw in the establishment of the Castle Garden depot an obstacle to their manipulations.[27] Harper's Weekly painted the following picture of an immigrant upon his arrival on American soil:

---

26. Board of Councilmen of New York City, *Report of the Special Committee on the Use of Castle Garden as an Emigrant Depot, March 17, 1856.* Document No. 12. (New York: McSpedon & Baker, 1856), particularly pages 2, 7, 10 and 26.

27. Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration, and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York.* (New York: D. Taylor, Book and Job Printer, 1870), see Appendix, pp. 196-199 for "Report of Grand Jury on Mode of Doing Business at Castle Garden," September 9, 1856.

> In olden time his condition at this stage in his fortunes was truly pitiable. Federal, State and municipal authorities regarded him with as much indifference as if he had been a bale of cheap goods. Scoundrels of the very lowest calibre - emigrant runners - seized him, and made him their own. If he had any money, they robbed him of it. If he had a pretty wife or daughters, they stole them too, if they could. If he had neither money nor daughters, they merely took his luggage. It was well for him if, after having been robbed of all he had, he was not beaten to death; or entrapped into committing crimes which transferred him almost from the emigrant vessel to Blackwell's Island or the State Prison. His betrayers were of his own kith and kin. The easiest emigrants to rob were the Irish; and the majority of emigrant runners belonged to the same race. The brogue was part of their capital in trade.[28]

In spite of tremendous opposition the Commissioners of Emigration managed to carry out their policies. During the regular meeting of the Board of Commissioners held on Wednesday, May 7, 1856, under the chairmanship of Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck, Superintendent John A. Kennedy called the attention of the Board to an incident which had occurred that morning at Castle Garden. It so happened that Mr. Jacob L. Smith, Councilman for the Second District, First Ward, had called upon Mr. Isaac O. Barker, Acting Mayor, and told him that shippers Boyd & Hincken had given him permission to go on board the ship St. Nicholas, which had arrived from Le Havre, and to land passengers as he pleased. Smith obtained Barker's permission to proceed, but the clerk who drew up the permit worded it so that it gave Smith permission to go on

28. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 11, No. 78 (June 26, 1858), p. 405.

board any vessel. Then Mr. Barker signed the order directed to Sergeant Roach of the Immigration Squad at Castle Garden. Smith then hired the steamer Birbeck, and with a gang of men whom Kennedy referred to as runners, boarded St. Nicholas the previous morning. When the agents of the Commissioners tried to board shortly after, the gang of runners confronted them with revolvers. The mate also ordered them off. The agents then reported back to Kennedy. Shortly after, the Birbeck came to the Castle Garden pier, with about 250 passengers and their baggage. Kennedy refused them permission to land, whereupon Councilman Smith showed his authorization and Sergeant Roach obeyed. The immigrants were landed, but not their baggage, which Smith said he would take care of. So the Commissioner Rudolph Garrigue, who was present, addressed the German immigrants in their language and charged Councilman Smith with being in league with the gang of runners to rob them of their effects. Following this the Germans raised such an outcry that the Birbeck came back within hailing distance, and the passengers were told they could have their luggage at Pier 1, North River. The Germans were very frightened and thought they were being robbed on all sides. Then the gang of so-called runners came to the gate of Castle Garden and demanded admission, and on being refused, drew knives and were forcing their way in when they

were confronted by employees with revolvers. It seemed that there would be a terrible fight, but after some time the intruders were driven out of the place. The passengers were then registered and permitted to go after their baggage. Seeing the situation, Mr. Kennedy had sent to Mayor Barker for more police, but Barker said he wanted to see Mr. Kennedy. On calling, he told Kennedy that Councilman Smith had had permission to go aboard. To this Kennedy declared that such an action was contrary to law. Kennedy also said that Smith was an agent for the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, and that the passengers while on the Birbeck, were booked for that road, twenty-five cents and more taken from them on account, the rest to be paid to Lorenz, the agent of that railroad. Kennedy also stated that he had heard the Captain of the Birbeck saying to Smith regarding the landing of immigrants from the ship Neptune, "Oh! no; the passengers on that ship have no money, and we could make nothing out of them." Upon hearing this story the Commissioners passed a resolution instructing the Castle Garden Committee to make a full report of the facts to the Board.[29]

The action of Councilman Smith was condemned in an editorial of the New-York Daily Tribune, which stated:

---

29. *The New York Herald*, May 8, 1856, p. 1.

> So audacious have the runners become that they waylay the officers employed in Castle Garden, abuse them, and even threaten their lives. All of them, from the Commissioners down, are obliged always to carry loaded revolvers; and so slight is the protection afforded them by the city authorities that the utmost vigilance is requisite to guard against a sudden attack from without upon the Castle. Should runners once again obtain admission, they would doubtless fire the building or raze it to the ground. Will the city authorities quietly look on while public officers transact their business in a state of perpetual peril, or will they interfere in behalf of public tranquility? We are glad to learn that the Commissioners will take prompt measures to bring to justice the authors of the outrage of yesterday.[30]

In a letter dated May 8, 1856, which Councilman Smith sent to the New York Herald regarding the fight on May 7, Mr. Smith stated that all he had received from Baker was "simply a direction to any of the emigrant squad of police to protect me from molestation." He also stated that he was not an emigrant runner, nor an agent for the Pennsylvania Central Railroad and that the reported conversation was false as there were no runners with him, but only three respectable citizens. He pointed out that his object was to test the legality of certain acts of the Commissioners of Emigration regarding the immigrants and their power over them, referring to Document No. 12 of the Board of Councilmen, 1856. He called Kennedy a "great Mogul at Castle

---

30. *New-York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1856, p. 4.

Garden" who was no longer a Commissioner and asserted that Kennedy had declined to let them land. He claimed that the employees of the Commissioners were getting Customs House permits to land passengers, which they had no right to do without the owners' consent. Smith stated that he had received permission from Col. Hincken of Boyd & Hincken and had obtained a permit to land the passengers and their luggage, and he pointed out that the luggage had been delivered to the passengers the previous day and that these had gotten passenger tickets west for three to five dollars less than the prices at Castle Garden. Referring to articles in the "villainous" Tribune Smith said that John A. Kennedy was the only person carrying and flourishing a knife and a pistol on the occasion in question and referred to affidavits by passengers taken before the Mayor.[31] However, in the May 12, 1856, issue of the New York Herald there appears an advertisement which included a statement by Mr. L. Lorenz, agent of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company, which would indicate that he evidently had been associated with the Commissioners of Emigration at one time. After Castle Garden opened as an immigrant depot, agents of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company were allowed on the premises to sell their tickets at the Garden. Lorenz also cited circuitous routes

31. *The New York Herald*, May 10, 1856, p. 7.

Garden" who was no longer a Commissioner and asserted that Kennedy had declined to let them land. He claimed that the employees of the Commissioners were getting Customs House permits to land passengers, which they had no right to do without the owners' consent. Smith stated that he had received permission from Col. Hincken of Boyd & Hincken and had obtained a permit to land the passengers and their luggage, and he pointed out that the luggage had been delivered to the passengers the previous day and that these had gotten passenger tickets west for three to five dollars less than the prices at Castle Garden. Referring to articles in the "villainous" Tribune Smith said that John A. Kennedy was the only person carrying and flourishing a knife and a pistol on the occasion in question and referred to affidavits by passengers taken before the Mayor.[31] However, in the May 12, 1856, issue of the New York Herald there appears an advertisement which included a statement by Mr. L. Lorenz, agent of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company, which would indicate that he evidently had been associated with the Commissioners of Emigration at one time. After Castle Garden opened as an immigrant depot, agents of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company were allowed on the premises to sell their tickets at the Garden. Lorenz also cited circuitous routes

31. *The New York Herald*, May 10, 1856, p. 7.

and higher prices of other lines and referred to dispute between Councilman Smith and the Commissioners of Emigration, stating that the St. Nicholas case was a test-action and that everything had been orderly.[32]

According to quarterly report which Superintendent John A. Kennedy presented on May 7, 1856, to the Castle Garden Committee, between January and April of 1856, 106 vessels landed at Castle Garden with 15,028 bondable passengers and 1,020 not bondable, bringing with them $892,552,27 or $55.61 per head. It was evident that, while immigration was steadily increasing, a financially better fixed class of immigrants was arriving here. As a result the debt of the Commissioners had decreased and now amounted to $89,629.28.[33]

An editorial entitled "Increase of Immigration" which appeared in the New York Herald stated:

> The Battery presents a lively scene about these days. Since the first of the present month immigrants have been arriving at the rate of five thousand per week. This will be still further increased. The [Crimean] war is over, and the disbanded armies will have no employment, and will come here to seek it. The Know-Nothing excitement has died away, and the attempt to make Canada a resort for immigrants has fizzled out. It is pleasant to learn that the immigrants who have lately arrived have been a better class than usual. They have brought with them an average of seventy-two dollars per head. Let them come, but let them keep out of politics for five years. There's plenty of room out West yet.[34]

---

32. Ibid., May 12, 1856, p. 6.
33. Ibid., May 8, 1856, p. 1.
34. Ibid., May 15, 1856, p. 4.

During the year 1857, 183,773 immigrants landed at Castle Garden, of whom 80,976 were Germans, 57,119 Irish and 28,622 English.[35] But according to the twelfth annual report of the Commissioners of Emigration, covering 1858, the number of immigrants who arrived at Castle Garden and who paid commutation taxes or special bonds was only 78,589, of whom 31,874 came from Germany and 25,075 from Ireland. This represented a decrease of 105,184 from the preceding year.[36]

In spite of their efficient operation of Castle Garden the Commissioners of Emigration continued to face tremendous opposition. An investigation by a grand jury on September 9, 1856, gave the Commissioners a clean bill, and in its report stressed that, while the immigrants of earlier times had often been systematically robbed and cheated, the Commissioners and their staff had been willing to challenge the vicious runners in the employ of the unscrupulous brokers who were then engaging in attacks on Castle Garden and the Commissioners, although the New York police were pursuing a policy of conniving inactivity and the Mayor's office was listening to the reports of the harpies instead of taking action against these predators.[37]

---

35. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860*, p. 213.

36. Ibid., p. 232. There was an economic panic in the fall of 1857 caused by overspeculation and poor banking practices; immigration fell off shortly afterwards.

37. Ibid., pp. 409-412.

Indeed, some of the brokers and their runners were so afraid of Castle Garden's potential in rendering their business less lucrative, that they even sent agents to Europe to instruct their ticket sellers there to warn the immigrants to avoid Castle Garden. And when the prospective immigrants fell into their clutches, they found upon their arrival at other neighboring ports that they had been robbed of whatever little they had.[38] As a result of this practice new protective measures became necessary. On April 15, 1857, the New York State legislature passed "An Act to prevent Frauds in the sale of tickets to Passengers upon Railroads, Steamboats, and Steamships," by which the sale of tickets was limited only to authorized persons in the State of New York.[39] On the following day, April 16, 1857, the Legislature of the State of New York passed "An Act for the protection of emigrants, and to amend chapter two hundred and nineteen of the laws of eighteen hundred and forty-eight, and chapter four hundred and seventy-four, of the laws of eighteen hundred and fifty-five," which authorized the Commissioners of Emigration to grant and issue licenses to lighterage companies and to regulate the emigrant runners, who were to be of respectable character and wear

---

38. Ibid, pp. 345-346.

39. *Laws of the State of New-York for 1857*, Chapter 470, pp. 15-16.

badges showing that they were properly licensed and supervised by the Commissioners. In addition, this Act was intended to prevent ticket frauds.[40]

From time to time complaints were made against the Commissioners of Emigration in regard to their management of Castle Garden. On Friday afternoon, March 19, 1858, the Castle Garden Committee of the House held a meeting in the House Assembly in Albany, but as there were no witnesses the Committee adjourned to Monday. On the morning of that same day (Friday) the old "democratic war horse Purdy" and Andrew Carrigan appeared in the lobby of the House Assembly "no doubt to protect the interests of the emigrant commission. But as they are unlikely to know anything concerning the inside arrangements of the emigrant system, and are not interested in the twenty per cent dividend, they will not be required to testify before the committee. They were not subpoenaed to Albany."[41]

On March 22, 1858, Mr. Edgerton, Republican, introduced in the New York State Assembly a bill to allow the admission to Castle Garden of any citizen acting as agent for selling tickets by any route, on first obtaining a license from the Mayor of

---

40. Ibid., Chapter 579, pp. 240-244.
41. *The New York Herald*, March 22, 1858, p. 4.

New York City. However, such an agent had to be bonded at a license fee of from twenty-five to fifty dollars, and the bond was required to have two sureties in the amount of one thousand dollars each.[42]

In the course of the debate on appropriation of funds for certain charitable institutions held in the New York State Senate in Albany on March 25, 1858, Senator Wheeler, of Franklin County, reported on the high-handed measure of the Commissioners of Emigration, by which these gentlemen had recently issued a circular to various interior counties declaring that no more funds for support of foreign poor or paupers would be sent to those counties by the Commission. He also stressed that the Commissioners seemed willing, despite their collecting two dollars for each immigrant arriving in the State of New York, to send the poor immigrants into the county poor houses for the rural population's support.[43]

Slowly, little by little, the Castle Garden Investigation Committee began to unearth some interesting facts. On April 26, 1858, Mr. Conklin, the lessee of Castle Garden, was examined; during his testimony it was revealed that the negotiations for the leasing of Castle Garden had been conducted on the side

---

42. Ibid., March 23, 1858, p. 7.
43. Ibid., March 26, 1858, p. 5.

of Mr. Conklin by a man named Beamus, and on the side of the railroads by a Mr. Anderson, both of whom were now out of the State of New York, one supposed to be somewhere in Minnesota and the other in Europe. Mr. Conklin also stated that when he had leased Castle Garden to the Commissioners he had reserved the privilege of selling railroad tickets to himself. Subsequently he had assigned this privilege to a railroad association which was to manage the business and to give him one-quarter of the profits realized by the said railroad companies. Another quarter was to be paid to Mr. Corning, while the remaining half was to be divided between parties whose identity Mr. Conklin was not allowed to know.[44]

After an investigation into the management of the Castle Garden immigrant depot had been directed by the House of Assembly and was being proceeded with by a special committee of that body, the Commissioners of Emigration met on Wednesday, March 31, 1858, and issued the following account of the organizational structure: By stipulation of the lease of Castle Garden under which it was operated by the Commissioners, there were two distinct organizations at the Garden. The first organization was that of the railroads, for sale of tickets and contracts for transport of

---

44. Ibid., March 29, 1858, pp. 4-5.

luggage. In their cognizance were included landing by steamboat and barge, handling of baggage and transportation to railroad depots and steamboat landings, the whole expense of which, together with $10,000 (in lieu of rent) was to be borne and paid for by the steamships and railroad companies operating in Castle Garden. The second organization at Castle Garden was the Commissioners of Emigration, to which the first was in many ways responsible, and which itself was responsible for medical examinations, registration and arrangements for the welfare of immigrants, food, and comfort supplies, kitchen, night accommodations and protective measures the expense of which was borne by the Commissioners out of their funds. Before Castle Garden was established, it had been customary for the railroad and steamboat companies to allow 25 to 33-1/3 per cent to their agents on ticket sales, such agents bearing all expenses connected with the sales and procuring the immigrant passengers through runners, boardinghouse keepers, etc. Thus a four-dollar Albany ticket was sold to an agent for three dollars and he would get what he could. By arrangement with the railroads, it was determined that twenty per cent of gross amount of receipts collected within Castle

Garden by the railroad and steamship companies should be set apart in a separate fund by the cashier of the roads and companies there, and that expenses enumerated above should be paid by him out of that fund. The total expenses of the Commissioners' general fund on account with the emigrant depot, from its organization in 1855 through January 31, 1858, were $29,725.11, while the expenses of the railroad companies between August 1, 1855, and January 31, 1858, at Castle Garden, including fuel, light and water rent, cartage, labor, salaries, stationery, lost baggage and abatements to indigent emigrants, were $121,173.18. The expenses during the same period for steamboat hire in landing immigrant passengers amounted to $40,503.49, giving thus a total expense of $191,401.78. From the time of the opening of Castle Garden as an immigrant landing depot until January 31, 1858, 149,257 passenger tickets were sold to immigrants for $769,123.07 with a 20 per cent commission retained on $748,123.07; 14 - 28/100 per cent retained on $3,392.30, and 10 per cent retained on $17,033.74, thus amounting to a total of $151,891.30. The difference between total expenses and commissions was $39,510.48, of which, as stated, the Commissioners of Emigration paid $29,725.11, leaving a balance of $9,785.37 by which the fund fell short, and which the

railroad and steamboat companies had to pay. The report also recounted the months of riots, the legal actions, etc. which had occurred in the early months of the existence of the Garden, and also pointed out that 227,899 of 370,000 passengers had not bought their tickets at Castle Garden, although they had enjoyed the full protection of that establishment.[45]

Whig leader Thurlow Weed's testimony before the Castle Garden Investigation Committee of the House of Albany revealed political patronage.[46] In an editorial, "Thurlow Weed and His Castle Garden Speculation," the New York Herald stated:

> From his own words the fact appears that he has been the head and front, the Alpha and Omega, the manager and principal star actor in all the transactions of the emigrant depot, from the passage of the law in 1855 down to a late period, if not to the present moment. The few facts which he consented to divulge are sufficient to convince every unprejudiced person that he had systematically arranged a monstrous emigrant dodge establishment. He was the grand generallisimo [sic] of the concern. The Commissioners of Emigration and the railroad companies surrendered all control over the inside subordinates and invested Weed with unlimited power to employ and pay whom he might desire and at sums out of the 'twenty percent' he might choose to distribute. The Chevalier swears that he never received a penny from any one of his assistance in getting the law passed or managing the speculation; indeed, he thinks that the Garden owes him a trifle; but he

45. Ibid., April 4, 1858, p. 2.
46. Ibid., April 19, 1858, pp. 4-5.

> admits that if any profit was realized he was to have a share of the spoils. Most probably it would have been the lion's share. No one will accuse Weed of the weakness of his giving his valuable services as a lobby agent for nothing.[47]

Apart from the personal abuse which the immigrants often received at the hands of some Castle Garden employees, the Garden was still the best place for the immigrants upon their landing on America's shores. It is true, however, that the immigrants could not seek other and even perhaps cheaper means of transportation than those provided by the Commissioners of Emigration. The New York and Erie and the New York Central were the only two railroads which had been given the right to sell tickets at Castle Garden at their own rates without being in some way restricted by the Commissioners of Emigration. The Pennsylvania Central was excluded from this arrangement, despite the fact that it sold cheaper railroad tickets than either of the two former companies. The reason for this favoritism was that, in exchange for Thurlow Weed's support for the establishment of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot, something had to be rendered. One installment on this debt was the railroad operation, and in this case the favor was not unexpected, considering the

---

47. Ibid., p. 4. It should be pointed out here that, although presenting above the *The New York Herald's* account of Weed's part in the Castle Garden controversy at face value, the present writer does not accept it without reservation, for the simple reason that there might be other evidence available, perhaps not quite so sinister. Weed was a hard-boiled politician, no doubt, but he was close to Seward, and Seward had something of the humanitarian in him.

fact that the general agent of the New York and Erie Railroad was a relative of Thurlow Weed.[48]

The lease of Castle Garden was to expire in May of 1859, and this situation was complicated by the fact that a litigation was then being conducted in the courts between the State and the city regarding the ownership of the Garden.[49] Because of this litigation the lease was temporarily extended by the New York City Comptroller on a year-to-year basis, and this arrangement was continued up to 1869.[50]

As may be recalled, by the 12th Section of the Passenger Act of March 3, 1855,[51] any vessel bringing immigrants into the United States from a foreign country was compelled to furnish a list or manifest of passengers. Congress, in calling for a statement by the Department of State, at each session, of the arrival of emigrants in this country as per Section 13 of this Passenger Act, clearly intended to make it obligatory for all vessels to render the account required for compilation of this statement.[52]

---

48. Ibid., April 4, 1858, p. 5.

49. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, May 5, 1847 to 1860*, p. 248.

50. The annual reports of the Commissioners of Emigration between 1858 and 1869 mention this fact.

51. See *Supra*, p. 29.

52. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, X, p. 719.

Actually this and other Acts were amendments to the legislation passed on March 2, 1819, which provided more humane conditions for the steerage immigrants on passenger vessels. This Act of March 3, 1855, was amended by another Passenger Act passed by Congress on March 24, 1860, which assured better protection of the female passengers and stipulated that seduction and illicit connection with a female passenger on any U. S. vessel during the voyage, by a master officer or seaman, was punishable with a prison term not exceeding twelve months or by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or the party had to marry.[53] By an Act of Congress, approved February 19, 1862, entitled "An Act to prohibit the 'Coolie Trade' by American citizens in American vessels," the introduction of Coolies into the United States was expressly forbidden.[54] The whole immigration policy of the United States Government was in accordance with the spirit of this law.

During the Civil War over 500,000 immigrants took part in that conflict, and through their loyalty to their adoptive land hushed the voices of the nativists. After the outbreak of the War, immigration had declined, and as it neared its end there was a general shortage of manpower. It was the desire of

53. Ibid., XII, pp. 3-4.
54. Ibid., pp. 340-341.

President Lincoln to increase the labor supply with immigrants. The statistics collected by the Emigrant Depot at Castle Garden had shown a considerable decrease of immigration dating from the period preceding the Civil War. The immigrants were needed not only for labor but also for the Army. On July 23, 1864, the New York Herald reported on the new schemes to fill "our quota" by the Volunteer Committee under Mr. O. Blunt. According to this account "The additional 'quarters' on the Battery will be completed and occupied next week and good results are expected to flow from this sub-arrangement...rich harvest may be expected.... Of the thousands who land there from the old country a large number will be induced by the bounty of $300 to enter the army; and if the committee had been allowed to connect its office by a passageway with Castle Garden, untold numbers might have been secured. But this the Emigration Commissioners would not allow." The article then went on to lament at great length that the emigrants would be cheated out of their bounty money.[55]

On Monday morning, July 25, 1864, the new recruiting quarters of the County Bounty Committee were opened on the Battery. According to a newspaper account the buildings were ample, one hundred by fifty feet, and one story high. The inaugural ceremonies were

55. *The New York Herald*, July 23, 1864, p. 5.

opened by a 100-gun salute and a band playing the Star Spangled Banner. It was hoped that the Committee's primary consequence, because of its proximity to Castle Garden, would be "the enlistment of large number of emigrants, who can treat directly with the authorities in charge, and thereby avoid the swindling operations of the bounty brokers."[56] But in spite of the pecuniary inducements offered, $300 county bounty and $300 federal for a three-year enlistment, the immigrants did not seem inclined to enter the service with the alacrity which might have been expected. It was pointed out that "Notwithstanding these large bounties, it seems at present that the prospect of being able to avoid the draft is very discouraging."[57]

During the meeting of the Commissioners of Emigration held on Wednesday afternoon, July 27, 1864, "Mr. Schinewind offered a resolution appointing a special committee of three to investigate the insinuation and accusations brought by some of the weekly press against employees in Castle Garden, in regard to enticing emigrants to enlist, and using their influence and taking advantage of their position in a disreputable manner." Mr. Schinewind

56. Ibid., July 26, 1864, p. 5.

57. Ibid., July 28, 1864, p. 5.

stressed that he did not believe the charge, but that he presented his motion as President of the German Emigrant Society. His resolution was adopted, and Messrs. Schinewind, Mayor Gunther and Mr. Purdy were appointed to the Committee. On motion of Mr. Cumming it was resolved to have a notice put up at Castle Garden stating that volunteers could receive $300 bounty at the County Volunteer office.[58]

The recruitment rate soon improved, and on July 30, 1864, the New York Herald reported that recruiting at the new depot at the Battery was on the increase.[59]

During the Civil War the Irish immigrants were recruited at Castle Garden into Meagher's Brigade, while the German and other immigrants had no specific preferences and joined various Federal Units.

An illustration showing the recruiting station in Battery Park enlisting Irish and German immigrants outside the Castle Garden immigrant depot soon after their having left the ship appeared in The Illustrated London News on September 17, 1864.[60]

---

58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., July 30, 1864, p. 4.
60. See Appendix G.

The story which described the scene told of drummers and fifers playing a stirring tune, while placards advertising bounties totalling $600.00 for enlistment were prominently displayed in English and German. The story also indicated that recruiting was far from brisk--a sneer at the Union is indulged in, as could be expected, by the London News![61]

On July 4, 1864, the Congress passed "An Act to encourage Immigration."[62] According to Section 1 of this law the Bureau of Immigration was established at the Department of State and headed by a Commissioner of Immigration, while Section 4 established the office of Superintendent of Immigration in New York City; this official was subordinate to the Commissioner of Immigration.[63] The Bureau was required, according to Section 7, to render a report on the immigration into this country during the preceding year at the commencement of each Session of Congress.[64]

According to Section 2 of the Act to encourage immigration and Paragraph 1 of the instructions to the Superintendent of Immigration, the Government of the United States had no authority to pay the passage of emigrants.[65] This meant that the Bureau

61. *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. XLV, No. 1278, (September 17, 1864), p. 285.

62. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XII, pp. 385-387.

63. Ibid., p. 386.

64. Ibid., p. 387

65. Ibid., p. 386.

of Immigration was not authorized to pay the passage of any persons desiring to emigrate to this country. Private agencies were organized to secure the services of immigrant artisans or mechanics for parties in this country, who paid their passage on condition of a contract by which the emigrant bound himself to his employer, thus paying for his passage over an extended period of time.

James Bowen was appointed the first Commissioner of Immigration and John P. Cumming, Superintendent of Immigration at New York City.[66] The office of the Superintendent of Immigration was located at No. 3 Bowling Green in New York City.[67]

Although the United States Government was not authorized to extend any pecuniary aid to persons desiring to emigrate to this country, the Bureau of Immigration received daily letters and communications from people desiring to emigrate here on a contract pledging their wages in return for the expense of such emigration. The existing laws did not give the Bureau the authority to defray the expenses of the emigrants and the only

---

66. F. W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State to Josiah Pierce, Portland, Maine, October 5, 1864. R.G. 59, General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, p. 18.

67. Cumming to Bureau of Immigration, November 20, 1865, R.G. 59, General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters received: 1864-67, Vol. 1, p. 85.

way in which to satisfy the anxiety of these people to come here and also the great demand for labor in this country was to allow the parties to bind themselves to repay the expenses of their emigration by their labor at the usual rate of wages. However, these contracts could be entered into only between private parties. With few exceptions the Bureau of Immigration found it impractical to find employers and employees, where either was needed, and for whom such a contract would be desirable. The only thing the Bureau could do was to protect the immigrants under contract already entered into in accordance with the provisions of the law of 1864.[68]

The Bureau of Immigration also did not have the power to prescribe obligations on the parties in their transactions with each other in this country. Indeed the Superintendent of Immigration was only to protect the immigrants from imposition and fraud under such rules as were prescribed by the Commissioner of Immigration. It was believed that under the liberal system of legislation in the United States, it might be justly assumed that every wrong had its legal remedy. It was also believed that the existent laws were sufficient to protect the immigrants.

---

68. E. Peshine Smith to J. M. Bailey, U.S. Consul at Glasgow, March 23, 1865. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent, No. 1, pp. 229-230.

In addition to the Federal supervision of immigration in New York, the Legislatures of various States recognized the desirability of the European immigration and passed laws favorable to immigrants. Nevertheless, abuses against the immigrants continued, on their voyage here as well as upon their arrival in New York Harbor. On November 8, 1865, the influential New York German newspaper, the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, published an article which concerned a complaint by a number of passengers of the steamship Atalanta. The article mentioned that the S.S. Atalanta had left Le Havre on Thursday, October 12, 1865, carrying 550 passengers. This was more than normal capacity, and the beds had to be moved close to one another. The article mentioned that the steerage accommodations had been improperly lit and improperly cleaned, that there was a smell of calcium chloride, and that the air was intolerably bad. It was also pointed out that on boarding the ship the steerage passengers were not served any food for the first twenty-four hours and that they were forced to get by on what foodstuffs they had brought along themselves. Immediately on leaving port the ship began to roll heavily and more than half the passengers were seasick. There never seemed to be enough food; only one meal was served every twenty-four hours, supplemented by tea and Zwieback. Many of the passengers ate the pork they had brought along and got very thirsty as a result. The ship's doctor seldom visited the passengers, who had to pay from one to two francs for warm

water. One poor man asked the doctor for soup for his sick family; he reportedly paid twenty francs but never got the soup; the captain later returned the twenty francs to him. The doctor also refused to visit the sick, some of whom were already corpses by the time he got to them. The article cited Seaman Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Michel, of Belgium, who used to make soup for the sick at midnight. Michel pointed out that the passengers in first and second class were well cared for and much better off. He also lauded the American doctor who boarded the ship upon arrival and presumably treated the sick. The article carried no heading, and was in the form of a letter to the newspaper. It was signed by about seventy immigrants.[69]

As a result of this article John Hitz, Consul General of Switzerland, on November 24, 1865, wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, which was referred to the Bureau of Immigration. The letter requested that the Superintendent of Immigration investigate the matter.[70]

The Bureau of Immigration also investigated the circumstances and and cause of the disastrous burning at sea of the ship William Nelson, which caused the death of 426 immigrants.[71] Incidents

---

69. *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, November 8, 1865, p. 8.

70. H. N. Congar to John Hitz, December 28, 1865. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, p. 177.

71. Congar to Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, February 28, 1866, in Ibid., p. 210.

like these were brought to the attention of the Commissioner of Immigration, but very little could be done to improve conditions.

On February 1, 1866, the Superintendent of Immigration, J. P. Cumming, recommended to the Bureau of Immigration that "an order be issued that all contracts made in New York shall be void unless approved of by the U.S. Superintendent, together with other recommendations for the purpose of better protecting the immigrants."[72]

While agreeing with Cumming that such an order would undoubtedly immediately obviate many of the evils facing the immigrants, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration Horace N. Congar expressed his opinion that the Bureau of Immigration could not assume any control over private engagements between parties in this country, as distinguished from contracts entered into with emigrants in foreign lands. Indeed the only judicial jurisdiction conferred on the Bureau of Immigration by the Act of Congress "to encourage immigration" consisted in the regulation of these latter contracts.[73]

---

72. Cumming to Bureau of Immigration, February 1, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters received: 1864-67, Vol. 1, p. 85.

73. Congar to Cumming, February 2, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, pp. 200-202.

The would-be emigrants abroad were constrained to depend entirely on their own resources for their emigration; however, the United States had never felt the want of labor more than in the spring of 1866. The immigrants were therefore sure to obtain profitable employment as soon as they arrived.

For the immigrant farmer, the most productive land was open for entry under the Homestead Law. All these factors acted as a sufficient inducement to the foreign agriculturist, artisan, mechanic or laborer to emigrate to this country even at a sacrifice. The fact that the people had to pay their own expenses, had the benefit of bringing to the United States a very desirable, industrious population.

The demand in the Southern States for field labor brought to New York City in early 1865 many southern planters and their agents. At first Castle Garden was opened to them; however, they were able to secure the services of only a limited number of immigrants. The Europeans knew that they would be badly paid in the South, and also about the treatment of the Negroes, and they did not want to go there. However, during 1866, because of the labor shortage throughout the United States the immigrants saw the prospect of better conditions in the South, and in January of 1866, 350 adult immigrants at Castle Garden signed contracts of employment in Southern States. Because of objectionable behavior

of competing employers the Commissioners of Emigration on January 26, 1866, passed a resolution by which no person was allowed in Castle Garden to hire or employ immigrants, and that all such business was to be handled in the Intelligence Office and Labor Exchange attached to the Garden. Naturally the Southern planters and their agents complained bitterly at their exclusion from Castle Garden by the above resolution.[74]

Unethical practices in dealing with immigrant labor were not unusual. The firm of Knox & Smith of Alexandria, Virginia, made a particularly good business of furnishing farmers in Virginia with German laborers. When these German immigrants came under the power of their employers they were subjected to much injustice and indignity. For this reason the Commissioner of Immigration Congar, in a letter of January 5, 1866, to New York City Superintendent of Immigration Cumming, instructed Cumming to counteract their proceedings by all proper means, and to warn the immigrants against any transactions with such parties.[75] Another case occurred involving some German immigrants, who upon their arrival in New York in the middle of December 1865 were approached by a person named Wiedenbeim, who took them to the office of George Rupper, where in consideration of a fee

---

74. *The New York Times*, December 1, 1866, pp. 2-3.

75. Congar to Cumming, January 5, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, pp. 182-183.

of one dollar and a half, each of these German immigrants was promised a situation on a farm near Alexandria, Virginia, with board, lodging, washing, tobacco and soap plus an annual salary of $300.00. When about thirty Germans entered into this agreement, Wiedenbeim took them by steamer to Alexandria. During the voyage he gave each a contract written in English, for their signature, which provided for each a salary of only $60.00 per year, explaining to them that this amount of $60.00 was only for the winter months. Upon their arrival in Alexandria the immigrants were presented to Mr. Fairfax, who with the aid of a German interpreter told them that all he could do would be to pay them the annual salary of $60.00 for their labor, and that they must bind themselves for a period of three years. Only a few of them, because of necessity, entered into the agreement and all of them found themselves destitute.[76] When George Rupper was to appear before Superintendent of Immigration Cumming to answer charges he failed to appear and could not be found.[77] However, the adoption of proper measures to put a stop of these dealings was practically impossible.

---

76. Congar to Cumming, January 11, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, pp. 187-188.

77. Cumming to Bureau of Immigration, January 26, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters received: 1864-67, Vol. 1, p. 84.

These unethical practices with immigrant labor were soon expanded by frauds practiced on emigrant purchases of railroad tickets. On March 15, 1866, Superintendent of Immigration Cumming reported to the Commissioner of Immigration upon the frauds practiced on emigrants abroad in the sale of railroad tickets to them for inland travel.[78]

On March 22, 1866, E. Peshine Smith informed the Superintendent of Immigration Cumming that Horace N. Congar had resigned his position as U.S. Commissioner of Immigration, and that he, Smith, had been appointed to be his replacement.[79]

In March of 1866 the demand for various kinds of labor in the United States was great, and industry consequently was ready to pay. It was pointed out that "Notwithstanding the great number of immigrants arriving in this country, enterprize is still greatly checked by the want of sufficient help. The number of immigrants which arrived in this country during the year of 1865 amounted to 287,387."[80]

---

78. Cumming to Bureau of Immigration, March 15, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters Received: 1864-67, Vol. 1, p. 224.

79. Smith to Cumming, March 22, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, p. 228.

80. Smith to United States Consul at Glasgow, March 23, 1866, R.G. 59. In Ibid., pp. 229-230. However, in the archival book this letter is incorrectly dated March 23, 1865.

On March 21, 1866, Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, Chairman of the House Committee on Commerce, sent a letter to Secretary of State W. H. Seward and with it transmitted on behalf of the House Committee on Commerce a copy of Bill No. 409, concerning the encouragement of immigration, and asked him for his view on the Bill. Secretary Seward examined the Bill and approved completely of the policy of its important provisions. He further stated that the details in the Bill seemed to him "judicious and proper" and expressed his hope that the Bill would receive early consideration in the Congress.[81]

The immigrants had no difficulty in finding employment immediately upon their arrival, as labor of all kinds was very much sought after by various individuals as well as by manufacturers, and the demand seemed likely to continue for years. The ladies of New York went down to Castle Garden to look over the "greenhorns" for servants. When the family of William Smith O'Brien needed a domestic servant, Mrs. O'Brien sent her daughter Charlotte down to Castle Garden to get one. Appalled by the condition of the immigrants, she wrote the Archbishop who was in Chicago attending the convention of the Irish Catholic Associations, about this

81. Seward to Washburne, March 24, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, pp. 230-231.

matter. The Archbishop laid it before the Association, with the result that funds were provided for the purchase of the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, in which a home was established. A Mr. McComb designed this house at 7 State Street, on whose balcony, looking out to Castle Garden, the Archbishop placed a Statue of the Virgin, so that every frightened girl could know that where the Holy Mother was, there were friends to help her.[82]

The drive of several States to attract immigrants reached such a level that they appointed agents to the Paris Universal Exposition for the purpose of promoting an increased emigration to this country. The French Government on many occasions strongly objected to this practice and particularly to the circulation of printed material in France.[83]

With the steady increase of immigration, it became necessary to improve and expand the facilities at Castle Garden. During 1866 a building was erected in connection with the Depot for a Labor Exchange together with an information office and waiting-room

---

82. Eleanor Early, *New York Holiday*. (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1950), p. 107.

83. H.S. Chilton, Commissioner, Bureau of Immigration, Department of State, to I.A. Witstach, Lafayette Indiana Commissioner of Immigration at Paris Universal Exposition, December 22, 1866. R.G. 59. General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1, pp. 277-278.

for the friends of arriving immigrants. At the same time the Castle Garden depot undertook complete repairs.[84]

By 1867 the operational procedures at Castle Garden were divided among the following twelve departments:

I. The Boarding Department: Whose duty was to send an officer aboard every vessel bringing immigrants upon the vessel's arrival at the Quarantine Station which was six miles below the City, to ascertain the number of passengers as well as deaths during the voyage and inspect the cleanliness of the vessel. He also takes any complaints and prepares a report to the General Agent and Superintendent at Castle Garden. The officer remains aboard the ship during her trip up the Bay to see that the law prohibiting any communication between ship and shore was not violated. Upon casting anchor in the stream convenient to the Landing Depot, this officer is then relieved by the New York City police officer attached to Castle Garden and the immigrants were then transferred to the care of the landing department.

II. The Landing Department: As the Landing Agent accompanied by a Customs Inspector, proceeds with tugs to the vessel, the luggage of the immigrants is checked, and the immigrants with

84. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year ending December 31, 1866.* (New York: Office of the Iron Age, 1867), p. 23.

their luggage are then taken by a Landing Agent from the vessel, in barges and tugs, to the Castle Garden pier. On landing, immigrants are examined by a Medical Officer to ascertain if any sick might have passed the health authorities at Quarantine, and if such sick immigrants are found they are transferred via steamer to the hospitals on Ward's or Blackwell's Island. In addition the immigrants were checked for liability to special bonds under the law, as e.g. in the case of cripples, lunatics, blind or any other persons who were likely to become a public charge. Following this examination the immigrants were taken into the Rotunda, a large roofed circular space situated in the center of the depot, which had separate compartments for the English-speaking immigrants and the immigrants of other nationalities, where they registered.

III. The Registering Department: The members of this department recorded all necessary information pertaining to each immigrant, such as name, nationality, former residence and intended destination.

IV. The Agents of the Railroad Companies: upon completing registration, the immigrants were directed to this agency, where they could procure from the agents tickets to their destinations without danger of being defrauded or subjected to extortion, as usually happened outside Castle Garden.

V. The City Baggage Delivery: Those immigrants who decided to remain in New York City or its vicinity were directed to this department, which noted the address to which they wished to have their belongings sent, and exchanged their brass baggage check received from the Landing Agent on shipboard for a printed paper one. The luggage was then speedily delivered, at a moderate charge, to the desired destination.

VI. Exchange Brokers: Immigrants possessing gold or silver could have it exchanged here for United States currency by any of the three exchange brokers admitted into Castle Garden, who operated under the close supervision of the Commission.

VII. The Information Department: Upon completion of the above operations the immigrants were assembled in the Rotunda, where an officer of the Commission called out the names of those immigrants who had friends expecting them at the waiting room located at the entrance of Castle Garden, and directed the immigrants there. In addition an officer called out the names of those immigrants for whom letters and funds were waiting, which were then delivered to them by the Forwarding Department.

VIII. The Letter Writing Department: Immigrants who wished to communicate with friends at a distance were referred to this department where clerks versed in foreign languages gave them assistance. While waiting for a reply, and if destitute, such immigrants could find a temporary home in the institutions at Ward's Island.

IX. Boarding House Keepers: As the immigrants completed the above business, boarding-house keepers, properly licensed by the Mayor and certified regarding their character by responsible people, were allowed to go to the Rotunda to solicit for their boarding-houses those immigrants who planned to stay in New York City for some length of time. These boarding-houses were subjected to certain regulations and closely supervised, so that the immigrants would be protected against any abuses.

X. The Forwarding Department: Received through the Treasurer all letters and remittances sent to the immigrants prior to their arrival at Castle Garden and also replied to the letters sent out by the Letter Department.

XI. The Ward's Island Department: The responsibility of this department was to handle applications for admission to

the institutions, to investigate the records and the eligibility of each applicant for admission, to keep the records of daily admissions to Ward's Island and discharges from it, and to examine the records related to claims chargeable to the Commission for indemnity from the several counties of the State of New York for immigrants who may have received some kind of help and assistance in those counties. There were two physicians attached to this department, whose duties were to examine sick and destitute immigrants applying for relief, as well as to visit all residences in New York City and then report to the General Agent.

XII. The Labor Exchange: Was established in 1867 and consisted of a spacious one-story building, 80 by 52 feet, erected in the latter part of 1867 on ground added to the premises by permission of the public authorities. This well-arranged building, which had a large ventilator in the roof, was easily accessible without violating the arrangements of the landing depot. This Labor Exchange was set up to secure, without charge, employment for the immigrants. It replaced the former Employment Office. Inside the building a sufficient space was provided for the use of officers and

prospective employers. In the main room the male immigrants were seated on one side and the female immigrants on the other. Both sexes were further subdivided according to occupation and length of stay at Castle Garden, and finally into groups of immigrants with and without references. Each immigrant, upon entering the labor exchange, was requested to enter his or her name, residence, references, recommendations, and the kind of labor desired.[85]

In addition to the above allocation of duties among the departments, Bernard Casserly, General Agent and Superintendent, Emigrant Landing Depot, Castle Garden, on May 18, 1867, issued the rules and regulations for the government of these several departments as they concerned the following matters:[86]

I. Emigrants.

II. Boarding-House Keepers

III. Missionaries

IV. General Rules for the Government of the Landing Depot.

V. Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Information Office, for friends of arriving emigrants.

VI. Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Labor Exchange and Intelligence Office.

---

85. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration, of the State of New York, for the Year ending December 31, 1867.* (New York: The Sun Steam Job Print, 1868), pp. 20-24.

86. Ibid., pp. 81-85.

VII. Railroad Department

VIII. Exchange Brokers

IX. Restaurant and Bread-Stands

X. Washrooms

XI. Hospitals

For the convenience of the immigrants the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1867 established a branch office in Castle Garden, so that relatives and friends throughout the country might be informed of their arrival and get in touch with them.[87]

On March 30, 1868, the Immigration Act of July 4, 1864, entitled "An act to encourage immigration," was repealed[88] and the Immigration Bureau of the State Department was discontinued. There is no doubt that, while the State Department Immigration Bureau was in existence, despite its limited function, it influenced the increase of immigration to this country. The immigrants who passed the doors of Castle Garden in 1864 numbered 180,296 while in 1867 the immigrants processed there reached a total of 242,731.[89]

By 1868 the Castle Garden complex consisted of the Rotunda, the Labor Exchange, the Baggage and Express offices, sheds and stables, and the Medical, Ward's Island, and Information and Forwarding

---

87. Ibid., p. 26.

88. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XV, 58.

89. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1889.* Transmitted to the Legislature March 12th, 1890. (New York: Manhattan Printing and Publishing Co., 1890), p. 6.

offices. It was essential that these buildings be maintained in good condition, and during 1868 a considerable number of repairs and improvements were made, especially to the Rotunda, which being an old structure was in a decrepit state.[90] An illustration from this time showing an exterior view of Castle Garden, also shows the gate opening on the landfill with the board fence. The Labor Exchange, which is on the left front, was erected in 1867 "on the additional ground granted to the Commission by the city authorities." Evidently land had been there before.[91] A strict surveillance was introduced at Castle Garden for the protection of the immigrants, and a squad of the Metropolitan Police was stationed at the various entrances by day and a force of hired watchmen employed by the Commissioners of Emigration during the night. In 1868 Castle Garden was administered by ten members of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration, of whom six were appointed by the Governor of the State of New York and the remaining four were ex officio members, including the Presidents of the German and Irish Emigrant Societies, together with the Mayors of New York and Brooklyn. In addition to the Board of Commissioners of Emigration the actual supervision of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot was entrusted

90. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1868.* (New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1869), p. 19.

91. For exterior view of Castle Garden see Appendix H.

to a General Agent and Superintendent, who was responsible for the operational procedures of the depot. In 1868 the General Agent and Superintendent of Castle Garden was Bernard Casserly, who indeed did excellent work, being familiar with the immigration problems and having been closely associated with the Board of Commissioners of Emigration since 1847.[92] Because of the enormous schedule of daily activities at Castle Garden constant improvements and additions to the depot were necessary. As noted before, most of the buildings at Castle Garden were wooden and consequently needed constant repair. During 1869 the Rotunda was put in complete order, being improved by an addition of a new outside balcony shut in by a high fence. This new addition gave the immigrants additional protection against unwelcome intruders and also served as a promenade for those immigrants who had to stay at Castle Garden for a longer time.[93]

As mentioned previously the immigrants, after being examined in the Landing Department, were taken to the Rotunda, a large-roofed circular space situated in the center of the depot, with separate compartments for the various nationalities. Here the immigrants registered and underwent other procedures relative to their

---

92. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1868.* New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1869), pp. 27-28 and 37.

93. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1869.* (New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1870), p. 20.

to a General Agent and Superintendent, who was responsible for the operational procedures of the depot. In 1868 the General Agent and Superintendent of Castle Garden was Bernard Casserly, who indeed did excellent work, being familiar with the immigration problems and having been closely associated with the Board of Commissioners of Emigration since 1847.[92] Because of the enormous schedule of daily activities at Castle Garden constant improvements and additions to the depot were necessary. As noted before, most of the buildings at Castle Garden were wooden and consequently needed constant repair. During 1869 the Rotunda was put in complete order, being improved by an addition of a new outside balcony shut in by a high fence. This new addition gave the immigrants additional protection against unwelcome intruders and also served as a promenade for those immigrants who had to stay at Castle Garden for a longer time.[93]

As mentioned previously the immigrants, after being examined in the Landing Department, were taken to the Rotunda, a large-roofed circular space situated in the center of the depot, with separate compartments for the various nationalities. Here the immigrants registered and underwent other procedures relative to their

---

92. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1868.* New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1869), pp. 27-28 and 37.

93. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1869.* (New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1870), p. 20.

immigration.[94] The Castle Garden area covered about 125,000 square feet. The main structure was built of brown-stone blocks, closely cemented and forming a wall six feet thick. The gun embrasures retained the original shape, and the old nail-studded gates which guarded its portals in olden times were at this time still well preserved. It was principally the interior of the Garden which was constrained to change its aspect in accordance with the necessities of its new functions.[95] The interior view of Castle Garden looked very impressive; the main room was large and was furnished with plain wooden benches for the reception of visitors.[96] There is no way to ascertain the correct number of immigrants who could be accommodated in the Rotunda of the Castle Garden area at one time. The only available sources, the annual reports of the Commissioners of Emigration, differ in their estimates from between 2,000 and 4,000 immigrants. According to the annual reports of the Commissioners for 1877, 1880, and 1881, the

---

94. See *Supra*, pp. 83-84.

95. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1873.* (New York: F.B. Fisher, 1874), p. 16.

96. For an interior view of Castle Garden see Appendix I.

rotunda could accommodate about 2,000 persons;[97] the reports for the years 1876, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1887, and 1888, give their number as 3,000,[98] and the reports for 1873 and 1875 go as high as 4,000.[99] From all available evidence it seems that an estimate of 3,000 would perhaps be most accurate.

---

97. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year Ending December 31st, 1877.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 31, 1878. (New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1878), p. 6; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1880.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 25, 1881. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers, 1881), p. 5; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1881.* Transmitted to the Legislature February 16, 1882. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers, 1882), p. 7.

98. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1876.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 18, 1877. (New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1877), p. 10; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1882.* Transmitted to the Legislature, February 5, 1883. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1883), p. 7; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1883.* Transmitted to the Legislature February 11th, 1884. (No place or publisher given), p. 9; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1884.* Transmitted for the Legislature February 10th, 1885. (New York: Douglas Taylor, 1885), p. 9; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1887.* Transmitted to the Legislature February 21st, 1888. (New York: Douglas Taylor, 1888), p. 12; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1888.* Transmitted to the Legislature February 28th, 1889. (New York: Douglas Taylor, 1889), p. 13.

99. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1873.* (New York: F.B. Fisher, 1874), p. 16; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1875.* (New York: Cherouny & Kienle, Printers 1876), p. 7.

In 1867 there were seventy-six emigrant boarding-house keepers admitted into Castle Garden, of whom thirty-five were German, twenty-six Irish, four Swiss, two English, two Welsh, two Italian, one Scottish, one Danish, one Swedish, one Norwegian and one "European."[100] Each licensed boarding-house keeper was obligated to post, at Castle Garden as well as in his house, a list of prices for board per meal as well as per day in the English, German, French, Italian, and Scandinavian languages, as well as to report daily to the Superintendent all the occupants who had been in his house during the preceding day.[101] From the daily reports submitted to the Superintendent at Castle Garden by the boarding-house keepers in 1873, it appears that during this year 55,547 immigrants lodged in these houses for periods varying from one day to several weeks. Of these 55,547 immigrants, who represented more than one-fifth of all immigrants who landed in New York, 20,881 used boarding-houses owned by Irish, English and Scottish proprietors, while 34,666 lodged in houses owned by Germans, Frenchmen, Italians and Scandinavians.[102] In the same year, 1873, the Information Bureau at Castle Garden had in their

---

100. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration, of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1867.* (New York: The Sun Steam Job Print, 1868), p. 67.

101. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1873.* (New York: F.B. Fisher, 1874), p. 7.

102. Ibid., p. 8.

employ persons who could speak, in addition to English, also German, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Czech, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Polish, Portuguese, Swiss, Russian and Latin, and thus assist the immigrants. Apparently at Castle Garden Swiss must have been considered for some strange reason a separate language.[103]

On May 31, 1870 "An Act to enforce the Right of Citizens of the United States of this Union, and for other Purposes," was passed by the Congress,[104] Section 16 of which attempted to avoid possible international complications, stating that "...No tax or charge shall be imposed or enforced by any State upon any person immigrating thereto from a foreign country which is not equally imposed and enforced upon every person immigrating to such State from any other foreign country; and any law of any State in conflict with this provision is hereby declared null and void."[105]

On June 22, 1871, Secretary of the Treasury George S. Boutwell instructed J. Fred Meyers, an official of the Treasury Department, to visit those European countries which provided the largest number of emigrants and to ascertain and report on the conditions and

---

103. Ibid., p. 11.
104. U.S. *Statutes at Large*, XVI, 140-146.
105. Ibid., p. 144.

character of immigrants, transportation and accommodations on emigrant ships, and treatment of emigrants during their voyage. In his report, submitted on November 1, 1871, Mr. Meyers specifically recommended the establishment in the United States of an immigrant bureau, as well as the creation of an emigrant police court. Mr. Meyers also reported that the railroad ticket agents were receiving a 15 per cent commission on tickets and 20 per cent on excess baggage charge, and that this brought about the temptation to cheat, so that in many cases the charges for freight and baggage far exceeded the price of the tickets. He therefore stated: "If Europe were to present us with 300,000 cattle per year, ample agencies would be employed to secure their proper protection and distribution, but thus far the General Government has done but little to diminish the numerous hardships of an emigrant's position....All legislation having for its purpose the good of the poor and lowly, will necessarily be opposed by those who make money off their ignorance and helplessness....Since Congress has assumed the power to protect the dumb cattle in transitu on railways, the power to protect passengers may be conceded. Yet all this extension of Federal administrative influence is regarded with jealousy, and characterized as centralization."[106]

---

106. J. Fred. Meyers, *Report on Immigration, and the Proper Transportation of Immigrants to and within the United States.* Made to the Secretary of Treasury. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 1-7.

Mr. Meyers' recommendations were followed by a message from President U.S. Grant on May 14, 1872, recommending legislation pertaining to the transportation of immigrants to and within the United States. "The immigrant is not a citizen of any State or Territory upon his arrival, but comes here to become a citizen of a great republic, free to change his residence at will, to enjoy the blessing of a protecting Government, where all are equal before the law, and to add to the national wealth by his industry," said the President.[107]

On March 3, 1875, "An act supplementary to the acts in relation to immigration" was passed by Congress. It dealt basically with the exclusion of involuntary Chinese and Japanese immigration; exclusion of all those aliens who had been convicted in their own country of felonious crimes; and exclusion of women "imported for the purposes of prostitution."[108] The main purpose of this Federal legislation was to protect the United States from undesirable immigrants, rather than to protect the immigrants themselves.

The State of New York had a system of head-money, or tax on immigrants. It was thought that such a tax would divert the flow of immigrants to other ports such as Baltimore, Philadelphia

---

107. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Message from the President of the United States, recommending Legislation in relation to the transportation of Immigrants to and within the United States*, Ex. Doc. No. 73, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., 1872, pp. 1-2.

108. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XVIII, 477-478.

or Boston; however, the measure failed in this purpose, for several reasons. According to the New York Times of February 28, 1874

> Castle Garden is so well known in Europe that few emigrants can be induced to sail for any other destination. Their friends in this country write to those who are intending to emigrate to come to Castle Garden where they will be safe, and, if out of money, they can remain until it is sent to them. Complaints are frequently received by the Commissioners from emigrants who have been landing at Halifax or Boston, though they were promised to be brought to New-York. Thus emigrant-runners abroad seek steerage passengers even by deception.[109]

A severe crisis for the Commissioners of Emigration came with the case of Henderson et al. v Mayor of New York et al., 92 U.S. 259 (1875), in which the U.S. Supreme Court proclaimed void and unconstitutional the New York State law requiring the steamship companies to post a bond in the amount of $300.00 or else pay a poll tax for each immigrant. In addition the Court recommended Federal control over immigration, stating:

> We are of the opinion that this whole subject has been confided to Congress by the Constitution; that Congress can more appropriately and with more acceptance exercise it than any other body known to our law, State or national; that by providing a system of laws in these matters applicable to all ports and to all vessels, a serious question which has long been a matter of contest and complaint, may be effectively and satisfactorily settled.[110]

Following the financial consequences of the above decision by the Supreme Court, the Commissioners of Emigration found themselves

---

109. *The New York Times*, February 28, 1874, p. 4.

110. *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1875.* Reported by William T. Otto. Vol. 11. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1876), pp. 259-275.

deeper in debt every day, and their only hope of relief was in the passage of a Bill to increase the commutation from $1.50 to $2.50 for each alien passenger arriving in New York. In 1871, at the request of the Emigration Commission and by Act of the Legislature, the sum of $2.50 was reduced to $1.50. There was now a danger that without some financial aid the Commissioners of Emigration would be forced to suspend their operations. The financial situation improved when the Commissioners succeeded in obtaining $200,000 from the Legislature authorized by Chapter 291, Laws of 1876.[111] But this temporary relief only delayed the solution of their basic financial difficulties.

The U.S. Supreme Court decisions left the States without any ability to inspect and care for destitute immigrants. Consequently on April 21, 1876, the New York State Legislature approached Congress with a request for Federal legislation which would protect the immigrants.[112]

To the financial difficulties of the Commissioners of Emigration was added another disaster, when during the fire at Castle Garden which broke out on Sunday afternoon, July 9, 1876, one of the oldest landmarks of New York was destroyed and only the old fort walls left standing. With the exception of the buildings on the

111. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year Ending December 31st, 1876.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 18, 1877. (New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1877), p. 6.

112. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Resolution of the Legislature of New York asking Legislation to protect emigrants, and to prevent their becoming a charge upon the cities, towns, and counties of that State, Misc. Doc. No. 96, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1876,* p. 1.

northern part of the grounds, between the old walls and the outer fence by which the grounds were enclosed, and comprising the hospital, Labor Bureau and intelligence offices, the destruction of the Emigration Bureau was complete. The damage to the buildings which were owned by the State of New York was estimated at around $40,000.[113] In the fire a large amount of baggage was destroyed; according to one estimate about one thousand pieces of baggage were burned up, some of them belonging to one hundred and twenty just-arrived immigrants, most of them Russian Mennonites. Even during this misfortune "Thieves were plentiful, and managed to creep through the lines in spite of the vigilance of the officers. Two of this class were arrested and removed to the station, one of them making such a strong resistance that it required the strength of two officers to remove him. Two gallant firemen were injured in the discharge of their duties."[114]

The Commissioners of Emigration received the sum of $12,038.30 from the underwriters for the insured property losses resulting from the fire, and the immigrants were awarded the amount of $9,000 for their lost baggage, which the Board of Emigration had insured for their benefit and protection.[115]

---

113. *The New York Herald*, July 10, 1876, p. 6.

114. *The New-York Times*, July 10, 1876, p. 1.

115. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1876.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 18, 1877. (New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1877), p. 10.

On July 20, 1876, Alderman John J. Morris introduced in the Board of Aldermen a Resolution contemplating the destruction of the building on the Battery owned by the City and leased to the Commissioners of Emigration, and known as Castle Garden. He pointed out that everybody was pronouncing opinions, but that "the opinions or wishes of the city, who owns the property, alone [are] being entirely ignored." He also stated that "it is both inexpedient and unwise to rebuild the old structure at the Battery, recently destroyed by fire, or to continue its further use, as a depot for the emigrants, in view of the danger to the health of the city, the known and reprehensible influence to which emigrants are subjected, the demoralizing effects upon the entire neighborhood, and by converting it into an immense lodging-house, entailing the disadvantages and annoyances above named and others, a portion of one of the most beautiful parks in our city, if not entirely preventing, at least seriously curtailing and interfering with the uses of the entire Battery Park for a promenade and pleasure ground by our citizens." He therefore recommended the use of the Ward's Island for facilities for the immigrants, where there were buildings then vacant and belonging to the State, more than sufficient to accommodate emigrants then arriving or likely to arrive at that port for many years to come, providing a measure of economy for the State and its Emigration Commissioners, "now pecuniarily embarrassed." It was therefore

resolved to instruct the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, "who are now empowered to lease and control city property," not to renew the lease of Castle Garden to the Commissioners of Emigration or to permit its rebuilding, and to instruct the Department of Public Parks to take possession of the Garden and improve or demolish the same. The Resolution was referred to the Committee on Lands, Places, and Park Department.[116]

On August 10, 1876, the Committee on Lands, Places, and Park Department reported that it had held two public sessions, both attended by the Commissioners of Emigration and other citizens, who had expressed themselves as strongly opposed to the proposed removal. On the other side of the question, no one had appeared. The Committee, carefully considering the opinions expressed, held that the Board of Aldermen had no jurisdiction over Castle Garden, which was held under a lease from the Sinking Fund Commissioners, who were the proper parties to determine whether or not the lease has been forfeited.[117]

On August 25, 1876, at a meeting of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund held at the Mayor's Office, Recorder John K. Hackett

---

116. *Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York from July 3d to September 28th, 1876.* Vol. CXLIII. (New York: Martin B. Brown, Printer and Stationer, 1876), pp. 105-108.

117. Ibid., pp. 264-265.

submitted the following preamble and Resolution: "Whereas, With the exception of a few interested emigrant boarding-house landlords in the First Ward, and other persons thereabouts who derive revenue from emigrants, the public have loudly demanded, by committees and through the press, that the said Battery Park should be completely restored to its aforesaid uses," that the Sinking Fund Commissioners should refuse further occupancy of Castle Garden by the Commissioners of Emigration, and should authorize and direct Comptroller And. H. Green to eject said Commission therefrom. The Resolution was laid over for consideration, with the recommendation that the Park Commissioners either beautify and adorn the area of Castle Garden or rent it to such parties as would keep and preserve it "for purposes of the public enjoyment."[118]

In spite of this controversy over the future of Castle Garden, which was actually a contest of wills between New York City and Albany - even now similar quarrels between these two forces exist - nothing happened. The reconstruction of Castle Garden began on Monday, September 11, 1876. All débris were cleared away and the repair work proceeded rapidly, in spite of unfavorable

118. *Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund of the City of New York, 1866-1877.* (New York: Martin B. Brown Co., Printers and Stationers, 1903), pp. 1335-1336.

weather. According to the Superintendent of the project it was estimated that roof would be completed in about a week's time.[119] The cost of the rebuilding and repair of Castle Garden after the fire amounted to $19,942.46;[120] however, on January 16, 1877, the Commissioners of Emigration could report: "As soon as possible the damage was repaired, and the premises, as they stand at present, are better adapted than ever before for the purposes of a landing place for immigrants."[121]

The first occupants of the rebuilt Garden were fifty immigrants from the steamship Italy, who arrived at this landing depot on Tuesday, November 27, 1876. Commenting on this event, the New York Daily Tribune had the following to say on the new prospect of Castle Garden:

> The interior presents almost the same appearance as previous to the fire, except that the gallery is no longer to be seen. The new dome affords much light, and the ventilation has been much improved. The telegraph and exchange offices occupy the same positions as heretofore, and the embrasures of the old fort are closed with glass windows instead of boards. Two doorways have been made, one on the east

---

119. *The New York Herald*, September 15, 1876, p. 8.

120. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1876.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 18, 1877. (New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1877), p. 24.

121. Ibid., p. 10. The reconstructed Castle Garden had a simple, barnlike interior, in place of the elaborate Moorish decoration of the former concert hall, which had been burned out in 1876. This is made clear in illustrations of the 1880s.

> and one on the West side. These are intended for use in case of accident, and also to enable the immigrants to reach the railroad ticket offices without passing beyond the precincts of the depot. The inside arrangements are not complete as yet, but the accommodations are adequate for the limited number of immigrants which arrive at this season of the year. The Commissioners will push forward the work remaining to be done without delay, in order to be prepared for an increase in the number of arrivals which they think would take place in case of a European war.[122]

The effects of the dearth of funds for the operation of Castle Garden were visible everywhere. The Labor Bureau closed in 1875 due to "lack of funds"; however, the German and Irish Emigrant Societies stepped in and assumed its maintenance.[123]

In 1879 the Barge Office was established at the Battery; its purpose was to inspect the baggage of cabin passengers who had previously been examined by the customs officers on the dock. However, after a short trial of a system by which all ships landed their passengers at the Barge Office, which system proved to be a failure, the examination of the baggage on the dock was again resumed. The Barge Office was then utilized as a storage place for seized baggage and other Customs purposes.[124]

The Commissioners of Emigration, deprived of their sources of funds as a result of the Supreme Court decision described above,

---

122. *New York Daily Tribune*, November 28, 1876, p. 2.

123. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1880.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 25, 1881. (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers, 1881), p. 7.

124. *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for the Year 1898.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 23, 1899. (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1899), p. 978.

had to depend for the money necessary for maintenance of Castle Garden upon the New York State Legislature, which unfortunately provided very insufficient appropriations for this purpose.

The actual amounts which the Legislature of the State of New York provided in May of 1877 for the support of Castle Garden were $200,000 for the year ending in May 1878; $150,000 for the year ending in May 1879; $150,000 for the year ending May 1880, and $170,000 for the year ending the following May, making a total of $670,000.[125]

In 1881 New York State made another attempt to find some constitutional method for collecting "head money," by passing a law providing for the collection of one dollar from each immigrant for inspection purposes. However this legislation was also declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in People v. Compagnie Générale Transatlantique in its October term, 1882.[126]

---

125. "Immigration. Its National Character, and Importance to the Industries and Prosperity of the Country." Speech of Hon. Levi P. Morton, of New York, Delivered in the House of Representatives, Thursday, April 22, 1880. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 15.

126. *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1882.* Reported by William T. Otto. Vol. XVII. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1883), pp. 59-63.

The real rescue of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot came with the passage by the Congress of "An Act to regulate Immigration," approved August 3, 1882. This act prohibited the landing in the United States of any alien passenger coming by vessel from a foreign port, if such passenger were found to be a "convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge." In addition the Act also empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into contract with such State Commission as may be designated by the Governor of any State to take charge of the local affairs of immigration in the ports within such States.[127]

On August 7, 1882, Chas. J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, issued a circular to Collectors of Customs, which set forth the provisions of the Act to regulate immigration, to serve for the information and guidance of officers of the Customs and others concerned.[128]

The purpose of this law was to provide for the temporary support and relief of immigrants who contemplated permanent settlement in this country.

---

127. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXII, 214-215. There was a considerable amount of lobbying done by the New York Commissioners of Emigration to bring about the passage of this immigration law of 1882.

128. Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office, E. No. 26, Records of Letters sent from August 7, 1882, to September 27, 1884, pp. 1-2. R.G. 85. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Under the Act of August 3, 1882, a capitation tax of fifty cents was chargeable on each passenger not a citizen of this country coming by steam or sail vessel from a foreign port to any port within this country.[129] The Masters of the vessels were required to produce correct passenger lists, as prescribed in Section 9 of the Passenger Act of August 2, 1882, entitled "An act to regulate the carriage of passengers by sea."[130] The tax was to be paid to the Collector of Customs at or nearest to the place where the immigrants arrived, and was to be collected only for aliens arriving and intending to remain permanently in this country. The money thus collected was to be known as the "Immigrant Fund" and was to be used under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury to defray the operating expenses of the immigrant receiving depots as well as to aid those immigrants who were in need of support as provided under the Act.[131]

According to a Treasury Department Circular of August 26, 1882, the Collectors of Customs were required to present to the Secretary of the Treasury monthly accounts current of the disposition of

---

129. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXII, 214.
130. Ibid., 189-190.
131. Ibid., 214.

the money received on account of the "Immigrant Fund," under the Act of August 3, 1882.[132]

However it was not clear whether the tax of fifty cents on passengers arriving as aliens was to be collected under the provisions of this Act. In the opinion of the Treasury Department this duty of fifty cents was to be levied only on those immigrants who contemplated a permanent stay in the United States. Consequently Acting Secretary of the Treasury H.F. French, on August 28, 1882, instructed the Collector of Customs in New York that he should ascertain from the lists of passengers presented to him under Section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1882 (to regulate the carriage of passengers by sea) who should be considered permanent immigrants, and collect the fifty cents' head money only for every passenger of this character. Thus the New York City Collector of Customs was to refrain from collecting the fifty cents from alien passengers who were transient visitors or tourists to the United States.[133]

On August 16, 1882, the Board of Commissioners of Emigration in New York sent to the Treasury Department a contract prepared in conformity with the provisions of Section 2 of the Act to regulate

---

132. See "Circular: Deposits on Account of Immigration Fund, Treasury Department, Washington, D.C., August 26, 1882, Charles J. Folger, Secretary." Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office, E. No. 26, Records of Letters sent from August 7, 1882, to September 27, 1884, pp. 10-11. R.G. 85. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

133. French to Collector of Customs, August 28, 1882, Ibid., p. 11.

immigration as approved on August 3, 1882, prescribing the respective duties and functions of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioners of Emigration in regard to the supervision of immigration in the New York Port. On September 2, 1882, the Treasury Department returned to Edmund Stephenson, President Pro tempore of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration the slightly modified contract, signed and sealed by the Secretary of the Treasury.[134] On September 5, 1882, the Board of Commissioners returned the signed contract to the Treasury Department.[135] The contract now bore the signatures and seals of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the President of the Commission. Upon its receipt in the Treasury Department, this Department communicated further with the Board of Commissioners in regard to the rules and regulations laid down by Section 2 of the Act, and also in regard to the manner in which the Board could avail itself of the immigrant funds in the hands of the Collector of Customs. On September 7, 1882, Acting Secretary of the Treasury H. F. French informed Mr. Henry A. Hurlbut, President of the Commission of Emigration in New York, that

> It is the wish of this Department to adopt for 'the rules and regulations to be prescribed by said Secretary' under the provisions of section 2 of the Act to regulate Immigration, approved August 3, 1882, the By Laws of the Commissioners of Immigration now in

---

134. H.F. French, Acting Secretary to Edmund Stephenson, September 2, 1882, Ibid., p. 16.

135. F.H. French, Acting Secretary to Henry A. Hurlbut, President, Commission of Emigration, New York, September 7, 1882, Ibid., p. 23.

> force, so far as they may be compatible with the general supervision over immigration vested in the Secretary by that Act. You are, therefore requested to submit to the Department a draft of said By Laws, with such modifications as your Commission may consider advisable in order to render effective the supervision of the Secretary and the harmonious cooperation of your Commission. The draft submitted will be considered by the Department and approved, or it will be returned for amendment and final approval after further examination by the Commission.
>
> The expenses incurred by your board relating to the regulation of immigration at the port of New York will be paid, so far as the money collected will allow, as stipulated in the contract, upon the rendition of monthly accounts with proper vouchers attached.[136]

The By-Laws of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York then already in force were sent by the Board of Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York to the Treasury Department with letter dated September 12, 1882. Acting Secretary of the Treasury French, in acknowledging this communication, informed Mr. Henry A. Hurlbut, President of Commissioners of Emigration on September 15, 1882, "that these By-Laws are provisionally accepted by the Department, without prejudice to the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to make such amendments or modifications thereof not inconsistent with law, as he may from time to time deem advisable and proper. You are also requested under the terms of the contract between your Board and the Secretary of the Treasury dated the second instant, to forward to this

136. French to Hurlbut, September 7, 1882, Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Department a sworn statement with vouchers for all items of necessary expenses incurred by your Board in executing said contract for the month of August just passed, your account being computed from the fourth day of that month, at which date the proceedings of your Board, under the Act of August 3, 1882, are understood to have commenced."[137]

The Immigration Act of August 3, 1882, while forbidding the landing of proscribed parties, neither provided any means to prevent their being landed, nor did it lay down any penalty for the violation of its provisions in this regard.[138] The Passenger Act of August 2, 1882, did however prescribe a penalty through Section 9, not exceeding one thousand dollars, for the landing of any person from a vessel just arrived from abroad without the consent of the boarding officer.[139] Because of this situation the Treasury Department issued the instructions concerning the port of New York and requiring that the law providing for passengers were to be examined before their being landed and prescribing penalties for their illegal landing, was to be

137. French to Hurlbut, September 15, 1882, Ibid., p. 30.
138. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXII, 214-215.
139. Ibid., 189-190.

strictly enforced, unless the steamship companies "should give bonds for the return of such aliens as, on examination on shore were found to be of the proscribed classes.[140]

The capitation tax of fifty cents under the Act of August 3, 1882, was protested by various individuals as well as shipping companies, who condemned it as unconstitutional. On the other side the New York State Legislature also protested the tax as the new arrangement still provided an insufficient amount of money for the operation of Castle Garden.

Because of the want of funds the Board of Emigration decided to dispose of the privileges at Castle Garden, and in its meeting held on Thursday, October 26, 1882, they decided that the three railroad companies operating at Castle Garden must pay a monthly rental of one hundred dollars each, and the Western Union Telegraph Company fifty dollars per month. In its meeting held on October 31, 1882, the Board extended the monthly rentals, requiring the proprietors of the bread stand to pay one hundred dollars and the two firms of money brokers to pay seventy-five dollars each. Furthermore, an annual tax in the amount of twenty-five

---

140. C.S. Fairchild, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. to Mr. Mahlon H. Dickinson, President, Department of Public Charities, Philadelphia, Pa., July 2, 1885. Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office. E. No. 41, Records of Letters sent, pp. 133-135. R.G. 85. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

dollars was levied on the boarding-house keepers for houses with ten to twenty-five beds, and fifty dollars for those with more than twenty-five beds. By this means additional funds were secured.[141]

On April 23, 1883, the New York Senate and Assembly passed "An Act to amend the laws relating to alien immigrants and to secure an improved administration of alien immigration." According to this law the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, was to appoint within ten days after the passage of this law a Commissioner of Immigration of the State of New York, who would hold office for a period of five years until his successor was appointed or unless sooner suspended or removed by the Governor. The Act further provided that the President of the German Society of the City of New York and the President of the Irish Emigrant Society would be made Commissioners of Emigration ex officio and together with the Commissioner of Immigration would constitute the Board of Immigration of the State of New York. While the Commissioner was to receive an annual salary of six thousand dollars, neither of the two Commissioners ex officio was to receive any compensation. The law further stipulated that at the end of five days after the Commissioner of Immigration was

141. *The New-York Times*, November 1, 1882, p. 3.

first appointed, the terms of office of every then existing Commissioner of Emigration, as well as all subordinates, employees and agents would be terminated, and their power, authority, rights of property, archives, records and possessions would be vested in the new Board of Immigration and its successors.[142] However, this law providing for a single Commissioner of Immigration was never carried out, presumably because of Republican opposition. The old Commissioners of Emigration were presumably Republicans, and although their position did not be bring them any salary, it brought them prestige and to a certain extent it involved patronage. This was a party matter, and as such the Act aroused so much opposition that it never was carried out.

In his special message to the New York State Senate dated May 4, 1883, Governor Grover Cleveland made charges against the management of the State immigration department based on a report of the Finance Committee of the Senate, which was investigating its affairs. Regarding the importance of giving effect to the law which had recently been passed to regulate immigration, he stated that "This statute was the result of investigation which demonstrated that the present management of this very important department is a scandal and reproach to civilization. The money of the State is apparently expended with no regard to economy, the most disgraceful dissentions

142. *Laws of the State of New York for 1883*, Chapter 286, pp. 336-339.

prevail among those having the matter in charge, barefaced jobbery had been permitted, and the poor emigrant who looks to the institution for protection, finds that his helplessness and forlorn condition afford the readily seized opportunity for imposition and swindling." He also stated that "The refusal to confirm the appointee is not based upon any allegation of unfitness, nor has such a thing been suggested. It concededly and openly, as I understand the situation, has its rise in an overweening greed for the patronage which may attack to the place." It was his firm belief that "a captious opposition to the execution of the best remedial law of the present session of the legislature perpetuates the oppression of the immigrant and the practice of unblushing peculation."[143]

The Commissioners of Emigration defended themselves in an open letter of May 19, 1883, sent to Governor Cleveland, which refuted the charges of a general nature made against them and stated the following:

> Your Excellency will fail to find in the report of the Finance Committee of the Senate any reflection upon the integrity of any one of the present Commissioners, and the only suggestion of change of policy contained in that report which it was in the power of the Commission to effect, was the sale at public auction of the so-called 'privileges' at Castle Garden. This recommendation the Commission immediately endeavored to carry out, and received bids

---

143. Grover Cleveland, "Special Message, Relating to the Office of Commissioner of Immigration, May 4, 1883." In *Public Papers of Grover Cleveland, Governor, 1883, State of New York.* (Albany: The Argus Company, Printers, 1883), pp. 88-90.

> to the extent of some $15,000 for the said 'privileges,' but when these bids were received, and before the sureties could be carefully examined, a bill was hastily pushed through the Senate and Assembly and became law by your approval, within 12 hours from its first introduction into the Senate, prohibiting the Commission from selling the said privileges or making any contract that did not terminate on or before July 1, 1883. Thus by your act the State is deprived of $15,000 bids for privileges at Castle Garden and the Commission is now embarrassed by this hasty and pernicious legislation which you approved. Contrast with the above the action of the present Board of Emigration Commissioners, by whose agency national legislation was secured, by which the State immigration depot is receiving from the national revenue $150,000 per annum, and is now maintained without appropriation from the State Treasury. The present Board of Commissioners of Emigration told the Senate that only $40,000 of the unexpended $110,000 State appropriation of 1882 would be required to meet the expenses of the Commission until the period of larger immigration should be reached, when the national revenue would sustain the Commission without further appropriation from the State Treasury, but the Legislature passed a bill appropriating $70,000 additional for the use of the 'new' Commission, which bill is now awaiting your approval.[144]

On the basis of the recommendations submitted by the Board to the Treasury Department on September 27, 1883, a contract was concluded between the two parties allowing the landing of immigrants at Castle Garden for the purpose of examination by the Commissioners from vessels whose Masters, or responsible agents, would give sufficient security to the Commissioners that the persons adjudged by them not to be entitled to land, according to the provisions

---

144. New York State Commissioners of Emigration, *Open Letter to His Excellency Grover Cleveland, Governor of the State of New York, May 19, 1883*. New York: No publisher or pagination given.

of Section 2 of the Act regulating immigration, would be returned at the expense of the owners of the vessels, or that they would not become public charges. However, it was left to the final decision of the Commissioners as to which persons would not be permitted to land.[145] By this action the quality of immigration was improved, because now only immigrants who met certain standards of suitability were admitted.[146]

On October 8, 1884, Secretary of the Treasury W. Q. Gresham authorized Mr. Lyman, Chief of the Mercantile Marine and Internal Revenue Division, Office of the Secretary, to begin at his earliest convenience an examination into the procedures of the respective Boards of Immigration at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore which were charged with supervision and care of immigrants according to the Act approved August 3, 1882.[147] Concerning New York, on February 12, 1885, Lyman reported:

---

145. Chas. J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, to Henry A. Hurlbut, President, Board of Commissioners of Emigration, Castle Garden, New York, September 27, 1883. Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office. E. No. 26, Records of Letters Sent from August 7, 1882, to September 27, 1884, p. 294. R.G. 85. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; H.F. French, Acting Secretary, to Collector of Customs, New York City, September 11, 1884. Ibid., pp. 473-474.

146. For an illustration showing immigrants leaving Castle Garden see Appendix J. Although the illustration seems to be a true depiction of Castle Garden in 1885, the artist has invented its foreground. For a picture showing an immigrant family eating on a park bench in Battery Park see Appendix K.

147. Gresham to Lyman, October 8, 1884. Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office. E. No. 41, Records of Letters Sent, pp. 1-2. R.G. 85, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

...At New York during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, there arrived 353,153 immigrants nearly 50,000 less than during the preceding fiscal year. The collections for the Immigrant fund for that year were $172,374.50; the expenditures were $184,188.77. During the same period there were returned to the countries whence they came 1442 immigrants as being persons forbidden by the Immigrant Act to land. Immigrants not actually paupers, but so destitute as to the need relief from temporary sickness or other cause, and yet likely to be self-supporting are received at institutions under the charge of the Commissioners, namely, Castle Garden and the hospitals and Refuge on Ward's Island. When the Immigrant Act went into operation, this Department found these institutions governed by regulations already in force under the supervision of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York. The Department adopted these regulations subject, however, to such amendment as might be subsequently recognized as necessary. To have done otherwise would have been to innovate upon a complicated system of management, where one false step might here entailed complete disarrangement in the care and working of those institutions. After careful examination into their present control, I see no reason to interfere by new regulations in their management....

At New York the immigrants are landed at Castle Garden, and the inspection is made after the landing. As the Immigrant Act simply prohibits the landing of such persons, without any penalty on the vessel if the landing be effected, it is legally impossible to compel the return of such persons, if they shall have been landed, by the vessels upon which they arrive or any others. As the steamships were subjected to great inconveniences by keeping the passengers on board until the inspection should be completed, the majority of the steamship companies have given bond to return to Europe all such persons as shall be declared by the Commissioners of Emigration forbidden to land; and on this condition the landing of Immigrants at Castle Garden has been allowed. The Department in granting this privilege was confronted by two difficulties, one, the lack of legal powers to compel all passengers to remain on board till the inspection of the immigrants should be completed, the other, the legal inability to compel the return of prohibited immigrants, if once landed. The bonding of the companies upon the concession of the privilege of landing seemed the most effective way to accomplish the object of the law, namely, a thorough inspection.[148]

---

148. Lyman to the Secretary of the Treasury, February 12, 1885, Ibid., pp. 62-67.

As numerous appeals from maritime companies and individuals continued to express opposition to the capitation tax of fifty cents under the Act of August 3, 1882, on June 26, 1884, the so-called "Shipping Act" was passed by Congress, Section 22 of which in effect prohibited the collection of such duty on account of aliens coming by vessel from adjacent foreign territory, namely Canada and Mexico.[149]

Another Federal legislative provision came on February 26, 1885, when the Congress passed "An act to prohibit the importation and migration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its Territories, and the District of Columbia,"[150] by which the importation of cheap foreign labor was prohibited. The Treasury Department, however, was not charged with the execution of this first contract-labor law.[151] It was only on February 23, 1887, that this Act was amended by Congress, and the Secretary of the Treasury was charged with executing contracts with State officers to take charge of immigration, examination of ships, etc.[152]

---

149. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXIII, 58.

150. Ibid., 332-333.

151. Daniel Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, to Horatio C. King, New York City, May 4, 1885. Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office. E. No. 41, Records of Letters sent, p. 94. R.G. 85, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

152. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXIV, 414-415.

From 1882 on the operation of Castle Garden was conducted under rather strange circumstances. Although the Act of 1882 authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to enter into contract with the Commissioners of Emigration managing Castle Garden, there was in fact a divided jurisdiction. The Commissioners or agents appointed by the Treasury Department had been given discretion under this law to decide who should be sent back in the case of violations of the contract-labor law. On the other side, the Commissioners at Castle Garden were executing the other laws excluding immigrants from coming here on grounds of immorality or pauperism. This divided jurisdiction produced conflict.

In his annual message to the Legislature of January 6, 1885, Governor David B. Hill declared that he had vetoed an appropriation of $10,000 to the Emigration Commissioners for the rebuilding of the landing wharf at Castle Garden. He stated that inasmuch as Castle Garden belonged to the City of New York, and the Commissioners were paying a rental of twelve thousand dollars per year, he thought that the city authorities should make the necessary repairs.[153]

153. *State of New York. Messages from the Governors Comprising Executive Communications to the Legislature and Other Papers Relating to Legislation from the Organization of the First Colonial Assembly in 1683 to and Including the Year 1906.* With Notes. Edited by Charles Z. Lincoln. Published by Authority of the State. Vol. VIII: 1855-1891. (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1909), p. 113; Cf. also *State of New York, Public Papers of David B. Hill, Governor, 1885.* (Albany: The Argus Company, Printers, 1885), p. 182.

One of the most needed repairs at Castle Garden in 1886 was this rebuilding of the landing wharf; however, the Commissioners lacked the necessary funds to carry it out.[154] It was only in 1887 that the much-needed wharf was rebuilt at a cost of $9,829.87, paid by the State Legislature.[155]

Auxiliary organizations had meanwhile established their offices in Castle Garden and its vicinity. These organizations, mostly religious and charitable, gave their services on behalf of the newly-arrived immigrants in their first moments on these shores. One of their officers was Father John Jos. Riordan, who took up his post at Castle Garden following his return from the West on January 1, 1884. The Commissioners of Emigration, who looked favorably on the work of these charitable organizations, gave Father Riordan a cordial welcome and allotted him a room at Castle Garden, which he had furnished as an office. He himself described the problems which confronted him as follows:

> I was not long at Castle Garden before it became apparent that there was a great work to be done. Every other day brought its shiploads of immigrants, who, after they passed through the hands of registration clerks, took their places in the

---

154. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1886.* Transmitted to the Legislature, February 9th, 1887. (New York: Douglas Taylor, 1887), p. 15.

155. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1887.* Transmitted to the Legislature February 21st, 1888. (New York: Douglas Taylor, 1888), p. 12.

> Labor Bureau to wait for employment. Where were they to go at night, if an employer did not turn up in the meanwhile? Their only alternative hitherto had been to go indiscriminately with the first lodge-house keeper who got possession of them. For any one acquainted with the life of a great city it is unnecessary to dwell on the dangers to which virtuous young girls and unsophisticated young men were thus exposed.[156]

Problems such as these resulted in the founding of the "Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, Castle Garden, New York," which offered spiritual aid to the immigrants and established a lodging-house for destitute immigrant girls, which opened on May 1, 1884. There these girls were sheltered and fed until they were met by their friends. Although most stayed only overnight, there were cases in which some stayed as long as three or four nights.[157]

When Father Riordan assumed his post at Castle Garden, the "state-assisted" immigration from Ireland was reaching its peak. The English Government, trying to solve the problem of over-crowded Irish poor-houses, very often took these Irish paupers from the various Poor Law Unions, dressed them nicely and paid their fare to New York, where "Helpless and destitute they were thrown on [American] hands." Father Riordan therefore made a three-month visit to Ireland, where with the help of the Irish hierarchy he visited churches, preached from their pulpits, wrote to various newspapers condemning the State-assisted emigration, and threw a damper on reckless emigration.[158]

---

156. John Jos. Riordan, "The Priest at Castle Garden." *The Catholic World*, Vol. XLII, No. 250 (January, 1886), p. 565.

157. Ibid., pp. 565-566.

158. Ibid., pp. 567-568.

Despite all precautions, public and private, the immigrants sometimes fell into the hands of irresponsible entrepreneurs who had been permitted to enter the gates of Castle Garden and build up businesses. It was only in 1887, through the efforts of Commissioners of Emigration Edmund Stephenson and George Starr, that it was found that newly-arrived immigrants who had deposited their money with the American Emigrant Company, the Swedish-American Company at 27 State Street and an Italian banking institution whose office was situated not too far from the City Hall, had nothing to show as authentic receipts except worthless certificates. It was for this reason that the Commissioners forbade the agents of these banking institutions to enter Castle Garden for the purpose of soliciting any business there. The situation was so bad that one of these dishonest banking companies, which operated under the name "Bo. Ch. Ross & Co., per N. Gottleib Neilson" vanished completely from sight after having bilked immigrants of thousands of dollars which they had put in trust with these institutions.[159]

Conditions had worsened at Castle Garden in 1887, when Joseph Pulitzer's New York newspaper The World took up affairs there as one of its crusading ventures. In a story entitled "Castle

159. *The New-York Times*, July 13, 1887, p. 8.

Garden's Monopoly," the newspaper called for the wiping out of the Emigration Commission as at present constituted, because it was "a cumbrous and unwieldy institution" in which no responsibility could be fastened upon anyone; because it assumed to transact business in some instances under State law, in others under U.S. law, "shifting from one to the other so as to evade both whenever it pleases"; but most important of all because it "throws the immigrants into the hands of a heartless railroad pool, that treats them most shamefully and squeezes all it can get out of them." Under the recently passed Interstate Commerce Law the pool, as the Trunk Line Traffic Association was called, had presumably been abolished, but it continued to flourish at Castle Garden. The story also contained a full column describing the nefarious operations of the railroad pool in detail, such as overcharges, arbitrary routing, etc.[160] In an editorial "A Lawless Pooling Scheme" which appeared on August 4, 1887, The World said that "The railroad pool established at Castle Garden under the auspices of Commissioner Stephenson is in direct violation of the Interstate Commerce Law and the law and polity of the State of New York." The editorial then quoted Federal and State laws on the subject citing a State case involving canal

160. *The World* (New York, N.Y.), July 27, 1887, p. 5.

boat owners, and continued: "Thus the Castle Garden railroad pool not only defrauds immigrants by charging them more than legitimate rates of fare and excessive tools for extra freight, but violates the law of the State of New York and of the United States. The iniquity ought to be stopped at once by the intervention of the Interstate Commerce Commission."[161] In another editorial entitled "Purification Needed," which appeared on August 10, 1887, The World continued the attack on the Commissioners of Emigration at Castle Garden. It suggested that new personnel were needed at the Garden and recommended that the Secretary of the Treasury break the contract under which the Commissioners of Emigration operated Castle Garden in sixty days. The editorial stressed that this should be done without delay.[162]

On August 18, 1887, Secretary of the Treasury Chas. S. Fairchild instructed Mr. David Okey, who was in charge of the Mercantile Marine and Internal Revenue Division, to go to New York to investigate the situation pertaining to immigration. Specifically Mr. Okey was instructed to report whether the provisions of the Immigration Act were being properly enforced and whether the rules and regulations prescribed under the Act were being duly observed. Furthermore he was to check whether the contract entered into with the

161. Ibid., August 4, 1887, p. 4.
162. Ibid., August 10, 1887, p. 4.

Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York was being complied with. In addition Mr. Okey was to check on the treatment of immigrants as well as on the methods of conducting the business of immigration in New York City.[163]

Accompanied by Mr. Lemuel Towers Jr., of the Special Agent's Division, Mr. Okey went to New York and began hearings at the Custom House into the Castle Garden abuses. During his testimony Olof Bergstrom, special emigration agent of the Union Pacific Railroad, declared that he had crossed the ocean thirteen times and that he had never been able to get his baggage through without paying one or two dollars. It was his opinion that excessive baggage rates and other unpleasantnesses were discouraging many immigrants from coming to America through the port of New York. During a meeting of Scandinavian preachers held on Monday, August 22, 1887, in Worcester, Massachusetts, Mr. Bergstrom related that the possibility had been discussed that immigrants going West would leave from Boston instead of New York. Mr. Bergstrom then remarked: "I have seen cowboys arrive out West, but have never seen anything like the treatment of immigrants in Castle Garden." When Mr. Okey asked him whether he had ever submitted any complaints, "Never," replied Mr. Bergstrom, "We call Castle Garden

---

163. Fairchild to Okey, August 18, 1887. Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office, E. No. 41, Records of Letters sent, pp. 464-465. R.G. 85, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

hell, and don't expect to change hell."[164] In other testimony, an agent of the New-York Bible Society, Mr. Ernst Jackson, declared that immigrants who were detained overnight at Castle Garden were compelled to sleep either on benches or on the floor. A missionary, Mr. P. Peterson, emphasized that he had witnessed immigrants paying twice for the shipping of their baggage. Dr. Louis W. Schultz, Resident Physician at Castle Garden, stated that his annual salary was $1,500 for such duties as looking after the cripples, blind, lunatics, and idiots. Although he testified that the examinations were conducted privately and that the facilities at his disposal were good, he pointed out that the accommodations for people staying overnight at Castle Garden consisted of "The large rotunda and empty benches."[165]

Commenting on the Castle Garden investigation, the New York World stated: "So far, the evidence is all in strong support of the charges, and justifies the assertion made by The World that Castle Garden has reeked with outrages perpetrated upon the immigrants by the management, and that a system of wholesale robbery by the railroads, baggage handlers and attendants has been allowed to become a permanent fixture by the Commissioners in charge."[166]

---

164. *The New York Times*, August 25, 1887, p. 8.
165. Ibid., August 26, 1887, p. 8.
166. *The World*, August 25, 1887, p. 1.

On the following day The World in its editorial "A Plain Case," stated that the investigation of Castle Garden had already shown that the Commissioners had violated the law relating to the exclusion of immigrants "by seeking to drive away from our shores persons not designated by the law, and by themselves exercising, in an arbitrary and illegal manner, the power vested by the law in the Collector of the Port." The editorial also pointed out that the Commissioners had violated the law in relation to the care and relief of immigrants, who were subjected to shameful extortion, and recommended that the Secretary of the Treasury take prompt action against them and remove them.[167]

As the Castle Garden inquiry continued it was revealed that the railroads were making an enormous amount of money on the immigrants. The average fare paid by the immigrants was $13.00 and it was estimated that, during 1886 alone, out of the total number of immigrants passing through Castle Garden about 150,000 travelled by railroad. It was also estimated that the total amount of Castle Garden business was $2,680,000 per year, of which $50,000 was spent for expenses, leaving net yearly earnings of $2,630,000. According to a reporter named C. E. Hamilton there were, as of August 1, 1887, the following wide differences in the rates of exchange in effect between the money brokers at Castle Garden and Wall Street:

---

167. Ibid., August 26, 1887, p. 4.

Scully & Davitt (Brokers at Castle Garden):		Wall Street:
Sovereigns	$482.03	$486.07
French gold ...	383.00	388.00
Marks	23.60	23.75
French paper ..	18.75 (to the franc)	19.15
Silver francs .	18.00	18.80
Russian rubles.	41.00	43.50
Guilders	39.00	39.75
Austrian Guilders	38.00	38.75

[168]

When the investigation proceedings resumed on Saturday morning, August 27, 1887, Loue Meyer, agent of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company and the Hamburg-American Company in Lincoln, Nebraska, stated that he was constantly fighting the people at Castle Garden because the immigrant passengers were not being sent to their destination by the designated routes. "There was a time," he declared, "when they heeded our requests, but during the last 12 months they don't care a cent what we ask for." In the opinion of Commissioner of Emigration Charles N. Taintor, the charges on immigrants' baggage were not satisfactory to the Commissioners of Emigration; however, these latter could do nothing about the situation because they had no power to determine railroad fares of any kind. It was his belief that the Board of Commissioners of Emigration was unable to function properly

168. *The New York Times*, August 30, 1887, p. 8.

because of its double responsibility, to the New York State Legislature and to the Treasury Department. The Commissioners were "between two fires" and consequently Taintor thought that the whole business of immigration should be transferred to the Federal Government, which was better equipped to deal with it and "which had demonstrated its ability to regulate it."[169]

When a resolution was passed in February of 1888 by Emigration Commissioners Stephenson, Ulrich, Taintor and Starr, by which the Labor Bureau of Castle Garden was to be abolished after March 1, 1888, strong opposition to such an action arose among the members of the German and Irish Emigrant Societies as well as the employees of the Labor Bureau. Both of these Societies were managing the Labor Bureau under the supervision of the Commissioners. They paid for the clerical work, while the Commissioners provided room, gas, heating, and lighting. In the eyes of these societies the closure of the Bureau, which had been organized for the benefit of those immigrants who were willing and anxious to get work, would seriously damage their effectiveness and would throw the immigrants into the arms of the bogus agencies and unscrupulous operators trading outside Castle

---

169. Ibid., August 28, 1887, p. 9. Okey's report was never made public, according to *The World*. It was presumably critical of the Castle Garden management and probably influenced the Treasury Department toward a decision to take over the management of immigrant reception at New York.

Garden. The Labor Bureau was not a profit-making organization. It provided daily service to about two hundred immigrants seeking employment. However, it was financially impossible for the societies to operate such a bureau outside Castle Garden, not considering the fact that such an operation on their part would also expose the immigrants to runners and other unscrupulous operators. The movement to abolish the Labor Bureau was initiated by Commissioner Stephenson, who said that the Bureau was "a pest house" where loafers and tramps cluttered up the office and took advantage of their offered shelter and food at the expense of really needy immigrants. He expressed his belief that the Labor Bureau was "not of so much benefit as many had thought," and suggested that the German and Irish Emigrant Societies ought to do "as the Italian society is doing now, that is paying their own rent outside the garden for their labor bureaus. If each society would institute its own labor bureau, persons could go and get just whom they wanted without trouble. I think they would not have so many bummers and rounders hanging about from day to day."[170]

On Tuesday, February 21, 1888, a meeting was called at Castle Garden by the Commissioners of Emigration; present were Commissioners Starr, Stephenson, Ulrich, Hauselt, Hurlbut, Olwell, Forrest,

170. *The New York Times*, February 16, 1888, p. 8.

Taintor, and Mayor Hewitt. During the meeting Commissioner Stephenson charged that the records of the Labor Bureau were being "doctored," and declared that instead of finding jobs for 20,000 men, as claimed, it had found 20,000 men for about 8,000 jobs. In reply Commissioner Hauselt accused Stephenson of inconsistency and stressed that the Board already in 1875 had voted to transfer the Labor Bureau to the German and Irish Emigrant Societies. Regarding the alleged doctoring of the reports of the Labor Bureau, Mr. Hauselt stated that Stephenson, by signing the reports of the Board, had approved the "doctored" reports. Hauselt also emphasized that Stephenson's opposition to the German and Irish Emigrant Societies was well known. On motion of Mr. Taintor it was proposed that the action of the Board at its last meeting to abolish the Labor Bureau be reconsidered, pending the investigation of the Castle Garden Committee, which would investigate the Labor Bureau and report its findings on or before April 1, 1888, or as soon thereafter as possible. As Mr. Taintor's motion was adopted the Labor Bureau received one more chance for life.[171]

As time went on Castle Garden was found unsuitable for the reception of the ever-increasing number of immigrants. When it was

171. Ibid., February 22, 1888, p. 3.

converted for use as an immigrant depot it had embraced an area of about 2 1/2 or 3 acres; however, with the steadily increasing influx of immigrants this space became overcrowded, and this overcrowding had brought with it a problem of hygiene. In an article "Just from the Steerage" a writer in the New York Times stated that "Castle Garden may have become a chestnut, but it never can become less interesting on account of its age." The writer alleged that the conditions at the Garden were none too hygienic, and ironically warned visitors when they enter Castle Garden that

> The smells at first make more of an impression that the sights, because the visitor, before he has compassed the tall partitions which shut off his view on entering, gets such a whiff that he is almost inclined to turn back. Castle Garden's smells are peculiar to itself. Any one who had been in it once, were he taken about the city blindfolded and brought back would know where he was before the bandages could be removed from his eyes. Gentlemen who have been there always take the precaution of having a cigar to counteract the odors; and ladies, although on ordinary occasions they may object to their escorts smoking, are very glad while inside the walls of the old fort to have them violate the laws of politeness and puff away - the more vigorously the better.[172]

As the dispute went on between the Commissioners of Emigration and the Federal inspectors regarding the management of Castle Garden and the conditions there, a Select Committee of the House of Representatives, headed by Congressman Ford, came to New York in

172. Ibid., March 9, 1888, p. 10.

July of 1888 to evaluate the situation and adjudge the circumstances. In an article "The Rush of Immigrants" the New York World on July 26, 1888, informed its readers that the Congressional Committee on Immigration had begun its work the day before at the Westminster Hotel. The first group of witnesses were steamship agents, who all swore they knew nothing about contract labor, but freely criticized the railroad pool. They admitted a very large percentage of prepaid tickets but they knew nothing of paupers, however![173] On the following day, July 27, 1888, in another article "The Big Rush From Italy," the World continued the story of the Ford Committee's examination of ships' agents, followed by the Italian Vice-Consul, A. Monaco, and the President of the Italian Society of Immigration, Louis Contensiri, and by the founder of the Society, who was then its Superintendent, Mr. Robert Marzo. The latter gentlemen were somehow evasive: their society had been founded to protect the Italian immigrants, they said. They went into long dissertations about the attacks on Italians in some of the press.[174] On August 18, 1888, the World published an article "Perjury As His Business," which told of various testimonies before the Ford Committee. One witness admitted that he had sworn to false

173. *The World*, July 26, 1888, p. 1.
174. Ibid., July 27, 1888, pp. 1-2.

naturalization papers to permit foreign sea captains to command American vessels. The World received the thanks of Chairman Ford for working up and presenting a case of contract labor by the Waltham Watch Company. What reforms were needed at Castle Garden became evident from the testimony of Superintendent Jackson, which the World described on August 18, 1888, as follows:

> Supt. Jackson, of Castle Garden, was on the stand in the morning. His testimony was very important, for he went into detail and showed that since the exposures made by The World a year ago, nearly all the abuses at Castle Garden had been remedied. The excess baggage rates were lowered, baggage could be taken out without paying for it, the money-changers gave market rates, and 'drink money' was unknown. This was all due to the unceasing exposure of The World, and even Mr. Stephenson now, by his actions, admitted that The World was right. Mr. Jackson said that the system of examining immigrants should be extended further . . . There are not sufficient facilities in Castle Garden to properly handle the immigrants, and witness thought that Governor's Island would be a much better place for their reception. The Commissioners do not feel obliged to look out for and detect the importation of contract labor. They had been asked to co-operate with the other officials in putting a stop to it, but had no funds to do so.[175]

The results of the House Select Committee's investigation in New York in 1888 were published on January 19, 1889, and they only confirmed reports of the violation of existing laws. While the Committee highly praised the immigrant of the past, it did not praise the immigrant then coming. It specifically emphasized the idea of

175. Ibid., August 18, 1888, p. 1.

selection of immigrants, stating that "the time had come to draw the line and to select the good from the bad, because the country could not properly assimilate them." The conclusions reached by the Select Committee were definitely adverse to Castle Garden, pointing out the difficulties which resulted from the rapid processing of immigrants and the cases in which paupers and convicts sent here by the European governments in spite of American protests were slipping by, and causing New York State alone to spend twenty million dollars annually to take care of them.[176]

A Senate Committee headed by Senator Chandler, which was conducting a separate investigation at this time, found the same situation. Furthermore, evidence was collected whose main purport was to show the harmful impact of cheap immigrant labor on American workers and also that these new immigrants were not suited for American citizenship.[177]

By the Act of October 19, 1888, passed by the Congress, the Treasury Department was authorized to return immigrants illegally landed and to pay allowance to informers who furnished information concerning violation of immigration laws.[178]

---

176. U.S., Congress, House, The Select Committee on Investigation of Foreign Immigration, *To Regulate Immigration*, Report No. 3792, 50th Cong., 2d Sess., 1889, pp. 1-6.

177. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Immigration, *Report: Immigration Investigation*, Report No. 1095, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, pp. 1-9.

178. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, XXV, 566-567.

As the expenses of the Emigration Commission far exceeded their income, during the monthly meeting held on Thursday, September 19, 1889, the Commissioners decided to discharge many Castle Garden and Ward's Island employees and to reduce the salaries of others. According to Commissioner Stephenson the cost per capita for each immigrant for the year 1889 would be 67-1/2 cents, or 17-1/2 cents more than the head tax collected by the U.S. Treasury Department.[179]

The Federal and State system of cooperation in immigration, since its establishment in 1882, had never worked very smoothly, and by 1889 the Treasury Department reported "grave difficulties in the execution of the law through State agencies" because of "serious differences in the settlement of the accounts of certain State commissions."[180]

These difficulties resulted in Secretary of the Treasury Windom's sending a letter on December 6, 1889, instructing W. P. Hepburn, the Solicitor of the Treasury Department to go to New York to investigate the differences which were resulting from the administration of immigration matters based on the contract between the Secretary of the Treasury and the Board of Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, dated September 9, 1883.

---

179. *The New-York Times*, September 20, 1889, p. 8.

180. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1889, LXXVI.

Following his investigation in New York, Mr. Hepburn submitted a report which included a detailed description of the operation of Castle Garden and of the hospital on Ward's Island, the composition and activities of the State Commission, their alleged insufficiencies and differences with the Treasury Department over the expenditures of the immigrant fund, etc. His report stated that the status of the Emigration Commission was unsatisfactory and recommended that the Secretary should give the required sixty days' notice and the Department should receive immigrants thereafter, either at Castle Garden or at the Barge Office.[181] The Secretary of the Treasury wrote a letter to the Collector of Customs at New York enclosing a copy of Mr. Hepburn's report, and asked him for his views on the subject.

On Saturday afternoon, February 15, 1890, Secretary of the Treasury Windom sent a letter to the Commissioners of Emigration revoking the contract as of sixty days hence, on April 18, 1890.[182]

Secretary Windom's letter to the Commissioners was sent to Collector of Customs Erhardt, who received it on Monday, February 17, 1890, and called Deputy Collector Phelps, requesting him to serve this notice on the Commissioners. Accompanied by Special Inspector

---

181. Solicitor Hepburn's report is printed in full, running to over three columns, in the *New-York Tribune*, January 14, 1890, p. 1.

182. Ibid., February 16, 1890, p. 4.

James H. Prior, Mr. Phelps went to the private office of President Ridgway, at No. 18 Courtlandt Street, where he served the official notice on him.[183] This action of Secretary Windom was considered by Emigration Commissioner Ridgway as "unconstitutional." Referring to this matter the editorial in the New-York Tribune stated: "If the Democrats did not have the unconstitutional argument to fall back on, what a dreadful condition of mental squalor and poverty they would be in!"[184]

While this dispute was going on, an attempt was being made to find a suitable location for a new Federal immigration facility, and Governor's Island, Bedloe's Island and Ellis Island were being considered as possible successors to Castle Garden. Secretary of the Treasury Windom, after surveying the proposed locations in the New York area, announced on February 28, 1890, his selection of Bedloe's Island as the new site for the new immigration depot. The New York World immediately opposed this idea to make "Liberty Island" an immigrant depot, and calling it "An Order to Desecrate," and pointing out that "Liberty Island" now "is to be converted . . . into a Babel."[185] The other large New York newspapers did not support the World in this campaign and remained silent, while only one newspaper, the New-York Tribune, supported Secretary

183. *The World*, February 18, 1890, p. 5.
184. *New-York Tribune*, February 17, 1890, p. 6.
185. *The World*, March 1, 1890, pp. 4 and 12; March 7, 1890, p. 5.

Windom.[186] In a series of articles and editorials the World tried to arouse popular protest, pointing out that there were other suitable sites such as Governors Island or Ellis Island, owned by the Federal Government, which would be far more suitable for the new immigration depot.[187]

Within a week after the World's crusade started the Congress began to take action. Representative McAdoo of New Jersey declared that "'Miss Liberty' is a Jersey girl," and emphasized that the question of a new immigrant depot should be investigated by a Special Joint Committee.[188] In the Senate, Senator McPherson of New Jersey introduced a Joint Resolution, S.R. 46, asking for removal of the Naval Powder Plant from Ellis Island. A special clause was added to Section 2 of this Resolution stating:

> "And the further sum of $75,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to improve said Ellis Island for immigration purposes.[189]

After hearing testimony from Secretary Windom, a Joint Committee on Immigration on March 21, 1890, arrived in New York to see and study various sites for a new immigration depot.[190] The

---

186. *New-York Tribune*, March 17, 1890, p. 6.

187. *The World*, March 1, 1890, p. 4; March 2, 1890, p. 2; March 4, 1890, p. 1; March 5, 1890, p. 3.

188. Ibid., March 8, 1890, p. 1; March 11, 1890, p. 1; March 12, 1890, p. 1; March 13, 1890, p. 1.

189. U.S., *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, XXI, Part IV, 3085.

190. *The World*, March 14, 1890, p. 5; March 22, 1890, p. 1; March 25, 1890, p. 1, and March 27, 1890, p. 1.

only logical site for new immigration depot seemed to be Ellis Island, and this was the location which received the Joint Committee's approval upon its return to Washington.[191]

On April 5, 1890, Congressman James W. Covert of New York strongly opposed the proposed move of the immigration depot from Castle Garden to Ellis Island. He pointed out that there were relatively few abuses in connection with immigration at Castle Garden. He thought that Castle Garden should be continued as an immigrant depot and, if transfer was necessary, that the new immigration depot should be placed at "some spot where there is a civilized center," preferably in the mainland of the City of New York, Long Island, or Staten Island.[192] Congressman William C. Oates of Alabama fully supported Rep. Covert in advocating the retention of Castle Garden and the principle of a mainland immigrant landing depot.[193]

Meanwhile the merchants of the First District in Manhattan, who were profiting from the operation of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot, were angered by the proposed removal of the immigration station from the Garden to Ellis Island. A delegation headed by Alderman Cornelius Flynn submitted to the Mayor a petition asking that the rents be lowered, hoping in this way to encourage the Government to continue its immigration operation at Castle Garden.[194]

---

191. Ibid., April 1, 1890, p. 5.

192. U.S., *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, XXI, Part IV, 3086-3087.

193. Ibid., 3087.

194. *The New-York Times*, January 25, 1890, p. 8.

But it was too late, as after several amendments had been introduced, the Senate Joint Resolution, as introduced by Senator McPherson, was passed with amendments on March 26, 1890.[195] Soon afterward the Resolution was passed by the House, and on April 11, 1890, signed by President Benjamin Harrison.[196] With this Act the effort of the World's crusade to prevent the Treasury Department from using Bedloe's Island for the new Federal immigration station was brought to a successful conclusion.

On Friday, April 18, 1890, Castle Garden received immigrants for the last time, and two steamers, the Bohemia and the State of Indiana, bringing in 465 immigrants, were the last to land at the Castle Garden depot.[197]

Thus ended the life of two extremely important institutions in the immigration history of our Nation, the Board of Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York and the Castle Garden immigrant reception depot. Perhaps in order to realize their importance we should recount how many people received help and assistance through these two institutions. Between the time of the establishment of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration on May 5, 1847, and the

---

195. U.S., *Congressional Record*. 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, XXI, Part III, 2639.

196. Ibid., 3085-3089 and 3531.

197. *The New-York Times*, April 19, 1890, p. 5.

end of 1854, 2,676,026 immigrants arrived in the United States, of whom 1,946,398 passed through the port of New York.[198] Between the opening of Castle Garden as an immigrant depot in 1855 and the end of 1889, 8,280,917 immigrants passed through its doors. During the same period the total number of immigrants entering the United States was 10,956,910.[199] Statistics also reveal the ethnic background of the immigrants who landed on these shores. The 9,639,635 immigrants who arrived through the port of New York between May 5, 1847, and December 31, 1889, represented the following ethnic distribution:[200]

Germany	3,425,208
Ireland	2,541,148
England	1,178,157
Sweden	325,851
Italy	317,192
Scotland	277,766
Russia	224,559
Norway	173,041
Switzerland	172,780
France	170,320
Hungary	134,746
Denmark	123,933
Austria	109,632
Holland	89,381

198. This information is based on the figures of the *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for the Year 1898*. Transmitted to the Legislature January 23, 1899. (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1899), p. 1094; See also *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1889*. Transmitted to the Legislature March 12th, 1890. (New York: Manhattan Printing and Publishing Co., 1890), p. 6.

199. See Appendix L. There is a considerable discrepancy in immigration statistics for the Castle Garden period of immigration. It is possible to assume that the figure of 8,280,917 might include also cabin passengers which actually never had to land at Castle Garden. Solution of this problem would require a much more detailed study.

200. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1889*. Transmitted to the Legislature March 12th, 1890. (New York: Manhattan Printing and Publishing Co., 1890), p. 7.

Bohemia	76,457
Wales	60,033
Belgium	29,869
Spain	19,215
Poland	18,244
China	3,151
Portugal	2,295
Greece	2,044
Turkey	1,834
Australia	606
All other countries	162,173
Total	9,639,635

From the sociological, economic and political point of view the significance of these statistics should be considered seriously, in view of the fact that these people brought with them the cultural heritages of their homelands, and these "old country" patterns have gradually blended into the "American Mosaic."

With the end of Castle Garden as an immigrant reception depot the examination of immigrants was transferred temporarily to the Barge Office, and the annex thereto was converted into an immigration station, where the Federal control of immigration was inaugurated on April 19, 1890, with John B. Weber of Buffalo, N.Y., as first Superintendent.[201] However the Barge Office was meant to be only a temporary immigrant depot, pending construction of a permanent one on Ellis Island. Furthermore the Commissioners of Emigration had refused the use of Castle Garden for this purpose.

201. *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for the Year 1898.* Transmitted to the Legislature January 23, 1899. (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1899), p. 978; *The New-York Times*, April 19, 1890, p. 5.

When the Federal Government assumed the function of immigration control at the Battery on Saturday, April 19, 1890, "eighteen hundred immigrants assisted in christening the Barge Office as the gate of the United States of America." While the Barge Office "was a scene of activity," Castle Garden was "a place of gloom and desolation." The first man to land at the Barge Office was a thirty-six years-old German immigrant named Hermann Volke. This scene of activity was viewed from afar and within the Barge Office by State Commissioners Stephenson and Starr. On the same day the officials at Castle Garden received a letter from Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Tichenor, notifying them that the Secretary of the Treasury "would annul the contract applying to the Ward's Island business with five days' notice if he thought it necessary."[202]

The termination of the contract with the New York Commissioners of Emigration ended the era of State regulation of immigration at New York only. The Federal Government continued contracts with State authorities at all other ports than New York for about a year longer. It was the Immigration Act of 1891 which really ended State regulation of immigration throughout the land, and began the new period of Federal control of immigration, with the Federal Government assuming the responsibility for the reception and protection of immigrants on these shores.

202. *New-York Tribune*, April 20, 1890, p. 4.

APPENDIX A

AMÉNAGEMENT INTÉRIEUR D'UN BÂTIMENT AMERICAIN FRÊTÉ POUR LA CALIFORNIE[1]

Aménagement intérieur d'un bâtiment américain frêté pour la Californie.

1. *L'Illustration, Journal Universel,* 10 Février 1849, p. 369.

APPENDIX B

SCENE BETWEEN DECKS[1]

SCENE BETWEEN DECKS.

1. *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. XVII, No. 434 (July 6, 1850), p. 17.

APPENDIX C

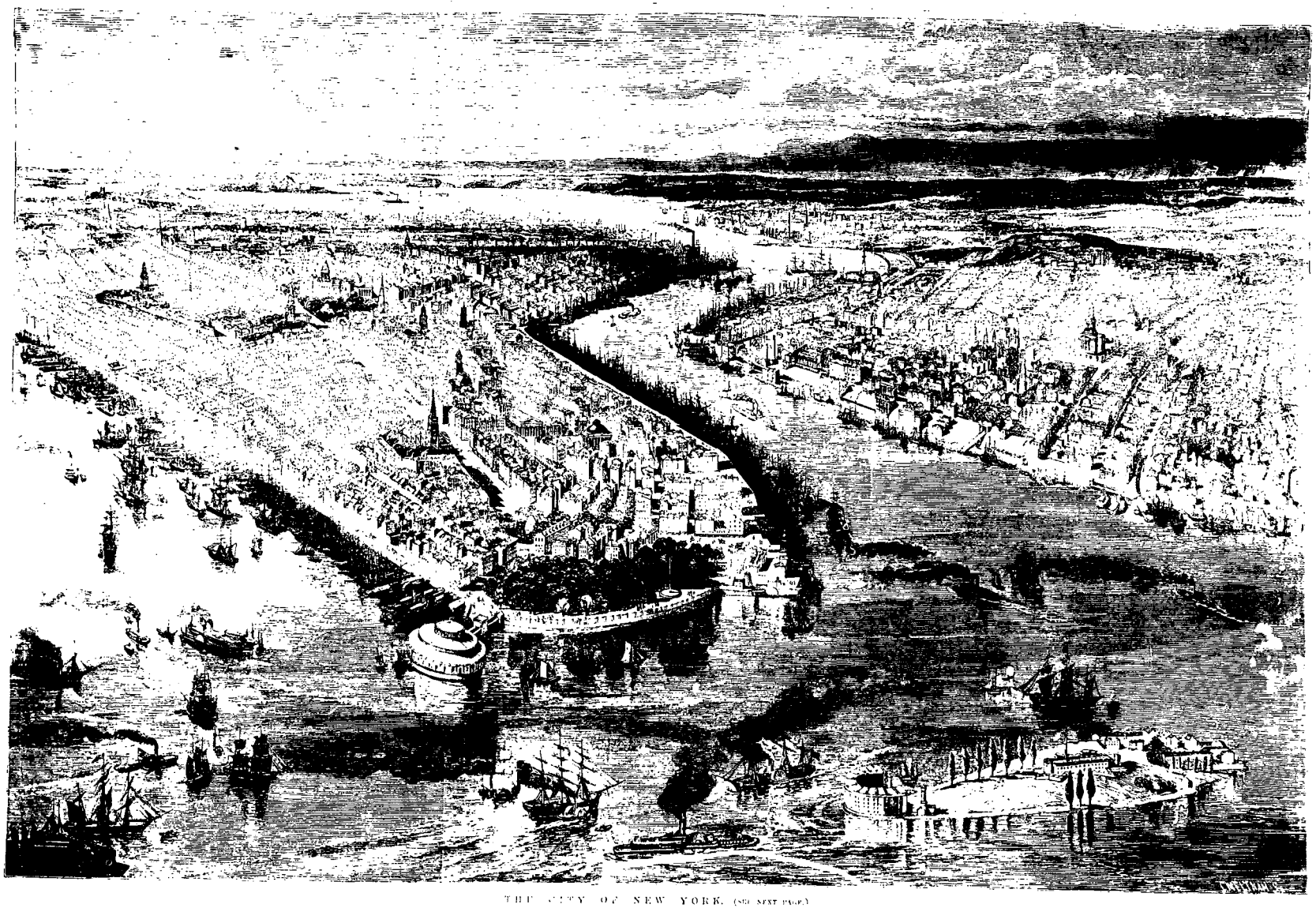
EMIGRATION VESSEL - BETWEEN DECKS[1]

EMIGRATION VESSEL.—BETWEEN DECKS.

1. *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. XVIII, No. 483 (May 10, 1851), p. 387.

APPENDIX D

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF NEW YORK[1]



THE CITY OF NEW YORK. (SEE NEXT PAGE.)

[1] *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. XXVII, No. 771 (November 24, 1855), p. 617.

APPENDIX E

EMIGRANT-LANDING IN NEW YORK[1]

EMIGRANT-LANDING IN NEW YORK.

1. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. II, No. 78 (June 26, 1858), p. 405.

APPENDIX F

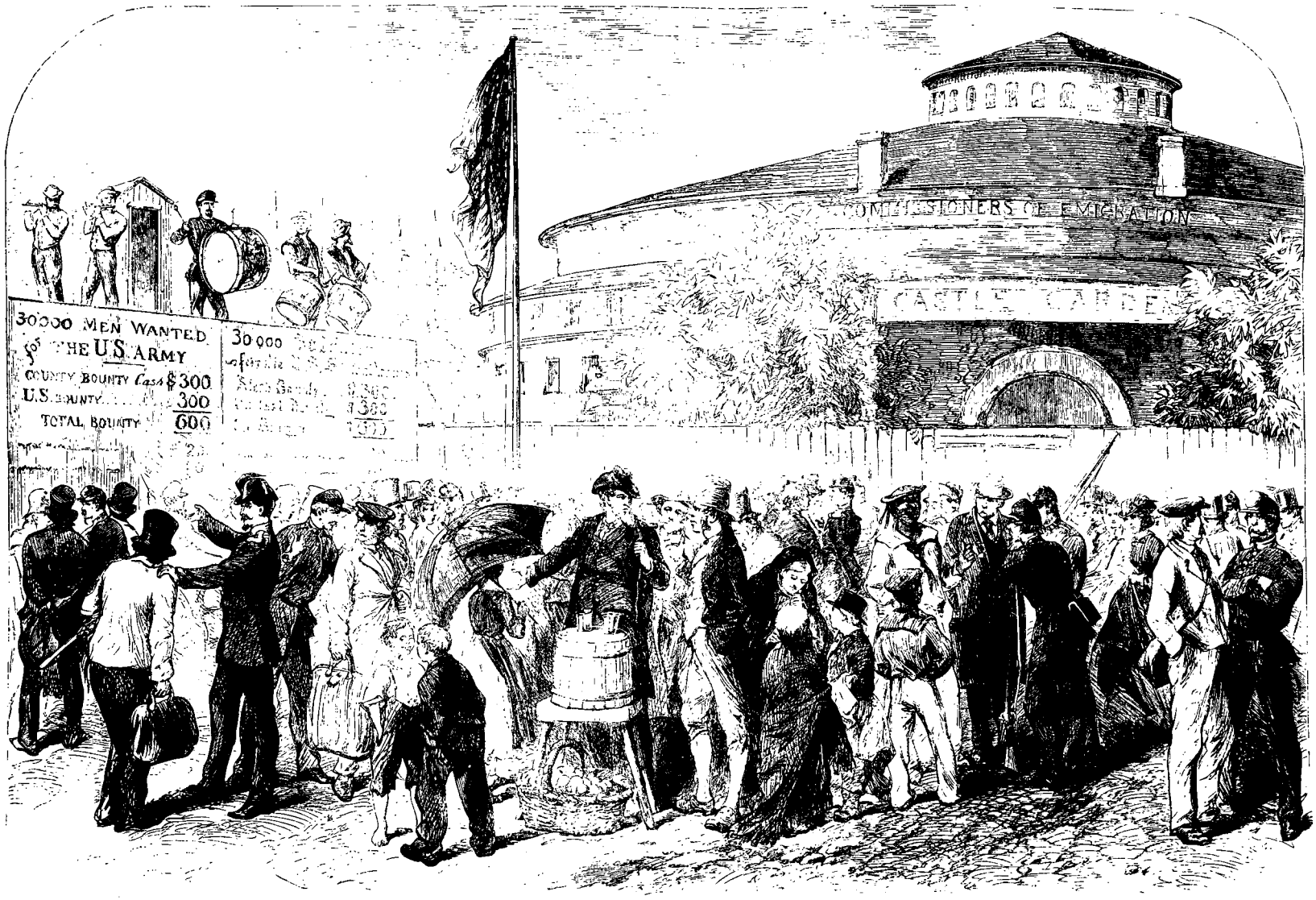
RUNNERS OF THE OLDEN TIME[1]

RUNNERS OF THE OLDEN TIME.

1. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. II, No. 78 (June 26, 1858), p. 405.

APPENDIX G

ENLISTING IRISH AND GERMAN EMIGRANTS ON THE BATTERY AT NEW YORK, 1864[1]

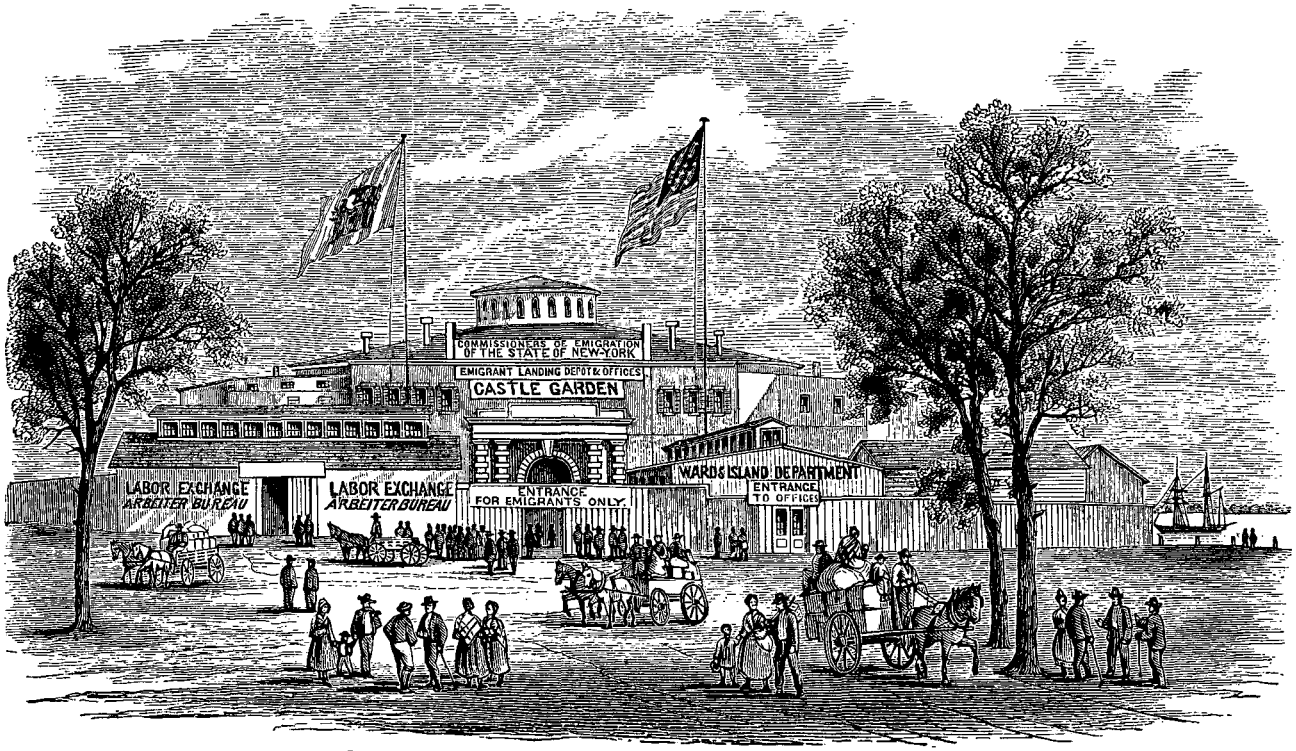


ENLISTING IRISH AND GERMAN EMIGRANTS ON THE BATTERY AT NEW YORK —SEE PAGE 288.

1. *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. XLV, No. 1278 (September 17, 1864), p. 288.

APPENDIX H

EXTERIOR VIEW OF CASTLE GARDEN[1]

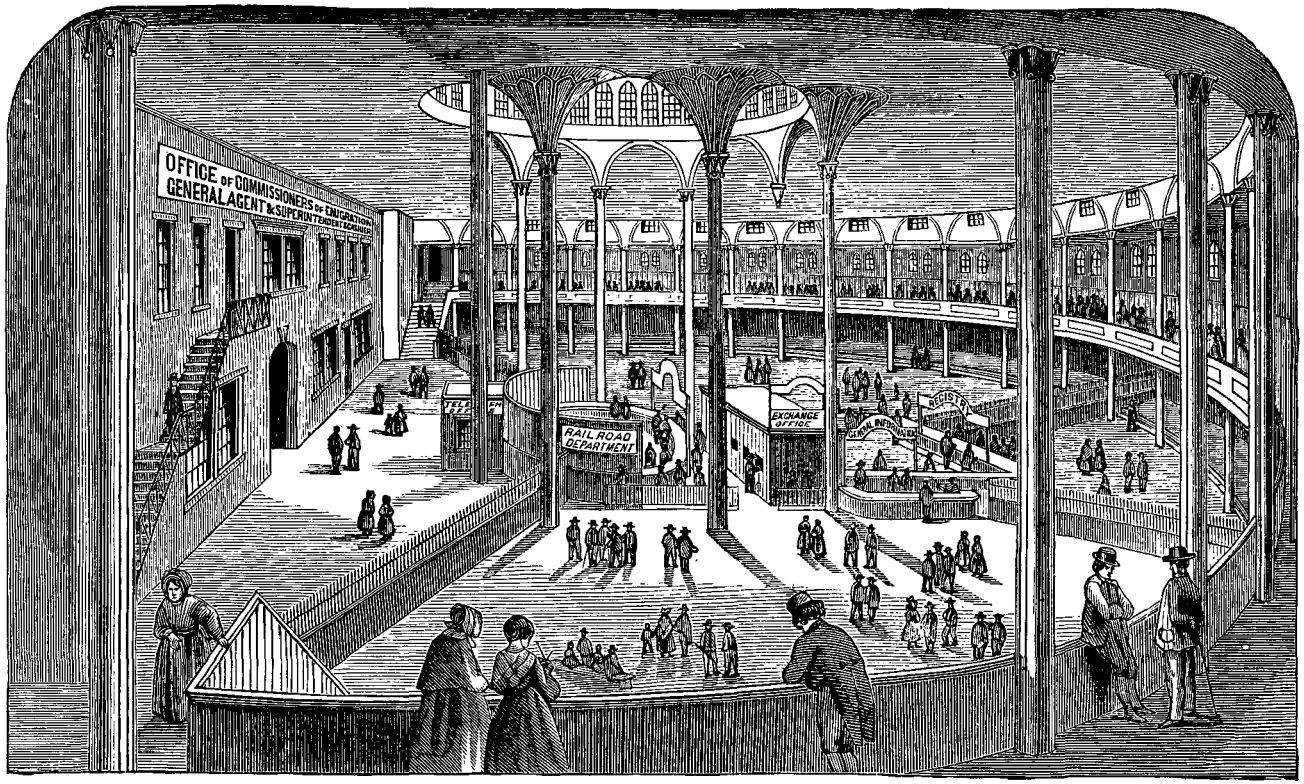


State Emigrant Landing Depot, Castle Garden, N. Y.

1. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1868.* (New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1869), opposite page 18.

APPENDIX I

INTERIOR VIEW OF CASTLE GARDEN[1]



Interior View of the State Emigrant Landing Depot, Castle Garden, N. Y.

1. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1868.* (New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1869), opposite page 20.

APPENDIX J

IMMIGRANTS LEAVING CASTLE GARDEN[1]

By Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

APPENDIX K

IMMIGRANT FAMILY EATING ON A PARK BENCH IN THE BATTERY PARK[1]

CASTLE GARDEN—THEIR FIRST THANKSGIVING DINNER.—DRAWN BY ST. JOHN HARPER.

1. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1458 (November 29, 1884), p. 783.

APPENDIX L

STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS OF IMMIGRATION BETWEEN 1855 and 1889

Year:	Total Number of Immigrants Arriving the United States[1]	The Number of Immigrants Arriving Annually Through Castle Garden[2]
1855	200,877	136,233
1856	200,436	142,352
1857	251,306	183,773
1858	123,126	78,589
1859	121,282	79,322
1860	153,640	105,162
1861	91,918	65,539
1862	91,985	76,603
1863	176,282	156,844
1864	193,418	180,296
1865	248,120	196,352
1866	318,568	233,418
1867	315,722	242,731
1868 *	138,840	213,695
1869	352,768	258,989
1870	387,203	212,170
1871	321,350	227,639
1872	404,806	294,581
1873	459,803	266,818
1874	313,339	140,041
1875	227,498	84,560
1876	169,986	68,264
1877	141,857	54,536
1878	138,469	75,347
1879	177,826	135,070
1880	457,257	327,371

1. *Reports of the Immigration Commission. Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910. Distribution of Immigrants 1850-1900.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 4.

* Six months ending June 30.

2. *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1889.* Transmitted to the Legislature March 12th, 1890. (New York: Manhattan Printing and Publishing Co., 1890), p. 6.

1881	669,431	455,681
1882	778,992	476,086
1883	603,322	405,909
1884	518,592	330,030
1885	395,346	291,066
1886	334,203	321,814
1887	490,109	405,405
1888	546,889	419,718
1889	444,427	349,223
Total:	10,956,910	8,280,917

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters sent: 1864-67, No. 1. Record Group 59, National Archives.

General Records of the Department of State, Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, Letters received: 1864-67. Vol. 1. Record Group 59, National Archives.

Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office.E. No. 26, Records of Letters sent from August 7, 1882, to September 27, 1884. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85, National Archives.

Secretary of the Treasury, Desk of Immigration Office. E. No. 41, Records of Letters sent. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85, National Archives.

Published Documents

a. City and State

Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, from the Organization of the Commission, May 5, 1847, to 1860, Inclusive: Together with Tables and Reports, and Other Official Documents. Compiled and Prepared under Resolution Adopted by the Board, August 29, 1860. New York: John F. Trow, Printer, 1861.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year ending December 31, 1866. New York: Office of the Iron Age, 1867.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration, of the State of New York, for the Year ending December 31, 1867. New York: The Sun Steam Job Print, 1868.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1868. New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1869.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1869. New York: Douglas Taylor's Commercial Printing House, 1870.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1873. New York: F.B. Fisher, 1874.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1875. New York: Cherouny & Kienle, Printers, 1876.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1876. Transmitted to the Legislature January 18, 1877. New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1877.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year Ending December 31st, 1877. Transmitted to the Legislature January 31, 1878. New York: Jerome B. Parmenter, State Printer, 1878.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1880. Transmitted to the Legislature January 25, 1881. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co., Printers, 1881.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31, 1881. Transmitted to the Legislature February 16, 1882. Albany: Weed, Parson & Co., Printers, 1882.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1882. Transmitted to the Legislature, February 5, 1883. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1883.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1883. Transmitted to the Legislature February 11th, 1884. No place or publisher given.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1884. Transmitted for the Legislature February 10th, 1885. New York: Douglas Taylor, 1885.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1887. Transmitted to the Legislature February 21st, 1888. New York: Douglas Taylor, 1888.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1888. Transmitted to the Legislature February 28th, 1889. New York: Douglas Taylor, 1889.

Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1889. Transmitted to the Legislature March 12th, 1890. New York: Manhattan Printing and Publishing Co., 1890.

Board of Councilmen of New York City, Report of the Special Committee on the Use of Castle Garden as an Emigrant Depot, March 17, 1856. Document No. 12. New York: McSpedon & Baker, 1856.

Documents of the Board of Aldermen, of the City of New York. From No. 1 to No. 90, inclusive - from May 1837, to May 1838. Vol. IV. New York: Printed by Order of the Common Council, 1838.

Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for 1837.

Laws of the State of New-York, 1824, 1842, 1847, 1855, 1857, 1883.

New York State Commissioners of Emigration, Open Letter to His Excellency Grover Cleveland, Governor of the State of New York, May 19, 1883. New York: No publisher or pagination given.

Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York from July 3d to September 28th, 1876. Vol. CXLIII. New York: Martin B. Brown, Printer and Stationer, 1876.

Proceedings of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund of the City of New York, 1866-1877. New York: Martin B. Brown Co., Printers and Stationers, 1903.

Public Papers of Grover Cleveland, Governor, 1883, State of New York. Albany: The Argus Company, Printers, 1883.

The Revised Statutes of the State of New York, adopted in 1830, Vol. I.

Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for the Year 1898. Transmitted to the Legislature January 23, 1899. New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1899.

State of New York. Messages from the Governors Comprising Communications to the Legislature and Other Papers Relating to Legislation from the Organization of the First Colonial Assembly to 1683 to and Including the Year 1906. With Notes. Edited by Charles Z. Lincoln. Published by Authority of the State. Vols. IV, V and VIII. Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, State Printers, 1909.

State of New York, Public Papers of David B. Hill, Governor, 1885. Albany: The Argus Company, Printers, 1885.

b. Federal

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1889.

Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1875. Reported by William T. Otto. Vol. II. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1876.

Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1882. Reported by William T. Otto. Vol. XVII. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1883.

Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term 1837. By Richard Peters. Vol. XI. Third Edition. Edited with notes and references to later decisions, by Frederick C. Brightly. New York: Bank & Brothers, Law Publishers, 1884.

Reports of the Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, January Term, 1849. By Benjamin C. Howard. Vol. VII. Second edition. Edited, with notes and references to later decisions, by Stewart Rapalje. New York: Banks & Brothers, Law Publishers, 1884.

U.S., Congress, House, The Select Committee on Investigation of Foreign Immigration, To Regulate Immigration, Report No. 3792, 50th Cong., 2d Sess., 1889.

U.S., Congress, Senate, Message from the President of the United States, recommending Legislation in relation to the transportation of immigrants to and within the United States, Ex. Doc. No. 73, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., 1872.

U.S., Congress, Senate, Report from the Select Committee on the Subject of Sickness and Mortality on Board of Emigrant Ships, (S. Bill 489), for the Protection of the Lives of Passengers on Board of Emigrant Ships Arriving in the United States, Report No. 386, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., 1854.

U.S., Congress, Senate, Reports of the Immigration Commission. Immigration Legislation. (Presented by Senator William P. Dillingham, Chairman of the Immigration Commission), 61st Cong., 3d Sess., 1910, Senate Doc. 758. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

U.S., Congress, Senate, Resolution of the Legislature of New York, asking Legislation to protect emigrants, and to prevent their becoming a charge upon the cities, towns, and counties of that State, Misc. Doc. No. 96, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1876.

U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Immigration, Report: Immigration Investigation, Report No. 1095, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890.

U.S. Congressional Record, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890.

U.S., Statutes at Large. Vols. I, II, III, IX, X, XII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV.

Books

Albion, Robert Greenhalgh, The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939.

Bennett, Marion T., American Immigration Policies. A History. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963

Channing, Edward, A History of the United States. Vol. 6. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936.

Desmond, Humphrey J., The Know-Nothing Party. Washington: The New Century Press, 1905.

Early, Eleanor, New York Holiday. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1950.

Flick, Alexander C., Ed., History of the State of New York. Vol. I. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.

Fürsterwärther, Moritz, Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika. Stuttgart und Tübingen: In der J. B. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1818.

Gilder, Rodman, The Battery. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936.

Guillet, Edwin C., The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-Ship Since 1770. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937.

Handlin, Oscar, The Uprooted. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953.

Hansen, Marcus Lee, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

Immigration. Its National Character, and Importance to the Industries and Prosperity of the Country. Speech of Hon. Levi P. Morton, of New York, Delivered in the House of Representatives, Thursday, April 22, 1880. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880.

The Irish Emigrant Society of New York. New York: No publisher given, 1869.

Johnson, Stanley C., A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1913.

Kapp, Friedrich, Immigration, and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York. New York: D. Taylor, Book and Job Printer, 1870.

Melville, Herman, Redburn: His First Voyage, Reprint. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957.

Meyers, J. Fred., Report on Immigration, and the Proper Transportation of Immigrants to and within the United States. Made to the Secretary of Treasury. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871.

Morse, Samuel F. B., Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States. New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1835.

Wittke, Carl, We Who Built America. The Saga of the Immigrant. Revised Edition. Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1964.

Articles and Periodicals

The Congressional Globe, July 12, 1854.

Harper's Weekly, Vol. II, No. 78, June 26, 1858; Vol. XXVIII, No. 1458, November 29, 1884.

The Illustrated London News, Vol. XVII, No. 434, July 6, 1850; Vol. XVIII, No. 483, May 10, 1851; Vol. XXVII, No. 771, November 24, 1855; Vol. XLV, No. 1278, September 17, 1864.

L'Illustration, Journal Universel, 10 Février 1849.

McMaster, John Bach. "The Riotous Career of the Know-Nothings," The Forum, XVII (July, 1894), 524-536.

Purcell, Richard J. "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York," Studies, Vol. XXVII, No. 108 (December, 1938), 583-599.

Riordan, John Jos. "The Priest at Castle Garden," The Catholic World, Vol. XLII, No. 250 (January, 1886), 563-570.

Newspapers

Katolík (Chicago, Ill.), October 12, 1962.

New-York Daily Times, May 8, 24, June 11, July 14, August 4, 6, 7, 1855.

New-York Daily Tribune, July 13, August 4, 1855, May 8, 1856, November 28, 1876, January 14, 16, February 17, March 17, April 20, 1890.

The New York Herald, March 24, 1854, May 15, 29, 1855, May 8, 10, 12, 15, 1856, March 22, 23, 26, 29, April 4, 19, 1858, July 23, 26, 28, 30, 1864, July 10, September 15, 1876.

The New-York Times, December 1, 1866, February 28, 1874, July 10, 1876, November 1, 1882, July 13, August 25, 26, 28, 30, 1887, February 16, 22, March 9, 1888, September 20, 1889, January 25, April 19, 1890.

New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, November 8, 1865.

The Sun (New York, N.Y.), April 12, 1834.

The World (New York, N.Y.), July 27, August 4, 10, 25, 26, 28, 1887, July 26, 27, August 18, 1888, February 18, March 1, a, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 22, 25, 27, April 1, 1890.

GPO 877-727