Pigs in New York City; a Study on 19th Century Urban "Sanitation"

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(Claudia Alonso Recarte contributed to the main part of this Case Study consisting on the review of, and research on, American and English 19th century literature on N.Y. City and its surroundings)
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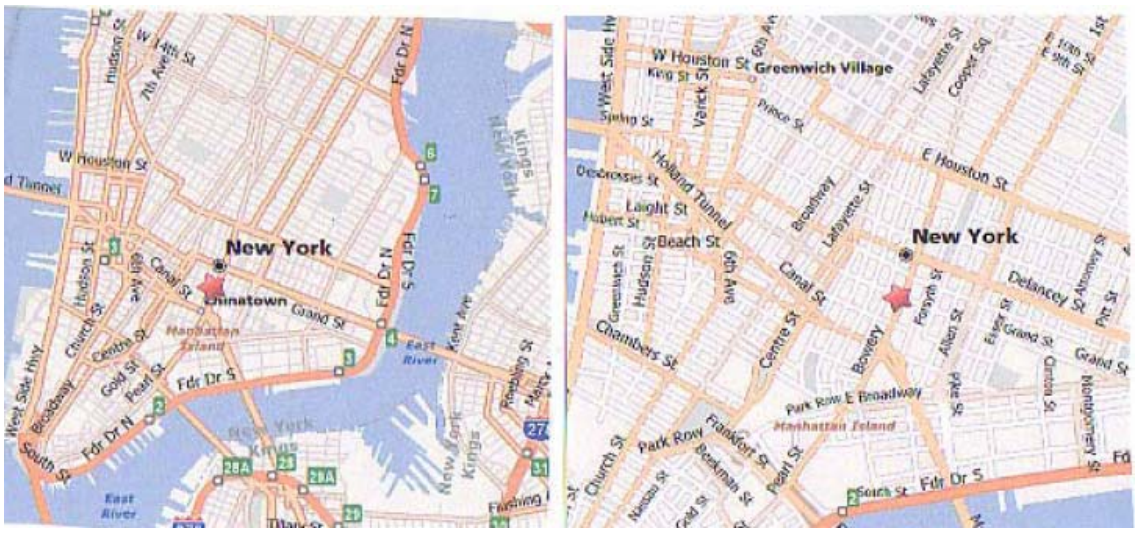
1.- Introduction

The Soaplocks, or Bowery Boys. Source: Nicolino Calyo, c. 1847, watercolor on paper. Collection of the New-York Historical Society

"*This 1847 watercolor depicted the young men who habituated New York's working-class entertainment area, the Bowery. They wore the fashionable long sideburns that gave them the nickname "soaplocks." Around them, posters advertised some of the Bowery attractions the "B'hoys" attended after their workday ended. For two decades in pre Civil War New York City, the Bowery b'hoy were icons of working-class high spirits and urban America's feisty democratic culture*" (The Bowery Culture Archive)

The watercolor is interesting not only because it introduces us to the B´hoys [about the B´hoys "urban tribe" subculture see the Section on Guiding Students´ Discussion] and to one of the typical areas of the first half on 19th Century Manhattan, the Bowery, which was both the name of a street and a small neighborhood in its southern portion (see map below), but also because it includes an additional detail (which is almost the centerstage of the picture): the ubiquitous New York City hog, pig, or swine, which show up in most pictures from those times.



Very possibly, whoever has been anytime interested in New York City (hereinafter NY) culture is very probably familiarized with the famous litograph of Five Points in 1827 as depicted in *Valentine's Manual of Old New York*, 1855 (see picture in next page), which summarizes in a single snapshot the "orderly chaos" that reigned in parts of the city during most of the 19th Century and showed the world the worst of all possible social, environmental, economic, or ethical, consequences of slum dwellings. Valentine's Manual, from where the picture originates, was a quasi governmental almanac or gazette that was published annually in New York from 1842 to1866. "Many antique prints from Valentine's Manual offer a rare glimpse into 19th Century New York City. The present example is an artist's rendition, prepared circa 1855, of the notorious Five Points neighborhood as it existed some 25 years earlier. The Five Points neighborhood was the most gang-ridden and violent section of New York City at the time. This fascinating print shows the ethos of the neighborhood: fighting, drinking, and other tawdry pastimes." (Vintage World Antique Maps and Prints.)

Very possibly the huge hogs that appear in the center and at the bottom left are directly linked to those poorer parts of the city, as if free-roaming pigs could be considered one logic image of the social environment of Five Points and other slums.

Litograph of Five Points in 1827 as depicted in *Valentine's Manual of Old New York,* 1855

Other prints about Five Points usually depict the free-roaming hogs (see picture below, from Gregory Christiano, Where"The Gangs" Lived. New York´s Desperate Five Points Neighborhood in the mid-19th Century).

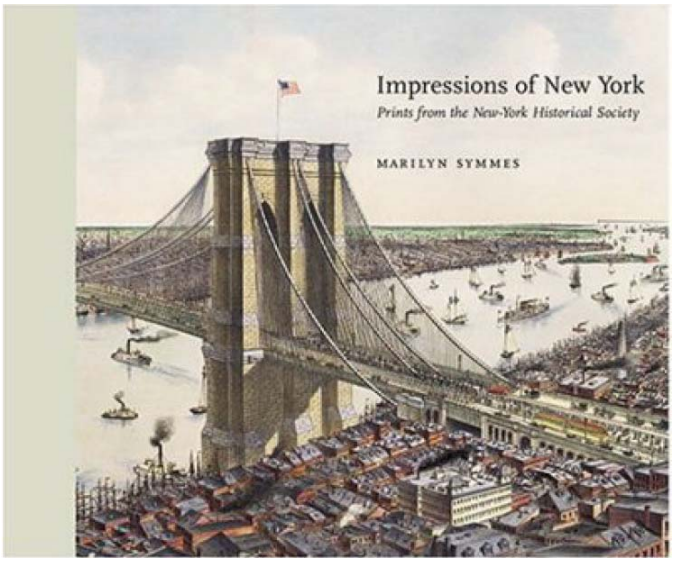
Much less known, though, is that the ubiquitouness of hogs was real. They were all over NY. The less known 1820 aquatint of the Swedish baron Axel Klinckowström (Swedish, 1775–1837) "Broadway-street and the City Hall in New York" [also painted afterwards by Carl Fredrik Akrell] shows the pigs running free in the elegant area too; close to Astor´s new house at Broadway (see the pictures in the next page).

Axel Klinköwstrom, who visited New York City in 1818 in a three-year official trip for his Government, found that some aspects of the city compared poorly with his native Stockholm - dirty streets and rough manners, for example – and, being an amateur watercolorist, he recorded views of the places he visited which he published in 1824. This view looks north along Broadway from St. Paul's Chapel, a narrow segment of which is visible on the extreme left. John Jacob Astor owned the third house from the corner. On the right, beyond the park named for it, rises City Hall, as completed in 1812. His admiration for the elegant street was obvious: *"Of all the streets, the one called Broadway is the finest and the widest. About one-third of the way up from the Battery is a large enclosed triangle planted with magnificent trees. Here is the City Hall, built in a cheerful, attractive style.You will see the current fashion in clothes and carriages from the useful buggy to the modest wheelbarrow which a licensed porter*

uses to carry a traveler's baggage to the harbor. Broadway is the most popular promenade where all the new styles are first seen and admired." (Franklin D. Scott).

The pigs shown in the picture are not there by serendipity. The Baron accompanied the drawings with learned comments (he became one of the most important introducers of the new Republic to his country fellowmen), some of them concerning public municipal policies and public health issues. "*This print also records pigs rooting along Broadway, a situation which Klinckowström had protested was a health hazard; he had even seen well-dressed ladies bowled over by free-running pigs"* (comments to the print by The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

This very same print is also included in the famous book "Impressions of New York: Prints from the New-York Historical Society" of Marilyn Symmes. The New York Times has summarize the content of Symme´s wonderful book in a funny way since, although out of the many prints of the New York Historical Society that the book includes only one shows a pig, the critic, probably well versed in the history of NY emphasizes this fact (which is also expressely referred to in Symmes´ comment of the 1824 print) giving for granted in a book with many prints from 19th Century NY, pigs wpuld shopw in many of them since free roaming hogs were a simple and ubiquitous reality: "*These images were prepared by master printmakers from 1672 to the present. This collection of more than 150 works, with historical commentary, preserves a record of the city's growth and power as well as smaller-scale portraits of everyday affairs. There are panoramas, grand churches, street sweepers, and elegant ladies crossing Broadway in the company of loose pigs and dogs. There are spectacular fires, military parades, horse carts, tugboats and bustling streets, and a narrative that tells the stories behind the scenes and the prints*." (The New York Times, Bookshelf, webpage visited 8/8/07).



There are also some accounts referring to the swine, but, on the other side, many books and documents on NY don´t make any reference to this fact. The silence about it cannot surprise: only authors interested on this fact have dedicated some time to trace the evidence. For the rest, both contemporary and more recent, it either was considered an annoying reality or it even was so common that it was not worth of any description.

How did the painters and writers about the city perceive this “anomaly”? Did they contribute to the creation of myths about the city itself or on the relationship between Americans and the pigs? Isn´t the American food culture more based on “beef” than on “pork”? Did pigs become a NY icon? What was the situation in other US cities? What about European cities?

Why were hogs roaming free in already densely habitated cities? Until when did it happen? Was it an economic necessity (protein for the poor)? Or simply a lack of modernization of municipal services? When they disappeared, was it due to “moral restoration” because of the images of natural and “savage” conduct, from sex to eating habits, that they offered? Had it more to do with interest groups´ infighting within the power structure of NY? Or were they removed for sanitary reasons as part of the US movement for a better urban environment (“hygenic cities”)? What can the process of removal show about urban environmental policies?

These and many other questions flow easily from the historical fact. The contradictory answers that writers, historians, scientists, environmentalists… offer around the simple fact of hogs free roaming in NY until quite well into the 19th Century is a perfect occasion to describe the situation of cities in America when they became metropolis; their switch from “organic cities” to “modern cities”; the reality of very different class groups living close to each other in larger communities; and, of course, the birth of the sanitation movement which can be considered an early precedent of the 20th Century environmental movement, as well as its impact on other social movements such as feminism.

2.- Origins of swine presence in America and in New Amsterdam.

It is an undisputed fact that there were no pigs in America before 1492. The animal described by some explorers and conquistadores as “a small hog with a navel at its back” was the peccari (see picture below), a member of the family Suidae –pigs- that existed (nine species) in the Old world, but of the family Tayassuidae -javelinas or peccaries-, which had three species in the New World; *Pecari tajacu* is the US wild pig-collared peccary (see its range on picture in next page.)

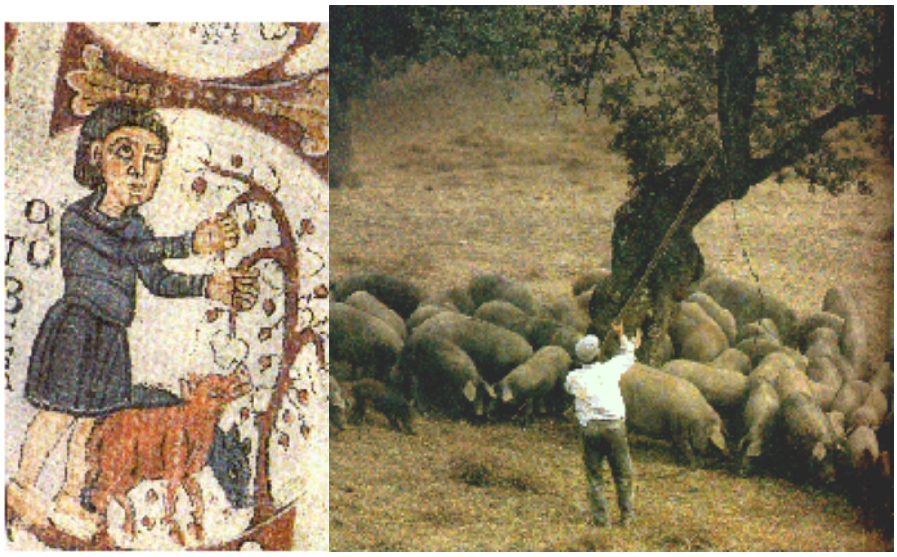
The original range of the javelinas

The hogs arrived with Columbus on his second trip (1493). As historian Alfred W. Crosby has put it, "*It is necessary to define this hog (…) The pig that followed the conquistadores [was not] the fat, slow footed creature we are familiar with today. Once ashore, he became the fast, tough, lean, self-sufficient greyhound of a hog much closer to appearance amd personality to a wild boar than to one of our twentieth-century hogs. This Spanish swine thrived in wet tropical lowlands and dry mountains alike, and reproduced with a rapidity that delighted the pork-hungry Iberians (…) Swine took up so little space on board of ship and were self-sufficient and prolific once ashore that many of the earlier explorers took them along as deck cargo and deposited them on islands to multiply and provide for food for future visitors (…).*"

It literally took over the North American continent. Hernando de Soto brought with him, on his exploration of Florida in 1539, thirteen pigs, which he used only in cases of food emergencies and three years later he had seven hundred. The wild European boar was introduced much later, in the early 1900's, for sport-hunting purposes.

The Iberian hog had probably its origins on the mix of the typical European hog, *Sus scrofa ferus,* and the *Sus scrofa mediterraneus,* of African origin and which established itself along the southern European region (some scientists consider the *mediterraneus* a subspecies of the *ferus*). It is unclear if the Spaniards brought *Sus scrofa ferus* or the *mediterraneus* or an initial mix of both.

See, in the next page, a Middle Ages picture of the process of domestication (feeding acorns), and the present day feeding, of Iberian pigs.



It is not so clear if the NY pigs were of the same origin (see below). Certainly, many of these Spanish hogs extended through the colonies (Benjamin Joseph Zadik), but the Swedes, English, French, and Dutch may also have brought their pigs along (the French explorer La Salle followed the steps of Cortez and De Soto in bringing *Sus scrofa* to the continent.)

American feral hogs

All early settlers ate pork: "*staple food was the hog. `....[hogs] were excellent foragers and able to live on what they found in the woods.....´ (citing Hawke, p38). These characteristics made them easy and "cheap" to take care of. Additionally, hogs provided a large amount of meat for the settlers. The meat from four fairly sized hogs could last a family through the winter. A hog killing was quite an orderly project considering the fact that settlers used every part of the hog. An old colonial saying used to say `All of the hog is used except the squeal.´(citing Breen p47). The blood was caught and used in blood pudding, the intestines for sausage skins and chitterlings, and the fat portions for lard. The shoulders, hams, and bacon flanks were salted and cured to eat in the future.*" (Settler in Colonial America.)

Hawke´s wonderful description of the early settlers describes the adaptation capabilities of the hogs in very similar ways to Crosby: "*The hog quickly became the staple meat in everyone´s diet [of the early settlers]. Hogs were excellent foragers, able to live on what they found in the woods (the saying "root hog or die" came to be favorite among the settlers seeking to survive in the wilderness)*". Referring to the coastal towns (versus the more rural settlements): "*The hogs that ran wild in the streets evoked no comment, nor did the stench from accumulated garbage*" (David Freeman Hawke, Everyday Life in Early America, pgs 38 and 155 of the 1989 paperback edition). "*Colonial Virginians lived in an agricultural society, and pork constituted a central element of their diet. The harsh penalties for hog stealing reflect this reality*." (Eighteenth-Century Penalties for Hog Theft)

What has been certainly documented are the many instances in which the settlers´ free roaming pigs provoked conflict among the settlers, with Native tribes all along the East Coast, and later on in the West:

William Cronon described in 1983 (Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England, pgs 135 ff) some of the ways rural pigs became nuisances in colonial New England, and Virginia De John Anderson, more recently, in 2004, the social impact and cultural clashes, or rather, as she makes crystal clear, intercultural encounters, caused by the introduction of domestic animals in general as well as pigs in particular (See Virginia De John Anderson, Creatures of Empire. How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America.)

Conflicts with Natives happened everywhere (or rather, interaction, since in many cases Natives and colonists attempted all sorts of negotiated solutions; see Virginia De John, Anderson, Creatures of Empire.) Negotiations about livestock became important because they went far beyond the immediarte problems that colonists and Natives were trying to address into the fate of the property rights to the land, and even into a more grey area: the competing visions that both groups had of what a mixed colonial society should look like: "the fates of animals may have been the ostensible reason for negotiation, but the fates of people hung in the balance" (Id., at 9.)

That was the case, for example, of the Piscataway tribe, which was occupying the peninsula of lower Maryland between the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay and northward to the Patapsco, including the present District of Columbia, at least after the new government instituted under Cronwell orders (who ended its previous status as mission), when the Piscataway "rapidly declined driven from their best lands by legal and illegal means, demoralized by liquor dealers, hunted by slave-catchers, wasted by smallpox, constantly raided by the powerful Susquehanna while forbidded the possession of guns for their own defence, their plantations destroyed by the cattle and hogs of the settlers and their pride broken by oppressive restrictions. In 1666 they addressed a pathetic petition to the assembly: `We can flee no further. Let us know where to live, and how to be secured for the future from the hogs and cattle´. As a result reservations were soon afterward established for each of twelve villages then occupied by them. Encroachments still continued, however, and the conquest of the Susquehanna by the Iroquois in 1675 only brought down upon the Piscataway a more cruel and persistent enemy. In 1680 nearly all the people of one town were massacred by the Iroquois." (James Mooney, Piscataway Indians).

“Conflicts over the killing of hogs by Indians and the restitution given to colonists suggests the process of subsuming Native subsistence and hunting practices under a colonial system founded upon private property.” (A Study of Virginia Indians and Jamestown: Chapter 10, The Seventeenth Century).

“It would seem that the marshy bend that dominates the James River directly across from Jamestown Island's easternmost shore, Hog Island, would have played an important part in the founding of the first English colony, if for no other reason than its proximity to the settlers. Surprisingly, however, the role of the peninsula was minor in the early years, with one near-fatal exception—the placing there of the livestock from which it draws its name. The colonists decided that raising hogs near or within the confines of the fort was unacceptable by 1609, when `the hogges were transported to Hog Ile, where also we built a blocke house, with a garrison, to give us notice of any shipping; and for their exercise, they [the company within the garrison] made clapbord, waisncot, and cut downe trees against the ships comming.´ Considering the effect that hogs have on both the land they inhabit and the air surrounding, it appeared to be a good idea to move them at the time, especially because `of 3 sowes, in one yeare increased 60 and od[d] pigges.´ It soon proved to be an unwise decision—at least to the handful of colonists who lived long enough to regret its making— for the nearly three-mile distance between Hog Island and Jamestown meant that there was little the settlers could do to protect the livestock from the depredations of Indians.

Thus, with so much of what the colonists depended upon for survival running wild and unprotected across the river, Hog Island became an easy target when relations between the settlers and Indians began to sour. During the winter of 1609–1610, known as the Starving Time, when the colonists desperately needed every scrap of food they could find, the Indians took advantage of Hog Island's isolation and slaughtered all the hogs, exacerbating the famine that nearly wiped out the whole settlement.” (Hog Island, Jamestown colony reference)

“Due to the increase in number of colonists, the Narragansett hunting and farming grounds were greatly depleted. Colonists also introduced the common hog to the area. These domesticated hogs would roar along the coast and dig up the clam beds, a traditional food source for the Indians” (Historical Perspective of the Narragansett Indian Tribe [Rhode Island])

In the West it was the same, although the direct cause, due to its ecology, was different: “The hungry newcomers hunted the game, decimating the deer and elk populations. The Territorial Legislature in 1854 prohibited sale of ammunition or guns to Indians, deepening their disadvantage. The miners and residents of Jacksonville, Canyonville, Kerbyville, and Gold Beach liked bacon and ham. They let hogs run wild, catching them in baited traps. The hogs ate the acorns, a primary subsistence food for the Indians.” (Oregon History: Indian Wars, 1854)

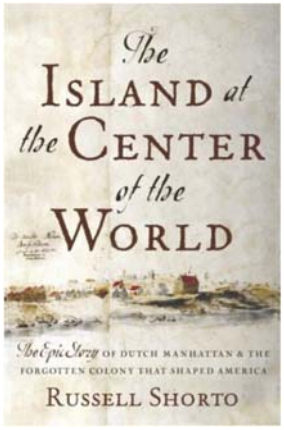
Native Americans got used to raise and feed on hogs very quickly. The penalties of Williamsburg were stiffer for Indian thefts (Eighteenth-Century Penalties for Hog Theft). Boston bylaws forsaw the reverse situation in which the free roaming pigs of the Natives caused damage to the crops of the settlers: “Whereas great Damage to arises to the inhabitant of the town of Boston by negro’s and Indians keeping Hogs, not only be Occasioning very great Wast in the several Familys they respectively belong to, but as it

Exposes them to great Temptations to Steal and purloin from their several Masters, provisions and other of their Substance and especially as it Occasions great Loss of time, and gives them an opportunity of Meeting and conferring together, whereby great Injuries have been done to the Inhabitants of said town. For the prevention of so great an Evil: Ordered that no Indian negro or molatto shall be permitted to Keep any Hog or Swine whatever within the Town of Boston … under Penalty of Twenty Shillings…" (Boston bylaw, 1746) [Of course, white people were exempt from this bylaw]. Actually, the evidence reaches even historical anecdotal value when we see Metacom, the sachem of the Wampanoags whom the English called King Philip (the chief of the Indian Confederacy who fought the bloody King Philip´s War of 1675 against the New England colonies) being reprimanded by the Portsmouth officials for having ferried to Hog Island for free roaming a herd of pigs, a fact that interfered with community rights over the Island (Virginia DeJohn Anderson, King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England)

The case of New Amsterdam was no exception. During the Dutch foundation of what later became, at eight o´clock on Saturday September 6th, 1664, New York, pigs were part of the city life. Some say that New Amsterdam pigs were larger and heavier than those of New England (Percy Wells Bidwell & John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860), possibly, then, much more than the descendants of the Spanish hog , since it is given for granted that in Southern Europe, Iberians developed smaller-framed, lard-type pigs (History of Pig Domestication, Pork Industry Institute).

The most documented history of the Dutch colony until its fall to the New Englanders (Russell Shorto, The Island at the Center of the World, The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan andd the Forgotten Colony that Shaped America) shows the Dutch settlers first longing for pigs to enrich their diet (pgs 42-43), afterwards quarreling among them for pig thefts or pig-caused damages (pgs 6 & 86), since hogs were usually part of everybody´s properties (pg 106) -espacially consumed in Winter (pg 129-130), the law being that the obligation to fence was on those who wanted to keep hogs out of their property (pg 107), and later even using pig theft on Staten Island as an excuse for a punitive expedition that sparked the even bloodier Kieft´s war from 1643 to 1645 against the Indians around Manhattan (pg 119).

Shorto



Gehring

Russell Shorto is the author of *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan, the Forgotten Colony That Shaped America* (March 2004), a

radically new history of New Netherland. Written for the common reader, the book is based on the vast, newly-translated 12,000-page 17th century Dutch archive of the New Netherland Project which has been mostly the patient work of historian and 17th Century Dutch translator Charles Gehring.

3.- New York from the 1800s to the Mid 1860s. Writing and painting New York (and its hogs).

Washington Irving ("the Quintessential New York Writer") and other American authors seemed not to notice the fact, or at least did not seem to consider it a city nuisance nor something remarkable (maybe due to the familiarity with the situation since the early settlers -remember David Freeman Hawke´s "the hogs that ran wild in the streets evoked no comment, nor did the stench from accumulated garbage" –see above-).

Washington Irving 1783-1859

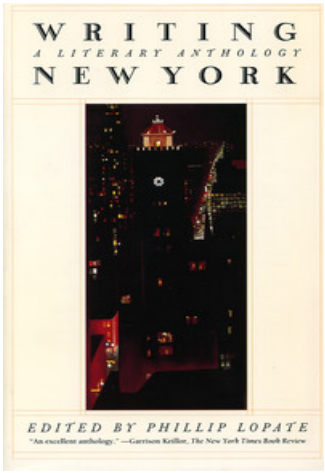
Washington Irving´s Diedrich Knickerbocker's *A History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, which appeared on December 6, 1809, contains sporadic indirect references to the ubiquitousness of swine: the kidnapping of hogs by Jacobus van Curlet and his garrison; the killing on ninety hogs by Captain Bobadil; the dispute with the company on ownership of hogs who have ventured into private land of a settler; or the description of "the honest burgher, like a patriarch of yore, seated on the bench at the door of his whitewashed house, under the shade of some gigantic sycamore or overhanging willow (…) enjoying the soft southern breeze and listening with silent gratulation to (…) the sonorous grunting of his swine".

That swine roamed freely all over NY was a fact that embarrased Americans (specially New Yorkers) when Charles Dickens released his impressions about the city contained in Chapter VI of his ***American Notes,*** 1842 (pretty much as it had surprised the Swedes when Baron Axel Klinckowström published his impressions in 1824 –see above-).

Charles Dickens (1812-1870)

"(…) Once more in Broadway! Here are the same ladies in bright colours, walking to and fro, in pairs and singly; yonder the very same light blue parasol which passed and repassed the hotel-window twenty times while we were sitting there. We are going to cross here. Take care of the pigs. Two portly sows are trotting up behind this carriage, and a select party of half-a-dozen gentlemen hogs have just now turned the corner (…)".

Phillip Lopate´s *Writing New York: A Literary Anthology*, the edition celebrating the 100th anniversary of the union of New York City's five boroughs, which collects in a single volume the work of 108 writers who together create a literary portrait of the city, does not contain excerpts emphasizing the presence of hogs.



But other less well known writers, usually outsiders, are still struck by the situation. As Ted Steinberg has put it, "when Europeans visualized America in the nineteenth century, they thought of Native Americans, a strange new group of people unknown on their continent. But when they pictured American cities, it was not Indians and buffaloes but pigs that came to mind. No animal loomed larger in their image of US urban areas" (Ted Steinberg, Down to Earth, Nature´s Role in American History, pgs 159-160).

The contrast was not only with between urban and non-urban environments, it was also between the 18th and early 19th Century American colonial cities and the mid-19th Century ones: "compared to modern cities, colonial towns lacked effective water, sewer, and street cleaning systems (…) Yet, if we compare them with similar British and European towns, the picture is much brighter. Nearly all Europeans visiting the colonies in the eighteenth century commented upon the spaciousness, orderliness, and relative cleanliness of American towns" (John Duffy, Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health, cited assertively by Martin V. Melosi in The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present).

This opinion is not pacific. Some scholars assert exactly the opposite: "The absence of traditional city forms made colonial American cities seem ugly, chaotic, and scattered to European visitors. Colonial cities did not even have names for their streets. In addition to their confusingly unconventional appearance, these New World cities were probably even smellier and dirtier than their British counterparts. Poor urban families raised pigs, which wandered the streets. Though prohibited by ordinance by the end of the eighteenth century, at least in Providence and New York City, pigs foraged freely well into the mid-nineteenth century. They thrived on the garbage, and on the animal and human excrement in the streets. In order to promenade, the elites of Boston and New York created special parks in the mid-eighteenth century, where railings excluded the omnipresent pigs, horses, and oxen". (Eric H. Monkkonen, America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780/1980, pg 40)

In any case, the situation looked worse in the 19th century. For example, John Lambert´s Travel through Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808, insists that "the pedestrian form 1801-05 had to weave his way around and between horses, carriages, cartmen and their carts, municipal pumps, and various-sized groups of pig – domestic but roaming at will". Or, forty years later, in 1847, the Norwegian lawyer Ole Munch Raeder observed that "I have not yet found any city , county or toen where I have not seen these lovable animals wandering about peacefully in huge herds" (cited by Oscar Handlin, This Was America: True Accounts of People and Places, Manners and Customs, as Recorded by European Travelers to the Western Shore in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Centuries, pg 217; and Ted Steinberg 160).

The image has survived for those interested, for whatever reason, in describing daily NY life in the first half of the 19th Century [See e.g. the introductory description of John W. Wagner´s New York City Concert Life, 1801-5.]

Independently of the reaction of writers to the somehow "weird" phenomenon, at least for Europeans, the simple fact is that not only the prints and paintings reflected the situation but that involment of hogs in daily life became, now and then, the topic selected by one of the most important documentary sources of 19th Century US: illustrated newspapers.

They took special care of following the city government efforts to erradicate pigs from the streets of NY at various times during the period from 1849 to 1860 pretty much as they followed carefully (and depicted for all the world to see) the luxury and cleanness of NY side by side with its tenements and slums. The pictures that follow are from *Harper´s Weekly* and *Frank Leslie´s Illustrated Newspaper*.

The first one quotes the Mother Swine (the "Mother of the Family") saying to her piglets: "My Dears, such is the selfishness of man that some people would even make the authorities deprive us of this luxury" [referring to the street waste]. It is a wood engraved illustration published in *Harper´s Weekly* vol 24, 1880.

THE STREETS.

MOTHER OF FAMILY. "My dears, such is the selfishness of man that some people would even make the authorities deprive us of this luxury."

The next one illustrates one of the famous pig round-ups that from time to time were ordered by the City government. It was published in *Frank Leslie´s Illustrated Newspaper* on August 13, 1859.

It is true, tough, that the most well known description of NY (with numerous prints) dated in 1872, James D. McCabe´s work "Lights and shadows of New York life", later described, does not include any print showing pigs.

Of course the writers and scientists which are reviewing NY history from its environmental perspective, all of them emphasize the role of pigs as waste managers (garbage scavengers) and their analysis will be detailed immediately below, in the next Section of this Main page.

Todays general history books, brochures books, booklets, or other documents aimed at popularizing the history and culture of New York do not seem to worry much about this fact which most of them visualize in all sorts of NY environments: rich and poor; night and day; puritan or moral-loose…, since 19th Century NY was certainly one of "extremes":

Simultaneous blooming richness & slums [even "two nations in the 1830s" (Eric Homberger, pg 80-81); "the poor and the rich are forming almost castes toward one another" (Charles Loring Brace, cited at Homberger, pg 80); mystery & mysery [as one of the most sold books of the period, that transmitted the image of NY to rural America, proclaimed: E.Z.C Judson´s, or, rather, Ned Buntline´s, his "nom de plume", Misteries and Myseries of NewYork, published in 1848]; or the place where "every scene afgords a piquant contrast" [as reflected in the even more sold George Foster´s New York in Slices, 1849]; Broadway and Fifth Avenue & the Old Brewery and Five Points; nice Kleindeutschland & the Irish tenements; free African American stable population from NY´s (New Amsterdam´s) very origins & The 1700s nation's second largest percentage of black slaves [topped only by Charleston, South Carolina and also NY´s ambivalent and even open opposition to the Civil War in the 1860s, backing of the South]; multicultural city & monolithic surroundings (puritan traditions); opennes in morals (sexual ethics and morals in particular) & "traditional family values"; old multiethnic families & Irish immigrants; "sunlight" & "gaslight" NY; the paradigm of the pleasures of city life & the city fond of the fiercest uncontrolled riots, etc..

[Nothing describes better the contrast, that can also be visualized with the help of Homberger´s Atlas, that the title and subtitle of the 1872 James D. McCabe´s work: "Lights and shadows of New York life; or the sights and sensations of the great city. A work descripotive of the City of New York in all its various phases; with full and graphic accounts of its splendors and wretchedness; its high and low life; its marble palaces and dark dens; its attractions and dangers; its rings and frauds; its leading men and politicians; its adventures; its charities; its mysteries, and its crimes."]

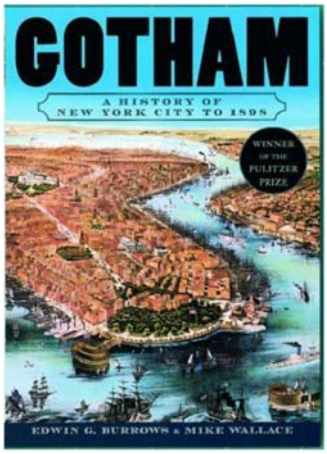
This "commonality" of the ubiquitous presence of pigs should not let us forget, though, that one of the arguments most used by the defenders of the right to have pigs at large, in the struggle aginst the ban, was that getting rid of free running pigs was only a "classy" issue that would make the city loose one of its features: that NY was a city for boh the rich and the poor; the ban would farther divide the city depriving its nice wards from the image of hogs; the result would be a city "for dandies and nice ladies", classy citizens who could not stand the view of the brutal natural open sexual activities of the hogs ("our wives and daugthers cannot walk abroad through the streets of the cuty without encountering the most disgusting spectacles of these animals indulging the

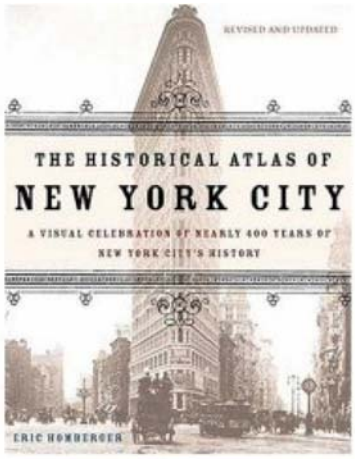
propensities of nature", claimed Mayor Colden in his 1818 indictment; they "commit all sorts of indecencies", said the prosecutor; see below).

Popular books that nowadays contribute to the tradition of a city "always scrutinized by the rest of the world" (Eric Homberger, pg 92) [such as Kevin Walsh´s, Forgotten New York: Views of a Lost Metropolis, Kenneth T. Jackson´s The Encyclopedia of New York City, Jane Mushabac & Angela Wigan´s A Short and Remarkable History of NYC, Edward Robb Ellis´s The Epic of New York City: A Narrative History, or Kenneth T. Jackson & David S. Dunbar´s Empire City: New York Through the Centuries…] do not even mention that free running hogs were part of the daily life in all the wards of NY.

For For very few "popularizers", though, it is an unquestionable fact embedded in the city´s history: "As late as the 1840s, thousands of pigs roamed Wall Street to consume garbage - an early sanitation system" (says, as an example to the general rule, the web page on Interesting facts about New York City from Virtual Tourist, an internet travel agency.)

Other popular books are more ambiguous. For example The Historical Atlas of New York City: A Visual Celebration of 400 Years of New York City's History, by Eric Homberger (Author) & Alice Hudson (Illustrator), although it doesn´t carry (in comparison with, for example, Marilyn Symmes Impressions of New York, see above) any image of pigs to its otherwise beautiful 208 pages of visual history of NY [with the exception of the famous Five Points picture already seen above], at least contains some references in the text, although referring the "pigs wandered at random, foraging for food" to 1788 (pg. 58) as if somehow afterwards the city may have taken care of the problem.





Other NY historians are open about it. Edwin G. Burrows & Mike Wallace´s, Pulitzer Prize winner, Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898, is delightfully careful in describing the role of pigs in the context of the intricacies of NY history and politics, but they are historians who take into consideration the present reqirements of environmental history as an approach inextricably linked to serious history telling, so we will take into account their comments in the next Section.

With all, the free roaming pigs have remained in general as a trait of 19th Century NY, one more element of contrast between a city that by the 1860s had become the largest of the US, making no sense any farther its rivalry with Philadelphia or Boston, but that on both its opulent and its depraved quarters still had to deal with a question of public services, a modern requirement for any city in search for a "modern image", notwithstanding that it meant the opposition to traditional ways of life and usual urban landscapes that had become almost an imprint of the City´s psyche.

The evidence that it has remained as a clear icon of the city in the 1800s are Scorsese´s comments about the simple facts that made difficult the recreation of 1860s NY. What follows are highlights from a Los Angeles Questions & Answers discussion moderated by Steven Spielberg after December 4 and 15, 2002 screening of his film, *Gangs of New York*. Notice that the ubiquitous pigs show up very early in the conversation:

Five Points in Scorsese´s Gangs of New York

Steven Spielberg: We've known each other since 1967. I love *The Big Shave*. We met over that. I remember the time, about 25 years ago, when I first read the script for *Gangs of New York* by Jay Cocks. In all these years, why did it take so long?

Martin Scorsese: I think, ultimately, it took all that time trying to find myself in those characters and how much history, and what period of history. Originally it was set in the 1840s, 1850s, then I realized I wanted to end with the Draft Riots. I was sort of locked into that date, 1863, the summer. Originally what we had on paper was more novelistic, more literature than cinema, in a sense, at least that's the way I saw it. There was just so much background. Every page was so rich.... And it took a long time.

Spielberg: You constructed a world in this picture.

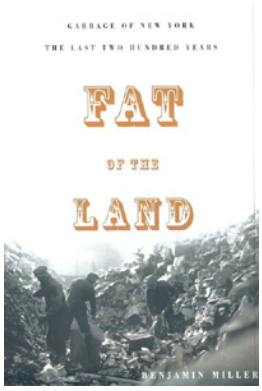
Scorsese: This has been the biggest problem in getting the picture made: to actually construct lower Manhattan. None of the sets existed. And I didn't want red bricks, there was some red brick, but not as much in 1865 or 1866. This place was like the end of the world. Wooden buildings, mud, the pigs that were there were the sanitation department. The pigs would eat the trash.

(…) The discussion continues.

It its strange, though, that one of the most important (if not the most) sources of information for the film, Herbert Asbury´s 1927 "The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld" does not pay any attention to the fact. Pigs did not exist in the gangs world.

A similar clearcut assertion could be also heard not too long ago in the interview that, on April 1 and 2, 2007, Gotham Gazette held online with Benjamin Miller, the famous author of "Fat of the Land, Garbage of New York, the Past Two Hundred Years" (NYC Book Club Conversation With Benjamin Miller, The New York Times, August 1-2, 2007)

CONVERSATION WITH MILLER:
GG:
There's a myth that colonial New Yorkers allowed pigs to roam freely in the streets to eat the rotting garbage that city residents had thrown to the curb. Is this true?
BM:
Not a myth. Gospel.



4.- The raw data. Public policy and law directly addressing the issue of free roaming pigs in New York.

It is almost impossible to determine the approximate number of free roaming hogs in NY in mid-19th Century. Susan Strasser, for instance, has forwarded the figure of 10,000 hogs in Manhattan's streets, in 1830, eating garbage and providing food for the poor (Susan Strasser, Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash). But only in the

round up of the summer of 1849 around 20,000 were driven uptown (Burrows and Wallace, pg 786). Probably the 1985 challenge by Hendrik Hartog standing since 1985 still needs to be undertaken: "How many residents kept them and how they were distributed around the different wards of New York City awaits some future student" (Hendrik Hartog, Pigs and Positivism)

Certainly the problem of the hogs as a private nuisance (or as a conflict with Natives) was dealt with extensively in colonial New Amsterdam-New York. As Hendrik Hartog has recalled, "in colonial New York there had (…) been a fair amount of provincial legislation dealing with problems of swine. In 1683, for example, a statute was passed [by the State of New York] giving any one finding a pig loose off of its owner's property the right to kill or capture it. This statute was premised on the 'dayly Experience that Swine are Creatures that occasion trouble and difference among Neighbours and rather prejudiciall than beneficiall to the Province while they have liberty to run att randome in the woods or Townes . . .' [1 Colonial Laws 134.]

Two years later, however, the legislature came to the opposite conclusion that the earlier statute was itself 'prejudiciall and of ill consequence to the Inhabitants of this province.' And so it was replaced by a local option statute. [1 Colonial Laws 177.] Similar pieces of legislation were passed and repealed over the remainder of the colonial period, always applying only to specified counties. [1 Colonial Laws 616, 811; 2 Colonial Laws 301, 992; 3 Colonial Laws 881; 4 Colonial Laws 40, 393, 844, 872, 1069; 5 Colonial Laws 679, 866.]

It should be noted that none of these statutes, except possibly the early 1683 statute, applied to the pigs of New York City residents (….) [since] only the first provincial statute dealing with swine (1683) could conceivably be read as having applied to New York City, [but it remains] uncertain whether it was meant to be read in that way. Moreover, even though one might logically say that (…) the municipal charter enacted by Governor Dongan in 1686, as well as the Montgomerie Charter of 1730, seemed to give the city an immunity from provincial regulation which might well have extended to past acts. (…) More importantly, nothing in the arguments made [later, in the public policy debate of 1818-1819 trigerred by the People v. Harriet, which will be exposed below], indeed nothing in what we know of legal practice in New York City in the second decade of the 19th century, suggests that the lawyers involved in the case had any knowledge of those earlier statutes [nor, in particular, the] statute passed in 1683" (Hartog, FNs 12 & 63).

The important question from the public policy point of view is when did free roaming oigs begin to be considered a public nuisance. "A public nuisance is an unreasonable interference with a right common to the general public. Private nuisance is a civil wrong, a tort, based on a nontrespassory invasion or disturbance of rights in land and affecting an individual or a limited number of persons, while a public nuisance is dependent on an interference not with land but with the rights of the community at large. The difference between the two does not consist in any difference in the nature of the nuisance itself but only in the extent or scope of its injurious effect. The primary difference between the two is that public nuisances are indictable, while private nuisances are actionable either by a suit for abatement or for damages or both. Ordinarily a governmental official will bring an action to abate a public nuisance, although a private individual may bring such an action if that person can show special

damage. A private nuisance action is ordinarily brought by a nearby landowner or landowners affected by the nuisance." (Philip White Jr).

When the almshouse opened in May of 1736, the Common Council concerned itself with how to stop people's pigs and sheep from roaming and smelling up the city. (Marilyn Anderson Mary Peterson, Object of Charity), but it was not until later on, once the Common Council had appointed in 1805 a standing Board of Health, that the issue became really "public" [NY did not have the first Board of Health of the U.S. -Boston did, in 1797-, but NY had -in 1804- the first permanent office concerned specifically with sanitation, the "city inspector", although its function was to gather information about public nuisances and to report them to the Council, without any policing power (Martin V. Melosi, The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present).]

This Anne-Marguérite-Henriette Rouillé de Marigny, Baroness Hyde de Neuville (1779–1849) watercolor, from the Phelps Stokes Collection. It is dated in 1808. It shows the west wing of the unfinished City Hall on the left, which appears to be topped off by the steeple of the Brick Presbyterian Church on Beekman Street (more than three years were to pass from the time the Baroness made this sketch in 1808 until City Hall was first occupied in August 1811). Other landmarks seen from the corner of Broadway and Chambers are: Bridewell, the large building in the center with pediments and four chimneys, built in 1775 as New York City's prison; in the center foreground, Charity School, with its playground, which opened on May 1, 1807, under the direction of the Free School Society, to educate fifty almshouse children.

As the comment on the watercolor by the New York Public Library continues to say, it also shows "the Board of Health building, whose staff had to contend with streets inhabited by freely wandering pigs and cows. Sanitation was an ongoing concern in New York; a few years before, in 1805, the state had authorized the Common Council to appoint a standing Board of Health."

But the issue could not be dealt with in a full manner until 1818, and not by the Common Council nor its Board of Health, but by Mayor Cadwallader Colden (1769-

1834, mayor of the city of New York from 1818 to 1821) who decided to impanel a grand jury to decide whether two citizens from NY had committed a common law misdemeanor by keeping and permitting to run hogs at large in the city of NY.The Common Council had been incapable to limit the custom of letting hogs run free [see the Section on Scholars´ Debate on the issue of who had the authority for decision-making in early 19th Century NY]:

"*In late 1809, therefore, the city passed a law fining the owner of any unringed pigs found in the streets, a regulation which may have been seen as implicitly recognizing artisans' rights to keep (ringed) pigs on city streets. (…) A law forbidding swine to run at large was first proposed to the city council in 1816, justified primarily as a way of preventing injuries to street pavements. As drafted, the ordinance declared that any hog running in the streets could be taken by any person to a public pound. If the pig's owner wanted it returned, he or she would have to pay ten dollars to the person who 'captured' the pig plus charges of twelve cents per day to the pound. After much delay, the law was finally called up for a vote in June 1817, at which time it was voted down. Then in October the same ordinance was passed into law. Petitions for repeal, protests, and remonstrances inevitably followed. Not only was the pig 'our best scavenger,' a street cleaner for parts of the city which badly needed cleaning but which were ignored by municipal employees, but it also provided cheap food for the poor in winter. All that the new law would produce would be increased street cleaning expenses and a 'swarm of informers' to prey 'on the defenceless poor.' And in early 1818 the city repealed the ordinance. In June the council's committee on laws used a petition for relief by two men injured when their carriage was overturned by hogs as an excuse to reintroduce a law against swine in the streets. But the whole council postponed consideration of their draft. And at the council's next meeting the law committee's motion to have its report considered was voted down."* (Hartog, citing Rock, A Delicate Balance: the Mechanics and the City in the Age of Jefferson; text edited and footnotes ommited for this Case Study).

Hendrik Hartog has beautifully described in "Pigs and Positivism" the content of the 1818-1819 public policy debate that the litigation of *People v. Harriet* (4 New York City Hall Recorder 26, 1819) implied, even to details that open the readers´ minds to one of the most serious historical science attempts to depict the factual and ideological world of early US urban societies and their legal system in the making.

Ultimately, the Mayor got what he wanted:

"*Both prosecutor and mayor took pains to assure the jury that 'this prosecution was not instituted from vindictive motives.' Indeed, the mayor went on to admit that the defendant had been given an implicit license to keep pigs in the streets, 'and that exponerates him from any immoral intent.' Punishment would thus be nominal. (In fact, after the jury arrived at a guilty verdict, Harriet was fined only one dollar and costs.) The point was to establish a legal principle: that there was no legal right to keep swine in the streets of the city or, alternatively, that doing so constituted a public nuisance which left the perpetrator subject to criminal prosecution. From the mayor's perspective-indeed, from the perspective of what most of us think of as law-it may well be that the case succeeded in establishing that principle. No appeal was taken. I can find no published cases anywhere in America after 1819 in which the issue was reargued. While many cases discussed the power of cities to impound pigs and other*

animals found in city streets, all of them presume that a city may regulate to abate what is by definition a public nuisance. A distinctively bourgeois vision of a pig-free city had thus become a legal realty in New York City. A traditional social practice of municipal artisans had been publicly and formally declared unsafe, immoral, and, therefore, illegal. To keep pigs on municipal streets was to commit a crime. The rights Mr. Harriet and his fellow pig keepers once thought they had in the streets of their city no longer were theirs to claim." (Hartog, pg 919, footnotes omitted for this Case Study)

How could it be, though, that nobody had tried seriously to achieve the same result before 1818-1819?

Have in mind that by 1808 Europeans had already started to find "exotic" [Hartog, FN 5, citing The Journal of Mederic Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Mery, and The Watercolor…, cited below] this US urban custom of free roaming hogs, since the work of the French Baroness Hyde de Neuville had preceded that of the Swedish Baron Axel Klinckowström and, of course, the comments from Dickens´ American Notes.

[See The Watercolor of the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, reproduced in J.A. Kouwenhoven, The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York; see also O. Handlin ed. 1949, The Journal of Mederic Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Mery, excerpted in This Was America: True Accounts of People and Places, Manners and Customs, as Recorded by European Travelers to the Western Shore in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Centuries]

The reasons why until 1818-1819 there was a lack of momentum to overrun the practice perhaps can be better analyzed if the task of looking for them is reversed: what where the reasons for the momentum build-up for the prohibition by 1818-1819? In any case, they might be the same, or different from, the reasons why ultimately the precedent of *People v. Harriet* did not catch on, because the practice remained undisturbed notwithstanding the Grand Jury ruling of 1819.

It is true, though, that immediately after the case round-ups started. "*In 1821 the Common Council ordered a roundup of the swinish multitudes, but when pig-owning Irish and African-American women discovered city officials seizing their property, they mobilized hundreds strong, and forcibly liberated the animals. Further hog riots broke out in 1825, 1826, 1830, and 1832, invariably ending with the women saving their bacon*" (Burrows & Wallace, pg 477).

It was not until the terrible cholera year of 1849 (brought by the ship "New York" from the french port of Le Havre) when the city, "since no animal symbolized dirt more clearly than the pig" (Steinberg, 161) and reacting, notwithstanding its *laissez faire* policies, under the pressure of the sanitation reformists (Burrows & Wallace, 785-786), drove thousands of hogs uptown ["It is worth noting how little attention was ever devoted to public health in debates over swine prior to the 1840's", Hartog FN 15]:

"*The 1849 catastrophe jolted the city into taking up arms once again against the immemorial foe. Overcoming sometimes violent resistance by impoverished owners, the police flushed fie to six thousand pigs out of cellars and garrets and drove an estimated twenty thousand swine north to the upper wards that summer (…) The authorities, moreover, kept up their campaign year after year, banishing from lower Manhattan (in*

1851-52) all bone-boiling works along with the putrefying carcasses piled high in their yards. In the late 1850s Hog Town was invaded and the west side piggery complex between 50th and 59th styreets dismantled. By 1860 New York´s porkers had been definitively exiled north of 86th Streetband transformed into a distinctively `uptown´menace" (Burrows & Wallace, 786).

These concerns about the general health status of the city did reach American literature. As Claudia Alonso Recarte points out, In 1856 and under the initial name of "Poem of Wonder at the Resurrection of Wheat", Walt Whitman published the in *Leaves of Grass* the composition known today as "This Compost":

1

Something startles me where I thought I was safest,
I withdraw from the still woods I loved,
I will not go now on the pastures to walk,
I will not strip the clothes from my body to meet my lover the sea,
I will not touch my flesh to the earth as to other flesh to renew me.

O how can it be that the ground itself does not sicken?
How can you be alive you growths of spring?
How can you furnish health you blood of herbs, roots, orchards, grain?
Are they not continually putting distemper'd corpses within you?
Is not every continent work'd over and over with sour dead?

Where have you disposed of their carcasses?
Those drunkards and gluttons of so many generations?
Where have you drawn off all the foul liquid and meat?
I do not see any of it upon you to-day, or perhaps I am deceiv'd,
I will run a furrow with my plough, I will press my spade through
the sod and turn it up underneath,
I am sure I shall expose some of the foul meat.

2

Behold this compost! behold it well!
Perhaps every mite has once form'd part of a sick person--yet behold!
The grass of spring covers the prairies,
The bean bursts noiselessly through the mould in the garden,
The delicate spear of the onion pierces upward,
The apple-buds cluster together on the apple-branches,
The resurrection of the wheat appears with pale visage out of its graves,
The tinge awakes over the willow-tree and the mulberry-tree,
The he-birds carol mornings and evenings while the she-birds sit on
their nests,
The young of poultry break through the hatch'd eggs,
The new-born of animals appear, the calf is dropt from the cow, the
colt from the mare,
Out of its little hill faithfully rise the potato's dark green leaves,
Out of its hill rises the yellow maize-stalk, the lilacs bloom in

the dooryards,
The summer growth is innocent and disdainful above all those strata
of sour dead.

What chemistry!
That the winds are really not infectious,
That this is no cheat, this transparent green-wash of the sea which
is so amorous after me,
That it is safe to allow it to lick my naked body all over with its tongues,
That it will not endanger me with the fevers that have deposited
themselves in it,
That all is clean forever and forever,
That the cool drink from the well tastes so good,
That blackberries are so flavorous and juicy,
That the fruits of the apple-orchard and the orange-orchard, that
melons, grapes, peaches, plums, will none of them poison me,
That when I recline on the grass I do not catch any disease,
Though probably every spear of grass rises out of what was once
catching disease.

Now I am terrified at the Earth, it is that calm and patient,
It grows such sweet things out of such corruptions,
It turns harmless and stainless on its axis, with such endless
successions of diseas'd corpses,
It distills such exquisite winds out of such infused fetor,
It renews with such unwitting looks its prodigal, annual, sumptuous crops,
It gives such divine materials to men, and accepts such leavings
from them at last.

As Claudia Alonso Recarte also points out, Maria Farland notices in her essay "Decomposing City: Walt Whitman's New York and the Science of Life and Death", sanitary concerns due to environmental hazards during the 1850s and 1860s were very much an apprehensive matter amongst the New York journalists of the time. Contextualizing within the urban developments and medical and scientific advances of the second half of the nineteenth century, Farland approaches "This Compost" as a poem exhibiting a distinct and unique voice contrasting the lyrical tones of the rest of the works in *Leaves of Grass,* works which advocate towards the Transcendentalist unifying symbiosis of soul and oversoul. "This Compost" offers a fatalistic and pessimistic apocalyptic view of the physical death of the individual, appealing to the senses that no doubt putrefied the foul atmosphere of many of the city's streets, slums and alleys. As Farland states: "*Such preoccupation with decaying organic matter was hardly an abstraction –it was quite possibly the single greatest concern of New Yorkers and other urban dwellers in these years. Problems of bodily decay and decomposition in Whitman's New York spawned what one historian has called "some of the worst… health statistics*."

Adding to the problem of the burial scene of people –Claudia Alonso Recarte continues- the streets were also infested with "hundreds of tons of animal and human waste –and hundreds of rotting animals- were left to decay in the streets unattended." Amongst

these animals the lists include abandoned corpses of horses, and other creatures such as the pigs roaming the alleys as scavengers of the wastes.

"This Compost" serves as a perfect sensuous introductory note the hazardous environment of the metropolis during the nineteenth century, and refrains us to what one of the earlier and continued solutions to the menace was: the rambling and meandering of hogs as a partial clean-up of the area.

The depicting of this mode of sanitation in literature seems not, however, to have been too interesting a matter for writers. In 1998 the Literary Anthology *Writing New York* (edited by essayist Phillip Lopate) recollected many of the most memorable journalistic entries, sections of diaries, poems and short stories that have illustrated the city in their small contributing way from Washington Irving to the end of the twentieth century. The infamous writers of the Naturalist Movement beginning in the 1890s, Stephen Crane and Theodore Dreiser, make no mention of the pigs in their detailing of slums (arguably, nevertheless, the practice had become less and less common towards the end of the century). The entries concerning the swines are few: James Kirke Paulding in his essay "The Stranger at Home; Or, A Tour in Broadway" (1807) in analyzing the legislative transformations of the city, says: Hint concerning the laws against pigs, goats, dogs and cartmen –grand apostrophe to the sublime science of jurisprudence – comparison between legislators and tinkers –quere, whether it requires greater ability to mend a law than to mend kettle?" Thoreau makes a quick remark to emphasize his aversion towards New York and his inhabitants, stating that "The pigs in the street are the most respectable part of the population" in his letter to Emerson from Staten Island (1843).

Perhaps the absence of characterizing the sketches of New York with the presence of pigs on behalf of American writers is due to the situation being so common and ordinary in everyday urban life that it scarcely reached the point of being an interesting anecdote to put on paper. This would explain why Dickens, on the other hand, found them to be memorable enough to include them in his *American Notes* (1842):

> Take care of the pigs. Two portly sows are trotting up behind this carriage, and a select party of half-a-dozen gentlemen-hogs have just turned the corner.
>
> Here is a solitary swine, lounging homeward by himself. He has only one ear; having parted with the other to vagrant-dogs in the course of his city rambles. But he gets on very well without it; and leads a roving, gentlemanly, vagabond kind of life, somewhat answering to that of our club-men at home. He leaves his lodgings every morning at a certain hour, throws himself upon the town, gets through his day in some manner quite satisfactory to himself, and regularly appears at the door of his own house again at night, like the mysterious master of Gil Blas. He is a free-and-easy, careless, indifferent kind of pig, having a very large acquaintance among other pigs of the same character, whom he rather knows by sight than by conversation, as he seldom troubles himself to stop and exchange civilities, but goes grunting down the kennel, turning up the news and small-talk of the city, in the shape of cabbage-stalks and offal, and bearing no tails but his own: which is a very short one, for his old

> enemies, the dogs, have been at that too, and have left him hardly enough to swear by. He is in every respect a republican pig, going wherever he pleases, and mingling with the best society, on an equal, if not superior footing, for everyone makes way when he appears, and the haughtiest give him the wall., if he prefer it. He is a great philosopher, and seldom moved, unless by the dogs before mentioned. Sometimes, indeed, you may see his small eye twinkling on a slaughtered friend, whose carcase garnishes a butcher's door-post, but he grunts out "Such is life: all flesh is pork!" buries his nose in the mire again, and waddles down the gutter: comforting himself with the reflection that there is one snout the less to anticipate stray cabbage-stalks, at any rate.
>
> They are the city scavengers, the pigs. Ugly brutes they are; having, for the most part, scanty, brown backs, like the lids of old horse-hair trunks: spotted with unwholesome black blotches. They have long, gaunt legs, too, and such peaked snouts, that if one of them could be persuaded to sit for his profile, nobody would recognize it for a pig's likeness. They are never attended upon, or fed, or driven, or caught, but are thrown upon their own resources in early life, and become preternaturally knowing in consequence. Every pig knows where he lives, much better than anybody could tell him. At this hour, just as evening is closing in, you will see them roaming towards bed by scores, eating their way to the last. Occasionally, some youth among them who has over-eaten himself, or has been worried by dogs, trots shrinkingly homeward, like a prodigal son: but this is a rare case: perfect self possession and self-reliance, and immovable composure, being their foremost attributes."

Though realistic, the passage nevertheless becomes effectual through its satirical and ironic tone. It is no wonder that the Englishman's American hosts were offended by his memoirs of their land, for his choices of anecdotes and the treatment of the same were not at all what Americans expected to be published on (Claudia Alonso).

It seems that *Writing New York*, being the anthological landmark of recent years, demonstrates that the presence of scavenger pigs were, but for foreigners on visit, of little relevance to the American letters. Consequential and additive circumstances surrounding the situation (the previously mentioned environmental hazard, health issues, medical complications and epidemics such as cholera, typhoid and tuberculosis -The excerpts from Philip None's *Diary* (1828-1851), as Claudia Alonso says- illustrate the social panic resulting from the spreading of cholera) were of a much larger concern, and required a journalistic approach in order to denounce them.

Jacob A. Riis made the vanishing of pigs in the city coincide with the foundation of the Board of Health for New York and Brooklyn in 1866: "A Board of Health had come with the cholera panic in 1866. The swine that ran at large in the streets, practically the only scavengers, were banished" (Jacob A. Riis, The Battle With the Slum, pg. 29). The evidence of illustrated newspapers (see pictures above) show that the round-ups wre still taking place in 1859 (Frank Leslie´s Illustrated Newspaper), but there reamined hogs in NY streets until the 1880s (Harper´s Weekly). In any case, the ban policy was intended, and implemented, ward by ward, so the image of free roaming hogs would

depend on the particular ward, and its timing, depicted by paintings, prints, or literary works.

Certainly the hogs were driven uptown but there they thrived. There is historical evidence that to make way for the 843-acre area that was to become Central Park, between 1853 and 1859, some 1,600 squatters, including Irish pig farmers, German gardeners, and an entire African American settlement called Seneca Village, were abruptly evicted.

Even before the final round-ups, in the late 1840s and the 1850s immigrants fleeing from the slums and tenements, particularly Irish, as werll as Germans who could not make it to Kleindeutschland, decided to live in the "suburbs" (not in the modern sense, of course) and started to live in Harlem (moving farther north but in the same way in which before they have settled in log cabins in Dutch Hill, near the present day United Nations headquarters). Notwithstanding the miseries of the shanties, they preferred rural landscapes to the overdensified slums. "Many raised [there] animals for local markets - geese, cows, horses, goats and such a profusion of hogs that the area around 125th Street was known as Pig´s Alley" (Burrows & Wallace, 747). Ultimately pigs were still tolerated until the last decades of the 19th Century, with sporadical evidence of cases in which the poor housed pigs in the rooms of their tenements, until they were finally exiled to the countryside.

The two pictures in the next page show:

1) Left: Harlem Lane, "from the original drawing in possession of T.A. Emmet M.D." Written on border: "by Archibald Robertson, 1765-1835, 18th copied by Eliza Greatorex." Published in 1875 in Old New York, from the Battery to Bloomingdale. (New York : Putnam, 1875.) Greatorex, Eliza (1819-1897), artist; and
2) Right: Pig´s Alley as seen by a city missionary in 1892 from "Life in NY Tenement Houses"

Harlem Lane

Pig´s Alley

6.- The early environmentalists: lessons from pig urban presence in the context of the NY sanitation movement.

What where the reasons why until 1818-1819 there was a lack of momentum to overrun the practice? Why did it continue until the final decades of the 19th Century? (or their reverse, what trigerred the periodical movements toward their expulsion from the cities, since analyzing the causes of reaction can offer perhaps a clearer light becaused it forced the movement to articulate their reasons against a concrete counterreaction based on the real causes for the practice).

Several explanations have been offered for NY´s persistence on cohabitation with pigs.

The most simple one is the special relationship that Americans always had with the animal. From Charlotte's Web to Porky Pig and Babe, Americans have always liked pigs, and this theme still sparks the interest of 21st Century Americans [see, e.g., the interest sparked by Richard Horwitz´s "Hog Ties: Pigs, Manure, and Mortality in American Culture", who looks at this phenomenon, its relation to American culture, and the way in which themes of life and death are played out in the care, feeding, slaughtering, and eating of pigs. See also Paula Wasley, Examining America's Shared History With the Pig.] Independently of the real content of this love affaire of Americans with the animal, which is not so clear, it does not support the argument that it alone was the cause for such an extension on time of the free roaming NY pigs.

A more plausible cause is probably the strength of the extended rule applicable to hogs in rural environments, having in mind that most US cities developed quickly but gradually from rural towns to cities. Perhaps, too quickly to adapt rural customs to city life.

It is quite clear that, under British common law applicable to cities (e.g. London) as it was originally applied, probably, in the colonies and the first years of the Republic, pigs could not run free: "English law declaring that hogs were not permitted to run in the streets of London could not serve as precedent for judicial action in this case because there never had been a right to run pigs in London" (Hartog).

But the rule was not the same in rural areas; and particularly in the U.S.. Since swine had been, with corn and other vegetables, not only the foundation of nutrition but of the independence of the southern yeomanry and poor, who had always been the great majority of the white population, "*beginning in seventeenth-century Virginia, colonial legislatures had decreed that crop fields be securely fenced so that settlers might let great numbers of cattle and hogs range at large. The open range, a sensible accommodation to heavily forested eastern frontiers, permitted the rich and poor alike to accumulate subsistences and even wealth in animals that fattened for free.*" (Jack Temple Kirby, The Civil War: An Environmental View)

The rule was simple, the obligation to fence was a burden on the shoulders of those who wanted to prevent hogs from entering their premises (crops et al), not on the backs of those who had pigs, which could run free on any non-fenced land.

As Virginia De John Anderson has explained, the extension of this practice in America, when compared with Europe, may have a clear reason: “colonists had no idea how fully their energies would be absorbed in clearing land, planting crops (especially tobacco in the Cesapeake), building houses, and working at all the other tasks necessary to establish new towns and plantations. With scarcely any time or labor tro spare for their animals, they had to let livestick take care of themselves” (Creatures of Empire, at 9.)

Probably this rule was so well known, as well as a social necessity in order to allow the poor to subsist, that it was solidly imprinted in the minds of most Americans.

For them it made no difference whether the social environment was a farm-based town or one with a more consolidated building fabric. Hogs did so well in America that everybody could avoid starvation by having hogs without the legal need of buying additional land, and much less of having to fence it. A rule that makes a lot of sense when there is plenty of forests and plenty (at least initially, until Henry David Thoreau raised the voice of alarm) of wild commons. The passage from country towns to cities may have been too quick for society in general (and for its poor in particular) to assume a change in the rule (or in the social practice independently of whether it was, or not, perceived as a rule.)

It is somehow not a coincidence that the change in the rule in cities (or at least its serious enforcement) came about the same time when it change also for the countryside (see Section on Scholars´ Debate).

Most historians agree that it was the democratic pressure by the poor what blocked any reform. In particular it seems that it was at the core of poor women the tasks to make sure that there were enough pigs, and that they could be at large to fatten enough. Actually it even seems that it became a political issue since the round-ups could be taken as a breach in the unstable “cold war” that New Yorkers had between “the two nations” (rich-poor) and that from time to time trigerred the feared riots (such as the 1849 Astor Place Opera riots and, of course, the 1863 draft riots, or other riots, which will be analyzed in the Section on Scholars´ Debate, some pof which were due, precisely to the attempts to ban the free roaming of pgs in the cities).

The Astor Place Riots 1849

The Draft Riots 1863

While most historians eagerly describe that this was the major factor, not too many have linked the policy to de-root the practice of hog keeping with the policies of the moralist

reform that are at the wake of the sanitation movement of the last quarter of the 1800s. Since the origins of the Reform Movement were based in "religious morals", were the intial rules concerning limitations on the free roaming of hogs also based on the same grounds?

To some extent it is true that the argument was constantly spelled out. As Howard Rock has explained, the ways in which the pigs were kept in the streets became every now and then "the focus of class conflict" (Howard Rock, A Delicate Balance: the Mechanics and the City in the Age of Jefferson, pgs 101 ff) and William Cronon comments that the constant fights and litigation of disputes over the keeping of pigs "expressed a disguised class hostility (William Cronon, Changes in the Land…, at 201), which leads Hendrik Hartog to believe that "the identification of swine with the lower classes was not an innovation of the early republic" (Hartog, text after FN 10).

That class analysis should be inextricably linked to garbage issues has also been advanced by Susan Strasser: "The rhetoric of the debate over garbage has shifted during the twentieth century. Described as a problem of poverty at the beginning of the century, garbage is now understood as a problem of affluence. The links between trash and the relationships of caste and class necessitate careful attention. People's connections to rubbish both underscore and create social differences; class is an essential factor in the dynamic processes of reuse." (Susan Strasser, Waste and Want: The Other Side of Consumption … 1992)

Nevertheless, Hartog thinks that the reality behind it all had more to do with class conflict in terms of "image" than with real role played by the pigs concerning the availability of food for the poor. The briefs of the People v. Harriet show that Harriet´s attorneys considered that the challenge of their clients rights implied "a direct attack by the elites on the way of life of the poor" (Hartog, text accompanying FN 36): "[A] great convenience, and almost an essential source on the score of provisions would be taken from the poor or less opulent of the citizens by a conviction [of Harriet]; (…) the dandies, who are to delicate to endure the sight or even the idea of so odious a creature, might exult; but many poor families might experience far different sensations, and be driven to beggary or the Alms House for a portion of that subsistence of which a conviction in this case would deprive them".

Certainly the poor did mobilize against each and every round-up.

But, was it an "image" or "way of life" what was at stake? or was it real the dependency of the poor on pigs´protein and fat?

Burrows & Wallace make a clear statement: "Many working-class wives therefore kept their own animals, notably pigs; lacking the space to board tem, they let the hogs run free to scavenge for themselves…", the "therefore" being related to the careful description of their limited diet: "Women worked hard to supplement a diet that consisted largely of bread and potatoes, corn and peas, beans and cabbage, and milk from cows (…). In good time they might add salt meat and cheese, a little butte, some sugar, coffee, and tea. But meat and poultry, though widely available in city markets, were expensive, even when purchased by a reduced price at the end of the market day" (Op cit, at 477).

The dreadful conditions of poverty in the immigrant quarters have remained for history to remember forever. It was precisely “the battle with the slum” (paraphrasing the title of Jacob A. Riis´ famous book) what sparked the sanitation movement, but the ban on pigs does not seem to have been ever considered a problem that would increase poverty conditions if implemented.

Actually, the best documented work on the living conditions of the worst of the NY wards (the Sixth Ward, where Five Points was located) does not mention at all any dependency of the immigrant poor on the protein of the free roaming pigs (although it does not notice the pigs in the streets, either). It mentions the existence, in the worst maintained tenements, of chickens and goats, but pigs do not show up (Tyler, Anbinder, Five Points. Poultry and goats are mentioned in pages 350 and 354). Being so short of food one wonders how could the pigs be at large without being captured by so hungry groups of immigrants; unless strict rules were imposed what only makes sense if the owners were a powerful group.

But it may well have been that some of the pigs, in those times of hunger (coinciding with the periodical economic cycles that devastated the economies –and lives- of the immigrants), the poor, while forgetting the free roaming for their pigs, still maintained them in cellars and basements, as part of the family. As Elise Hancock (100 Years of Manhattan's Garbage) and the New York Public Library Exhibit "Garbage! The History and Politics of Trash in New York City" have described, “*between 1881 and 1890, 5.25 million people migrated to the United States, at an annual rate of 9 people per 1,000 already here. They pressed into New York's tenements by the tens of thousands, whole families living in a single room. Five families might share one overflowing outhouse, and people might have to walk a block or more to get water at a pump. Some lived in the dumps, foraging out a living by selling whatever they could find, be it rags, bones, bottles, old shoes, or scrap metal. As for their own trash, the poor dumped it on the streets. What else could they do?*

A traditional answer was to feed the garbage to the family pig, as in the Old Country, then eat the pig and sell the bones. A pig gains a pound for every three pounds of feed, and the litters are larg -up to 14 piglets. Pigs were (and are) good business, cheap protein.

Sanitary reformers objected, however, for reasons apparent in one of Fee's favorite [Hopkins professor Elizabeth Fee was the curator of the Exhibit] *exhibition photographs. Taken for Manhattan's Tenement House Department, ca. 1902, <u>it shows a young pig in a basement</u>. The pig looks up from its meal of kitchen scraps, alert and curious. A broom must be nearby, for the floor has been swept. `It doesn't look too bad, says Fee.`What you don't see is that the other half of the basement is a bakery´”*.

Certainly the conditions of poverty and, in some quarters, such as the just mentioned Five Points, and later the Lower East Side tenements, of “wretchedness, vice, and crime (…) drunkness, roguery, debauchery, and pestilence”, did associate the pigs with the poor, but pigs were ubiquitous all over NY, and Broadway did not host poor. Very probably, the fact that pressure did grow against free roaming did not stop poor people from having them in their own houses and tenements, the poorer (or more indolent) the persons inhabiting them, the more probability that fowl and pigs could cohabitate with the neighbors until almost the end of the 19th Century.

For example, this is how Marilynn Wood Hill describes the conditions of some brothels:

"*Prostitution establishments of the lower class were often characterized by abhorrent working conditions that a woman found hard to escape. The Sun, 6-8 June 1836, described a prostitution `kennel´ in Cross Street as a place where the prostitutes `sleep promiscuously heads and points on a field bed of straw spread over the whole floor like so many pigs, men and women, drunk and sober, and black and white.´ Places of this sort were (Police Gazette, 2 June 1849) `without a table, chair, or any other article of furniture, save a cooking utensil, a few plates, and knives, and bottle, with which to carry on the business of living.´*" (Marilynn Wood Hill, Their Sisters' Keepers. Prostitution in New York City, 1830-1870).

But in addition to poverty *per se*, could (should ?) there have been many more additional reasons for the free-roaming?

Exterior and interior of some of the many tenement houses of NY

The theory that hogs were at large because this situation contributed to the sustaining of the poor is to some extent firmly contested –at least concerning the NY 1818-19 situation- by the scholar who has studied the development of the 1819 rule to its most minimum detail. Hendrik Hartog does not find it unreasonable to assume that "it may well be that the greater number of pigs found in the streets belonged to butchers fattening imported pigs before slaughter. But Harriet, as a butcher, could not lay claim to a right distinctively held by the members of his trade (and, of course, his lawyers never tried)." (Hartog, text accompanying FN 69). " (…) It may be that most street pigs were not held as a cheap and uncommercialized food source by the working poor (…). Harriet's lawyers and other defenders of pig keepers may have largely fantasized their vision of poor families dependent on hogs. It may well be, if only we could do a census, that we would find that most of the pigs were owned by butchers who imported them from Long Island and New Jersey and then fattened them for a period of time before slaughter." (Hartog, text accompanying FN 118)

So, ultimately, we think, as Hartog, that "pig keeping was a practice connected with a particular way of life, but I would be hard put to make it crucial, or to link the end of the practice to the end of the community (…) It was, rather, the fact that a politically active and insistent community of New Yorkers believed pig keeping to be their right and, also, that those who opposed the social practice were (for a significant period of time)

unwilling and unable to do what was necessary to stop it. The legal right to keep pigs in New York City's streets was constituted both by the activities of the right's defenders and by the relative passivity and ineffectuality of its opponents." (Id)

If that were the case, a sort of curious "environmental" reason might have been at the core of the decision to ban them: urban landscape. That is the main reason that Hartog advances: the **image of a city** that the people in power had. Mayor Colden wanted to escape from a type of city radically distinct from a rural community. A new "vision of urbanity". "A pig in the city was [for the mayor, a] matter out of place".

This idea makes sense (although not entirely, as it will be analyzed below) if put in context. The elites of NY had a total lack of interest in the city in the 1783-1843 era. They enjoyed NY´s past (thus, the success of "The Reminiscences of New York" of Bryant and Verplanck in 1829-30, and of the exploration of the Hudson River nature in –see below, Section 8 of Scholars´Debate-). Only when attention refocused in the city and public works such as the Croton aqueduct (that for the first time brought tap water to many NY houses in 1837-1844) or the planning of the marvel of Central Park (late 1840s, although construction took place between 1857 and 1860) captured the attention of New Yorkers, a new philosophy could be imposed. So the persistence of the practice could be expalined in terms of carelessness about the image of the city notwithstanding its Mayor´s effort to assert it.

But it is also true that Hartog may be minimizing what seems and overwhelming contemporary reality: the **ecological role** played by free roaming pigs (which tuned with, and matched, both the butchers´ lobby interests and the image of a city with had a strong radical-democratic poor constituency).

The role of the pigs as **garbage scavengers** is recognized explicitly as the main reason for the free roaming by all contemporary sources, even by the European and American travellers and tourists. It is difficult to find a single source which, if it did "notice" the pigs at large, did not mention their role as scavengers as the "normal explanation" of the weird phenomenon. The dirt of the streets and the lack of garbage disposal systems (not of human waste, which is a different issue and that was not taken care by pigs), as well as the lack of transparent public procurement systems, add to the battery of environmental reasons why New Yorkers could not get rid of the hogs, and decided to live with the nuisance.

According to Hartog´s proposal, based on the image of the city, 1) there is no credible theory of "urban ecological cycle" based on the role of pigs that could explain their persistence in NY (Hartog, text accompanying FN 7); so, 2) it is then consistent to conclude that "what made the keeping of pigs in the streets of New York City a right had nothing to do with its objective characteristics or functions" (Hartog, text accompanying FN 118).

But, the explanation of the first point lacks any minimal serious analysis of "the organic city" and what it meant in those days, an analysis Hartog disregards exclusively based on the wrong assumption that the defenders of the ecological cycle of organic cities pretend that "pigs ate the human waste", which does not seem to be true (Hartog, FN 7, and text accompanying it). But, to the contrary, the ecological cycle of organic cities

does not need at all this element. Hartog´s view of the ecological cycle of the organic city is too simple (and, thus, wrong):

"Until the early 19th century, when swine were noticed, they were as natural a part of urban life as mud, manure, and the odors that once automatically accompanied increased human and animal density (…) Indeed, in a world without professional streetcleaners, a world in which private citizens were expected to provide the manpower (the term is in this context a misnomer) to remove the excrement and the wastes of urban street life, pigs assumed a necessary public role, particularly in wards whose residents lacked available servants. The result was, we might imagine, a peculiar urban ecological cycle, one which connected residents with their physical environment in a way that is difficult for us to imagine today. In brief, people ate pigs, and pigs ate the human and animal wastes and garbage which lined the streets of the city." (Id).

And, he continues [in a foot note, see FN 7], since it has been proven that pigs do not eat human waste, the theory of the urban ecological cycle, summarized in the previous paragraph, is wrong:

"We can imagine such an ecological cycle, and contemporary observers insisted on its existence. I have, however, been informed by reliable sources at the experimental farm of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, confirmed by Professor G. Thomas Johnson, of the University of Western Ontario Law School, that pigs today do not eat excrement. My research assistant, Janis Tabor, formerly a reproductive physiologist and agriculturalist, disagrees, pointing to a modern method of feeding swine by having them follow cattle. She argues that pigs to eat excrement so long as it contains grain. I could play historian and suggest that, whatever pigs do today, pigs then might have been different, but this is as good a place as any for me to reveal my abysmal ignorance of things swinish, even though my grandfather once owned a ham factory."

Harog is probably right about the fact that pigs in NY ate everything, but not human waste. The privies, cesspools, and "school sinks" [cesspool connected to the sewers] in which the human waste collection consisted, and even the subclass of professionals, the "tubmen", which the system created, one of the few professions allowed for free African Americans, has been well documented (see, e.g., Anbinder, at 85 ff; Burrows & Wallace, at 588 ff). Actually, it has even been researched why New Yorkers could not connect privies, nor cesspools, until much later, with the sewage system: because it was constructed to wash out run off storm water, and the dumping of waste could block the flow, causing flooding when they were first built in 1676. In 1819 the Common Council prohibited the dumping into the sewers of any sort of fecal matter and even required the installation of grates at their junction with household drains in order to keep solid wastes out of the system (Burrows & Wallace, at 588-89.)

But the ecological cycle of the organic city (and the subsystem which garbage –not human waste- collection implied) is a proven fact; and not only in NY. Pretty much as urban dwellers had to tolerate the nuisance of horses because they were the only mean of transportation, they got used to tolerate pigs because there was neither service of garbage retrieval, nor of street cleaning.

The organic city cycle, as nobody better than Ted Steinberg (Down to Earth, Chapter 10, pgs 157 ff) has explained, was based on the use of animal manure to fertilize the

Brooklin and Queens shallow soil, in order to produce vegetables, a cycle broken by the sanitation movement, which to take care of public health problems had to make a trade off: manure based farms disappeared and the food for NY (the opening of the Erie canal in 1825 obviously also contributed) started to flow from far away. The fattening of pigs by attributing them the "public service" of taking care of garbage ("walking sewers", as Ted Steinberg has called them) was only an additional piece of the larger organic city picture.

But let us revisit Hartog´s idea about Mayor Colden´s impulse to change the image of the City.

To consider the "image of the city" as the first environmental impulse, is not out of line with the development itself of environmental policies in the 19th century, in particular with policies related to urban environments. Until Aldo Leopold and the Rooseveltian conservation movement by the last decades of the 19th Century and the early decades of the 20th, the initial steps, whether in terms of urban sanitation or of involvement with nature (Thoreau and the transcendentalists) had to do more with inspirational spirituality and aesthetics, and later ethics, than with real science.

So trying to "establish" an ideal image was in line with the first origins of the environmental movement in U.S. history. It also did cpincide with the clear understanding that changes in urban lanscapes, even radical sudden changes, were very possible.

As Gunther Barth reminded us all when commenting on the issues of garbage and social attitudes in 19th Century America, "commenting on the American urban scene, one traveler noted in 1849: `All is moving and removing, organizing and disorganizing, building up and tearing down,´ in describing what a few years earlier Walt Whitman had called the American `pulldown-and-build-over-again-spirit.´ [*The reference is obviously to John C. Myers, Sketches of a Tour Through the Northern and Eastern States, the Canadas and Nova Scotia (Harrisonburg, Va., 1849), 51; American Review 2 (November 1845): 536–37, quoted in Emory Holloway, comp., The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman, 2 vols.(Garden City, N.Y.), I, 92*]. In 1856 Harper's Monthly emphasized that New York `is never the same city for a dozen years altogether,´ and explained why anyone born there forty years ago `finds nothing, absolutely nothing, of the New York he knew.´ [*Prof. Barth´s citation is of Editor's Easy Chair, Harper's New Monthly Magazine 13 (July 1856): 272*] Alexis de Tocqueville summed up the attitude of Americans, attesting to their fundamental affinity to style and fashion in his pithy statement: `They love change, but they are afraid of revolution.´[*The citation is referred to George Lawrence (trans.), J. P. Mayer and Max Lerner (eds.), Democracy in America: By Alexis de Tocqueville (New York, 1966), 614*]. Concerns about style and fashion, commensurate with an individual's economic and intellectual means, have always been a part of American society." (Comments by Gunther Barth to Susan Strasser´s, Waste and Want: The Other Side of Consumption, …1992).

Certainly, this idea of change captured not only America but NY in particular, with an unknown frenzy in Western history until then, but, in relation to the image of the city, it is usually situated in time by historians of NY in a later period: 1860-1898 (see Eric Homberger, The Historical Atlas of New York City, at 93).

The pigs were made part of the image of a city dominated by poor, tubmen, drunkards, prostitutes, "racially inferior" –tolerated, but not equal- … inhabitants of the tenements and almhouses. If the image of the city had to change the first thing that should happen is the change in their attitudes and ways of life: "The tendency of cholera to run rampant in impoverished tenement districts led to the belief that it was the dissolute habits of the poor, rather than an inadequate sanitation system, which made one susceptible to the contagion" (Anbinder, pg 23); "It was the lack of the moral compass provided by Protestant Christianity (…) what led residents to dissolute lives of drunkenness, crime, and prostitution" (Id at 105); a point reinforced by the media: "In the 1830s, the press had concentrated on the supposed moral degradation of the neighbourhood…" (Id, at 72)…., so Religion and Reform (see id, Chapter Eight), became the policy: change the morals of the poor and they will behave better, carrying public health improvements with the personal self-building [which coincides with the policies of converting into workinghouses the previous, and later again, alms- or poorhouses, as analyzed in item 9.A of the Section on Scholars´Debate.]

Rum Shop. Print from James D. McCabe´s work "Lights and shadows of New York life"

Of course, prejudice against immigrants was also at the core of the combination of "Religion and Reform". In Daniel Burnstein words, "sanitation was equated not only with the struggle against disease *per se*, but also with civilization, morality, and an orderly way of life." (Daniel Eli Burnstein, Progressivism and Urban Crisis: The New York City Garbage Workers' Strike of 1907, at 387).

But ultimately this policy based on the image or perception of a city and its morals did not work at all in the aftermath of the 1818-1819 litigation. Or at least, it contributed somehow to alleviate the conditions, but the main problems remained there. If the 1832 cholera was blamed on the people ["*The best preventive measure was a prudent life emphasizing temperance in eating and drinking, avoidance of garden vegetables and fruits, abstention from ardent spirits, and sexual moderation*", Elizabeth Fee & Daniel M. Fox, eds., AIDS: The Burdens of History, text accompanying FN 62], the 1849 epidemic convinced the authorities (and many of the established reformers, such as Charles Loring Brace, who started to concede that "Material Reform and Spiritual Reform must mutually help one another"; Burrows & Wallace, at 785) that the moralistic approach was not the only path to follow.

Ultimately it was the science based sanitation reform movement what gave away with the free roaming pigs. The historians of the "sanitary cities" (Ted Steinberg; Martin Melosi; Benjamin Miller; Susan Strasser…etc) have demonstrated that when modern garbage collection systems started finally (later than water sewage systems) to be put in place efficiently in US cities, the pigs disappeared. So, contrary to the opinion of Hendrik Hartog, what made the keeping of pigs in the streets of New York City a right had a lot to do with their objective characteristics or functions.

The pigs had always been a nuisance, even a public safety issue (there are many documented cases of children killed by hogs), and they contributed to an environmental problem addressed by many US cities before waste management (William L. Andreen, The Evolution of Water Pollution Control in the United States – State, Local and Federal Efforts, 1789-1972), but Americans could live with it (a sort of unintentional trade-off) until a substitute for the free roaming pigs, more efficient than the private garbage collectors (see picture below) was in place.

Outside of the Americas, before proper sewage disposal was implemented, many cities worldwide had swine populations to serve as ambulatory sanitation services. In medieval Paris, so many pigs were locally available for slaughter that pork was the cheapest meat. The monks of Saint Anthony – the patron saint of swineherds – were given special rights to keep pigs within the city walls. Naples was the last large European city to use pigs for sanitation. Neapolitan families each had a pig tethered near their dwellings to consume garbage (Kenneth F Kiple & Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas, eds, Hogs, in The Cambridge World History of Food).

In many European cities, when the Industrial Revolution began and goods were being produced cheaply, consumption increased and people moved to the towns. First, scavengers, and later public services, became a common sight which substituted the traditional country methods of disposal, such as feeding waste to the pigs, methods that were not possible in the towns, where the streets were full of piles of filth and garbage.

Private scavenger in a 19th Century European city

Americans indeed adopted Old World methods, focusing on individual responsibility for the disposal of wastes as befit the size and circumstances and of the country´s urban centers prior to 1830 (…). Both in Europe and the US what has been called the `cesspool-privy vault-scavenger system´ [ by Joel A. Tarr. See his work Water and Wastes: A Retrospective Assessment of Wastewater Technology in the United States, 1800-1932 ] `dealt adequately with the disposal of human and household liquid wastes in many communities until they experienced rapid growth or seriously altered the disposal system by introducing running water, which inundated the cesspools and privy vaults beyond their capacity to contain water.´ (…) As early as the end of the eighteenth century, major urban centers as NY and Boston had sewers (…) The use of sewage was primary utilized for drainage rather than carrying wastewater (…) A "sewer" in this early period was intended to carry stormwater or the drain stagnant pools rather than to handle wastewater" (Melosi, Sanitary Cities…).

Other US cities were involved in the same policy issues, how to deal with free roaming hogs, around the same time.

Leaving aside far away ones such as, for example, Little Rock, Arkansas (see Charles Rosenberg, The Cholera Years, cited by Ted Steinberg, Down to Earth, pg 160, FN 4) or Cincinnati, whose nickname, Porkopolis, was coined around 1835, when Cincinnati, Ohio, was the country's chief hog packing center, and herds of pigs traveled the streets (Cincinnati, Wikipedia), the following are some other examples of places in the East Coast, closer to NY:

Charleston officials passed an ordinance in 1700 which prevented hogs from running loose in the streets (Melosi, Sanitary Cities.)

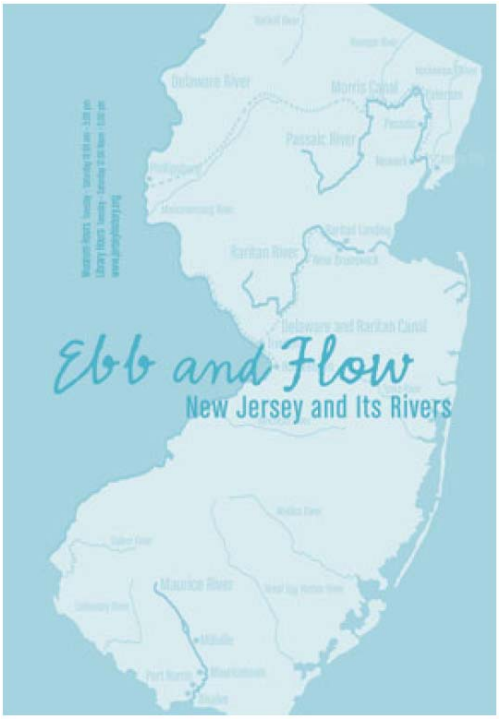
In December 30, 1854 Albany cracked down on pigs running loose in the street, rounding up 15,000 (see Online Resources.)

By the 1830s, the area of area of Washington, D.C. bounded approximately by 3rd, 15th, G, and O Streets, N.W., called the "Northern Liberties," [a term presumably borrowed from Philadelphia that was bestowed on regions beyond the limits of a city] experienced almost no development initially, save for a few scattered wood frame dwellings surrounded by vast squares of open land. Few residents lived north of M Street at the time. The name "Northern Liberties" was further established by the passage of an 1809 Act to Prevent Swine from Going At Large. This act designated Massachusetts Avenue as the boundary beyond which pigs were allowed to roam." (Mount Vernon Square Historic District, pg 3). In Washington, D.C., up until the 1860s, people still dumped garbage and slop in the street, while pigs, rats, and cockroaches flourish (Environmental Protection Agency, Milestones in Garbage).

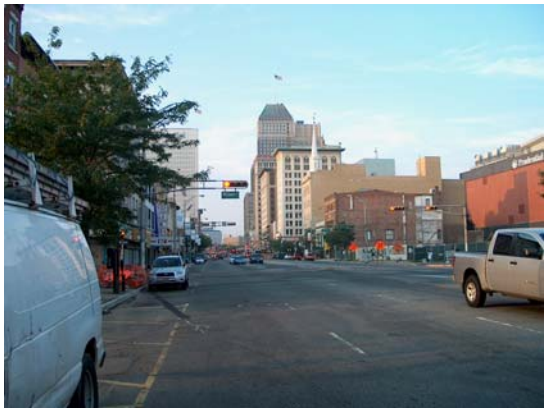
Newark in the mid 1850s (Courtesy of "A historical timeline of municipal solid waste management and Newark")

NY´s neighbour city, the city of Newark, New Jersey, was founded in 1666 by Dutch colonists (not by Puritans looking to set up a theocracy, as it official website, forgetting its own History, says). Newark's industrial boom began in the early to mid-1800s, when it was known for its leather factories and breweries. The construction of the Morris Canal and various railroads turned Newark into a bustling port city. Beginning in the 1830's, after the completion of the Morris Canal and two railroad lines, the city of Newark, became an industrial center. The Irish immigrants stayed after building the canal to work in Newark's new factories. Soon they were followed by a large migration of Germans. Newark's industrialization attracted so many foreign born that between 1840 and1856, the city's population more than tripled from 17,000 to 56,000. By 1860, Newark could boast of being not only the largest city in the State, with double the population of second largest city, but the principal industrial center in the nation (History of the Newark Sewer System).

The strategic situation of Newark, among the Delaware, the Raritan, the Maurice and the Passaic Rivers, contributed to its essential role as a sub-hub to NY and a key enclave for food supply, settlement, transportation and industry. A wonderful recent Exhibit by The New Jersey Historical Society emphasizes this historical role of its rivers: "Ebb and Flow: New Jersey and Its Rivers."



"The situation across the Passaic River, just near NY, was very similar: Meanwhile, living conditions deteriorated. Pigs roamed the streets in search of garbage, animal carcasses littered the streets, and the waterways that traversed the city carried away household wastes in full view for all to see. The poor and immigrant classes lived in dark, wretched tenements without running water or basic sanitary amenities. Consequently, Newark, like most northeastern cities, was periodically plagued by outbreaks of epidemics. Infectious diseases such as cholera, typhoid, yellow fever, dysentery and small pox claimed thousands of lives, mostly the poor. (…) In August 1852, the Common Council adopted a plan to build underground sewers that would empty into the Passaic River. The plan had been devised after length consultation with engineers employed in sewer construction in New York City and was based on sewer advances that had been made in Europe. Work began on the Newark's first sewer in 1852 and was completed in 1854." (Id)



Newark´s downtown, from Broadway Street, under which the old sewage system still runs

Actually it was in part the attempts to control animals in the streets in NY what shifted the problem to Jersey City, close to Newark.

As Benjamin Feldman has described, when studying the location of the slaughtering industry that provided NY with fresh meat:

"In 18th Century Manhattan, commercial slaughtering to provide New Yorkers with meat was conducted downtown, at Chatham Square, near Henry Astor's Bull's Head Tavern. The evolution of purely residential districts in the early 19th Century with widespread deed restrictions against bone boiling and similar noxious uses, combined with the irreversible move uptown of many industries to secure larger quarters, brought slaughtering 35 blocks north to the intersection of the Bowery (now Third Avenue as it heads north of present –day 6th Street) and 24th Street by the mid-1820s. [Until then, and] as late as 1825, upstate drovers like Daniel Drew herded tens of thousands of animals from the Bronx (then still part of Westchester County) over the King's Bridge at the Harlem River in northern Manhattan and south to Bull's Head. Chatham Square residents had tired of the noxious odors and herds of squealing animals parading through the streets on market days, and a group of them bought out Henry Astor's establishment and closed it down. Early and mid-19th Century squatters inhabited many undeveloped parts of what is now midtown Manhattan, generally the rockiest and least accessible areas (as well as much of the wilderness converted after 1857 to the new Central Park). Many of these men and women raised pigs and goats, allowing their herds to forage in the ubiquitous heaps of garbage. Slaughtering, bone boiling and fat rendering were a profitable concomitant of the squatters' efforts, and these activities were carried on outside of the established abbatoir districts.

The City and State governments' 1853 decision to locate Manhattan's new Central Park in the middle of the island went hand in hand with an East Side property owners' association to militate for the removal of noxious uses to the waterfront edges of New York.

[That same year, taking advantage of the improvements in rail transportation in the metropolitan area, a] 1853 ordinance banned daytime cattle drives south of 42nd Street. Lack of refrigeration dictated that meat be slaughtered [by the wholesale trade in edible flesh in New York] near the point of retail sale.

The southern terminus of the New York, Harlem and Albany Railroad in the 1840s was at East 26th Street and Fourth Avenue. Massive open freight yards filled the areas east and west of the tracks as they stretched uptown along Fourth Avenue. Flesh on the hoof of many descriptions was brought by cattle-car into the area. With the exception of the New York Central's lines up to Albany that lead to Buffalo and Chicago, the tracks of the railroads coming from the Midwest towards New York City terminated at the Hudson River's Jersey City shore. Cattle shipped from points west to the lucrative City market were loaded onto barges at the New Jersey rail-yard docks and transshipped to East River docks. Slaughterhouses grew up along the East River north of 42nd Street with direct access to the adjacent wharves. A World War I-era map shows cattle chutes leading from the piers directly into the adjacent packinghouses." (Benjamin Feldman, Dresed to Kill I).

If this connection between the free roaming pigs and the lack of garbage collection systems and with the location of the slaughtering industries did exist in many cities, it is highly probable that the connection did also exist in NY.

NY was not different, although the free roaming of pigs seems to have lasted longer than in other American cities. And the situation simply lasted longer in the US in general when compared to European cities, and in NY in particular when compared with other American cities, because of the mix of factors listed above (there is usually no monocausal explanation for complex events), among which it should be included its hands-off approach to social intervention, and a disdain and carelessness in the design and implementation of policies that, although also common to other cities, were worse taken care of in NY.

“In some of the larger towns or cities, municipally appointed or privately paid scavengers removed clutter from streets and also carted away rubbish and garbage as early as the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, almost all major towns relied on scavengers to remove the largest and most obvious discards from the streets, including rubbish and dead animals. Eventually the free-roaming pigs and fowl was curtailed, and it became progressively incompatible with scavenging whenever these functioned adequate and efficiently.” (Melosi, Id.)

In most American cities scavenging shifted slowly but steadily towards more organized systems.

But NY was far from efficiently administered. At least the poorer wards, as explained below.

In NY scavenging was a rather normal activity of poor women (Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789–1860, pgs 50-51) and children for whom scavenging was "as common a pastime as playing baseball or jumping rope." (David Nasaw, Children of the City: At Work and At Play, pg 88), both cited also by Susan Strasser (Waste and Want: The Other Side of Consumption… 1992) who emphasizes the economic benefits from that activity to the family economy: “Scavenging was an essential element in those systems. A number of recent works in urban social history have pointed to its prevalence throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. `Scavenging was the chore of those too young to earn income through wage work or street selling,´ Christine Stansell writes of poor New Yorkers in the 1830s, in *City of Women.* Besides taking trash home or peddling it to neighbors, children sold it to junk dealers, who in turn vended it to manufacturers and artisans to use in industrial processes. On the waterfront, children foraged for loose cotton, which had shredded off bales on the wharves where the Southern packet ships docked, as well as for shreds of canvas and rags... Broken bits of hardware -nails, cogs, and screws- went to iron and brass founders and coppersmiths to be melted down; bottles and bits of broken glass to glassmakers. Old rope was shredded and sold as oakum, a fiber used to caulk ships. The medium for these exchanges was a network of secondhand shops along the waterfront” (Susan Strasser, Id.)

As Martin Melosi has explained, “sistematic street cleaning with paid crews became increasingly necessary in the mid-nineteenth century (when urban street horses were more plentiful). At best, attention to many problems associated with liquid and solid wastes were dealt with casually in most towns and only with slightly more determination in larger cities until later in the nineteenth century. There was little stimulus, internal or external, for American cities to alter their disposal practices prior to 1830. In the case of water supply, however, the fear of fire and epidemics, and

eventually the experience of the English, produced some modests changes" (…) The English "sanitary idea" and the refining of the **miasmatic theory of disease** would provide the context in which substantial elaboration in technologies of sanitation would take place in the mid- to late nineteenth century" (Melosi, Sanitary Cities).

The 1849 NY cholera epidemic, the occasion for the "miasmatic theory" to gain general acceptancewas the first real excuse to remove pigs, creating an embryo of waste management system. For example, Benjamin Miller considers that the most important watershed moment in the history of garbage in New York City was the invention of the modern business model for waste-management, which occurred during that 1849 cholera epidemic, when Inspector White took charge; an event that led directly, by 1852, to the beginning of that complex of garbage factories on Barren Island; factories which operated through 1916 and lingered on into the 30s (Benjamin Miller, in the interview that, on April 1 and 2, 2007, Gotham Gazette held online with him, NYC Book Club Conversation With Benjamin Miller, The New York Times, August 1-2, 2007.) Nevertheless, the sanitation movement took a long time to have relevant impact in NY. This explains why "the refuse problem," as Melosi writes, "gained public recognition as an environmental issue [only] soon after the efforts to assure clean water and adequate sewerage in the early 1880s and just before the first attempts to abate smoke and excessive noise in the mid 1890s" (Melosi, Garbage in the Cities, pg 20).

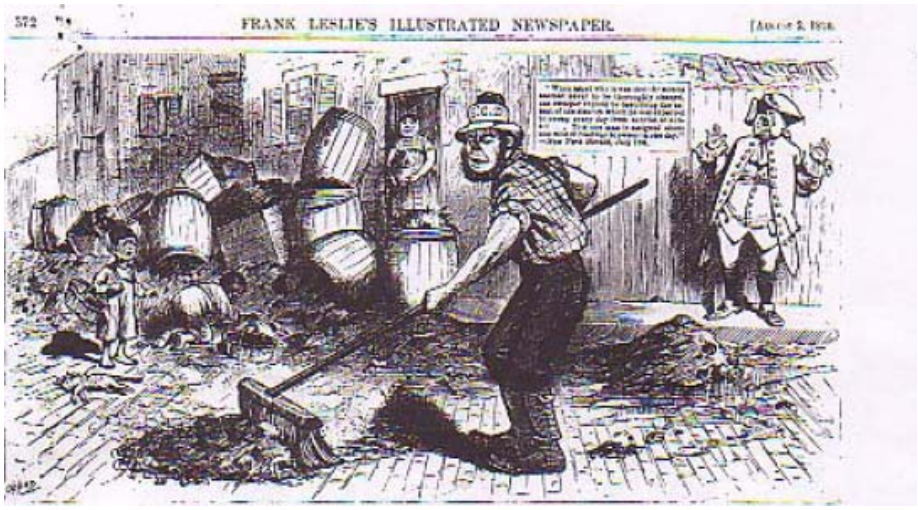
The science in which the original sanitation movement was based was later proven inaccurate. The "miasmatic theory" was based on the theory that diseases were caused by the breathing of miasmas (the odors of the filth) rather than by contagion (transmission by direct cintact with the sick) or some other cause. Chadwick´s theory [about the Chadwick report see immediately below], and that of all the scientific (versus religious) reform movement "believed that disease was caused not by contagion but by `miasmas,´ the foul gases arising from poor drainage and stagnant wastes" (Richard N. L. Andrews, Chapter 7 of Managing The Environment, Managing Ourselves…, at 114 and 123). So the cleaning of filth became the relevant policy, a policy that could no longer rely on private activities, calling for strong municipal public action. It was not until the 1880s, when bacteria and their relation with disease were discovered that the "new public health" (driven by physicians) was advanced, leading to the early 20th Century division of the public health services into public works (dominated by environmental engineers, chemists, and biologists) and the public health services in the strict sense (driven by physicians). The "new science" was laboratory based, advocated bacteriology an immunology through vaccination and questioned that filth by itself was the cause of anything. The ideological and public policy battle lasted until the end of the I World War, when the "engineering approach", questioned during several decades by the "new scientists" recovered its power (see Richard N. L. Andrews, Chapter 7 of Managing The Environment, Managing Ourselves…, at 122 and ff). But we are going too fast. What were the successes, if any, of the scientific "miasmatic"-based public health policies of NY?

"NY streets were reputed to be the dirtiest in antebellum America [ante American Civil War 1861-1865]." For decades citizens had thrown their garbage into the gutters, hoping that scavenging pigs would it the mess or that rain would wash it away. "Homeowners were supposed to sweep garbage into piles for the city to cart away, but the carts never came. As a result, street traffic mashed this household refuse together with the dropping of horses and other animals to create an inches-thick sheet of

putrefying muck., which when it rained or snowed became particularly vile." (Anbinder, at 82.) So the private scavenger street cleaning-garbage removal system, that worked well in the first half of the 19th Century in many American cities, did not function correctly at all in NY.

Based on the miasmatic theory, though, NY cleaned the streets for the first time in the aftermath of the 1832 cholera. People discovered with astonishment and incredulity that, under the filth, the streets were paved with stones.

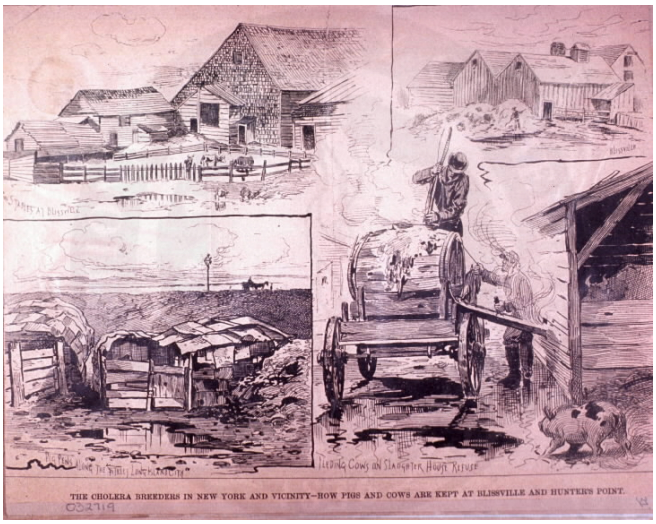
Though the picture below was meant to be a humorous one, Five Points streets were often this dirty, especially in the pre-Civil War years. Street sweeping was hard work. But the jobs were much sought after, and were usually given as rewards to those who toiled faithfully for neighbourhood political leaders. The "S.C.D." on his Irishman´s hat stands for Street Cleaning Department. Frank Leslie´s Illustrated Newspaper [August 2, 1879]: 372. Collection of the Library of Congress. [Comment by Anbinder, at 84]



Why didn´t NY keep apace with the developments taking place in most cities?

"The municipality [of NY] and State, smitten with laissez-faire, had dismantled much of the eighteenth century regulatory apparatus" (Burrows & Wallace, at 786). Only when the social conditions, through, among others, the 1842 John H. Griscom report, became patent to the city officials, newly enthused reformers were given the chance to make a considerable impact on the urban landscape [The Griscom Report was published in 1845: The Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Population of New York, is considered "a landmark in the history of public health". On its linkages with the famous 1842 Edwin Chadwick´s report On the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, and, in general on urban sanitation, see also Richard N. L. Andrews, Chapter 7 of Managing The Environment, Managing Ourselves…, at 113-116].

The misunderstanding of the role of pigs in cholera epidemics, which blamed hogs in part as the cuase of the disease itself, as it was common in those days [see picture below. Picture caption reads: "The cholera breeders in New York and vicinity, how pigs and cows are kept at Blissville and Hunter's Point."], also contributed to the definitive substitution of pigs by minimally efficient garbage collection systems.



THE CHOLERA BREEDERS IN NEW YORK AND VICINITY—HOW PIGS AND COWS ARE KEPT AT BLISSVILLE AND HUNTER'S POINT.

Nevertheless, what brought hogs away from garbage -of course, in isolated out-of-town piggeries- much later, in the 1950s and 1960s was not their contribution to human disease but the almost opposite: the contribution of garbage to pigs´ diseases. As Lanier Hickman, Jr. and Richard W. Eldredge have explained, "often the pig was allowed to wander over and into the dumped refuse. In later years [when free-roaming was banned], foodwastes/garbage were collected separately and fed raw directly to pigs. Many historians tell us that we stopped feeding refuse to pigs because undercooked pork spread a disease to humans called trichinosis (an infestation of the intestines and muscles) [and the spread of cholera, we could add]. While this is indeed the case, it was not because humans might become infected with trichinosis [nor because they contributed to cholera, we would add] that the practice of feeding uncooked garbage to pigs was stopped. In the late 1950s it became apparent that raw garbage, or undercooked garbage that contained pork scraps, spread a disease among swine that was not known to affect humans. This disease, vesicular exanthema (an eruptive disease in the veins of the pigs), was deadly to pigs and threatened to wipe out many piggeries. New laws/regulations were established, requiring that the garbage be cooked to combat vesicular exanthema. This process was distasteful, expensive, and sometimes ineffective. This early failed attempt at recycling ceased and is seldom considered today---thank heavens!" (Lanier Hickman, Jr. and Richard W. Eldredge, A Brief History of Solid Waste Management in the US During the Last 50 Years, Part 2: Of Mosquitoes, Flies, Rats, Swine, and Smoke, in MSW Management.)

The delay in the adoption of garbage collection policies in NY also had to do with the fact that the Board of Health was, during most of the 19th Century a corrupted inefficient body, used as a patronage placement opportunity in NY politics. [See, below, the cartoon, which "shows the members of the Board of Health as fat men who slept at meetings, oblivious to important health issues.]

With all, the New York Metropolitan Health Law of 1866 was a really landmark piece of legislation, creating the first clearly professional agency for local public health administration, and attributing to the Board of Health broad discretionary authority to investigate, regulate, promote, and implement sanitation measure (Richard N. L. Andrews, Op cit, 116 and 120; George Rosen, A History of Public Health, pg 243 and ff).

It was not until after the Board of Health became the New York City Department of Health in 1870 that the organization began to have a better understanding of the problems and how to help solve them as well as the ability to enforce necessary changes". Madeline Crisci, Public Health in New York City in the Late Nineteenth Century, pg 9]

Wood engraved illustration from Harper's Weekly, v. 9 (1865), p. 496

As Elise Hancock (100 Years of Manhattan's Garbage) and the New York Public Library Exhibit "Garbage! The History and Politics of Trash in New York City" explained, **"**the politics of garbage, however, centered around the issue of public vs. private. When Tammany Hall (a Democratic faction) was running the city, public street cleaning meant sinecure jobs for Tammany faithful, who were overseen by the police commissioners. After a fashion, that is: The police thought they had more important things to do than enforcing laws about dead cats. Fee says that municipal garbage collectors were viewed by middle-class reformers as `a bunch of no-goods feeding off the public trough,´ and the streets were filthy.

When garbage was tackled by private enterprise, however, as business leaders often suggested, residents complained that even after paying for service, they still had to pay bribes. Yet still the streets were filthy. `The requirement to make a profit,´ says Fee [ he curator of the Exhibit] "means that some things will not be well-handled. `For example, private carters would pick up dead horses off the street and take them to rendering plants when it was profitable. When it was not, the horses rotted.´ In 1880, 15,000 horses had to be removed from the streets of New York.

By tacit consent, through most of the late 19th century, what actually happened in poor neighborhoods was that refuse of all sorts piled up. Scavengers would retrieve items of

commercial value, until eventually the city would cart away what festering stuff remained, plus the ashes--lots of ashes, since heat came from burning wood or coal. “

It is no wonder, then, that intuitively many historians link the final disappearance of free roaming pigs with the definitive institutionalizing of street cleaning services, which in NY was a very late 19th Century achievement of Colonel Waring, as part of the modern sanitation movement.

Pioneering sanitary engineer Samuel A, Greeley noted that “the beginnings of city cleaning were undoubtedly in street cleaning” because citizens considered that the streets were mainly public, so they continuously lodged complaints about their filthy state.

“The American Public Health Association undertook a major study of refuse, looking to Europe for experience and guidance in dealing with waste. Women´s groups formed health protective associations in New York and other cities. The General Federation of Women´s Clubs (GFWC) advocated urban cleanup and promoted better methods of street cleaning. Jane Addam´s Hull House lobbied for clean streets and the excavation and removal of years of accumulated waste. Cities also created cleaner, healthier recreation spaces such as urban parks. Such efforts, combined with new laws regulating sanitary conditions, contributed to civic improvement.

By the 1890s the American Society of Municipal Engineers and the Society for Street Cleaning and Refuse Disposal were formed by engineers worried about the need for increasing efficiency in street cleaning. The first American garbage furnace was constructed in New York, on Governor´s Island, in 1885. Carts loaded with refuse and garbage ascended the ramp and deposited their contents on an unloading deck at the top of the building. The refuse was then lowered and burned. Ashes and rubbish were loaded on to barges and taken outside, to NY Harbor, where they were dumped into the ocean” (Carolyn Merchant, The Columbia Guide to American Environmental History, pgs 110-111).

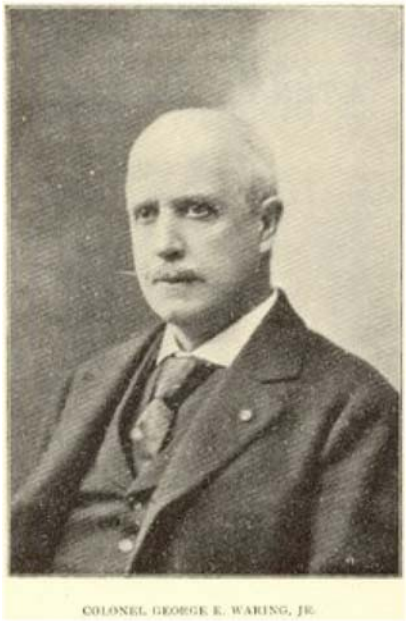
This organization of the system and the building of public works infrastructure coincided in time with George E. Waring´s mandate:

“*The herds of pigs were, in fact, the first New York street cleaners, and while there was some progress, little headway was made against the filth of the city until Colonel George E. Waring and his army of `White Wings´ came on the scene. In 1900 Jacob Riis observed in A Ten Years' War, `it was Colonel Waring's broom that first let light into the slum. That which had come to be considered an impossible task he did by the simple formula of 'putting a man instead of a voter behind every broom.' The streets that had been dirty were swept. The ash barrels which had befouled the sidewalks disappeared... The trucks [more than 60,000 strong] that obstructed the children's only playground, the street, went with the dirt...His broom saved more lives in the crowded tenements than a squad of doctors. It did more: it swept the cobwebs out of our civic brain and conscience, and set up a standard of a citizen's duty which...will be ours until we have dragged other things than our pavements out of the mud´ (…). Little wonder then that the `White Wings´ paraded proudly in April of 1903.”* (New York City at the Turn of the Century)

Colonel George Waring Jr., a former Civil War officer, was appointed New York City's first sanitation director in 1896. It was considered almost a miracle: a reform mayor ousted Tammany Hall and appointed as commissioner of street cleaning a military man, Colonel George E. Waring. Within two years, New Yorkers were proud to say that their city was the cleanest in the world. Disease rates were dropping sharply.

Given a free hand, Waring shook up the entire system. He created America's first, residential solid waste collection and recycling program by launching a major public relations campaign and outfitting his sanitation workers in white uniforms to parallel the cleanliness of the medical profession. He used his "White Wing" workers to wage a war against waste. For a dollar a day, Waring's sanitation crews provided and serviced residents with three barrels: one for ash, one for garbage and the other for rubbish. Workers pressed oil and grease from the garbage to be sold to industry as lubricants. Spent garbage then was dried in cakes and sold as fertilizer to farmers across the country. Ash was landfilled. Remaining garbage was dumped in the Atlantic Ocean. Through source separation NY was able to make money from contractors who hired immigrant workers to pick through the garbage and remove marketable materials. By the turn of the century, at one New York City dump, as much as forty-eight percent of the trash was picked out. In 1903 contractors paid $71,000 for the picking privilege in Manhattan and the Bronx.

Waring’s tenure as New York City’s Commissioner of Street Cleaning, from 1895 to 1898, was probably his most famous position in the sanitary movement. He completely renovated his department’s street-cleaning and garbage-collecting procedures and equipment and transformed New York’s streets from the dirtiest to among the cleanest in the world at the time. Although the return to power of the Tammany Hall political machine cost Waring his job, he would be remembered in the city as the “apostle of cleanliness”.



COLONEL GEORGE E. WARING, JR.


At the Annual Parade

The CLEANING of a GREAT CITY.

by GEORGE E. WARING, JR.

Commissioner of Street Cleaning, New York.

THE tendency to ascribe former defects of the Department of Street Cleaning in New York city to one political party, as such, seems to me not to be fair. I had this prevailing tendency myself when I first took office, but experience has taught me that it was a question not of party, but of politics. I have no reason now to suppose that matters would have been in any wise better had the other party been in control of the city government. Whatever may be the differences of their members in avocation or in attainments, when it is a question of the government of the city, by the spoilsmen, for the party, there is nothing to choose between political organizations.

I am, to this extent, no more an anti-Tammany man than I should be an anti-Republican man, if Republicans had brought about the same defects, had their party been in power. In describing the former condition of the streets and of the Department, I am making no criticism of Tammany Hall—only of politics as the ruling factor in city government. The improved present condition could not have been brought about without an absolute disregard of all political considerations in

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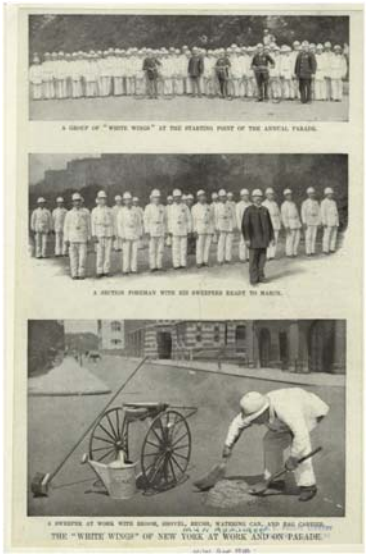
N.Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION


A GROUP OF "WHITE WINGS" AT THE STARTING POINT OF THE ANNUAL PARADE.

A SECTION FOREMAN WITH HIS SWEEPERS READY TO MARCH.

A SWEEPER AT WORK WITH BROOM, SHOVEL, HOOK, WATERING CAN, AND BAG COVERED.

THE "WHITE WINGS" OF NEW YORK AT WORK AND ON PARADE.

The "white wings" of New York at the annual parade, 1897 (left); and at work and on parade, 1900 (right).
(Collection of the New York City Sanitation Department)

Notwithstanding the delay in the adoption of garbage related policies it is also true that in terms of scale, while the filth was all over, nothing is comparable with today´s garbage production. The amount of trash in the 19th Century was still minimal compared to 20th Century standards.

In the words of one of the most notorious experts in the relationship between garbage and social history, Susan Strasser,

“before the late nineteenth century, households did not produce much trash by twentieth-century standards, though accumulations in urban public places would be noxious to modern Americans. At the turn of the century, household refuse was a smaller component of what is now called the waste stream than the ashes produced by coal and wood heat or by street sweepings primarily composed of horse manure-by-products that were later replaced by air pollution from fossil fuels. In 1906 New York City employed 750 workers to load Manhattan's residential trash onto trucks and 1,200 men to sweep its streets. That year, H. de B. Parsons, an engineer retained by the commissioner of the city's Department of Street Cleaning, reported that New York collected less than half a million tons of household trash [versus approximately 11,000 tons of municipally collected waste today, we would add] and over two million of ashes and street sweepings.”

“Washington, D.C., the Public Sanitation Committee of Saint Louis' Civic Improvement League similarly reported that household trash constituted one-quarter to one-third of municipal waste in the average American city. These reports represented the efforts of a turn-of-the-century movement to make garbage a matter of municipal concern. But as a distinct concept, it was far from a matter of everyday concern in the household. Neither Sears nor Montgomery Ward carried any household products designed and marketed specifically for holding or disposing of garbage; no trash barrels, garbage cans, or wastepaper baskets. People used whatever barrels or boxes were on hand instead of purchasing special receptacles to meet a special need. Moreover, they threw away relatively little. Most households without modern wrappings. People practiced habits of reuse that had prevailed in agricultural communities on both sides of the ocean. Food

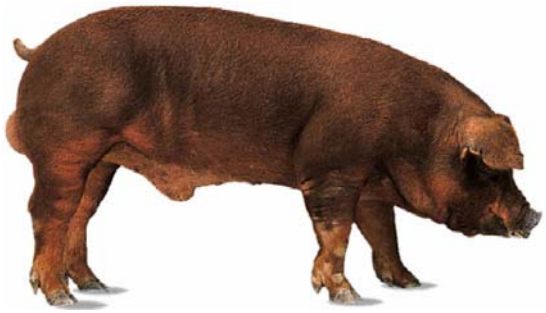
scraps were boiled into soups or were fed to domestic animals. Chickens especially would eat almost anything and return the favor with eggs, and many people raised them in working-class cities." (Susan Strasser, Waste and Want: The Other Side of Consumption,… 1992)

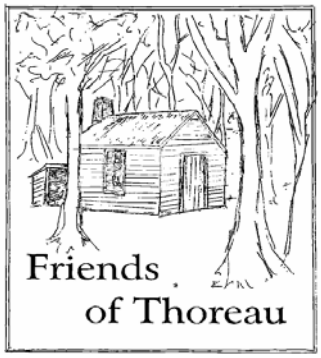
In conclusion, it may have been urban growth *per se* what really produced the "death of the organic city".

It was that very same growth what ultimately did away with pigs in the cities, and in New York, first as free-roamers, then as household companions. Only when the garbage problem became unmanageable for the pigs themselves (and for the city dwellers that no longer could at all rely on them) did they completely disappear, and that did not happen until the turn of the century, when piles of garbage were perceived both as menaces to public health and as public eyesores, and they were becoming larger and more prevalent as urban areas increased in population and density and the street cleaning problem alone became staggering.

Ultimately it was the maturity of the sanitation movement , which developed in parallel to the growth of cities, what "changed the image" of the city. NY had gone from an informal city through most of the century, notwithstanding all its splendor, into a more complex modern city. As Eric Monkkonen has put it, "the formal legal functions of the city may be fewer, but the nature of these functions has become dramatically more specialized, complex, and sophisticated (…) For the most part, even within their older formal functions, cities do far more than they used to. While they still administer welfare, for instance, the scope of welfare, its detailed complexity, has grown vastly. Everything from job training programs to specialized kinds of care has replaced or supplemented direct in-kind or cash payments to individuals. Vast industrial enterprises supply water and drain cities. Solid waste management specialists have replaced pigs and night soil haulers. Financial officers design complex strategies for city investments. City engineers map subsurface geological structures.-.." (Eric H. Monkkonen, America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780/1980, pgs 90-91).

The sanitation movement, though, did not mature as much. It took almost another century, until the 1970s to crystallize as a social-wide enviromental movement. During the first three quarters of the 20th Century it only continued to grow as a nature conservation meovement, dealing with issues that had nothing to do with industrial helath-quality related problems. Why the sanitation movement somehow stagnated as a US wide social movement has been explained by some scholars (see, e.g., Richard N. L. Andrews, Managing the Environment, Managing Ourselves, A History of american Environmental Policy, at 109-110) but research about the accuracy of the reasons that led to this outcome would be on itself a subject of a completely different case study.





Pigs in New York City; a Study on 19th Century Urban "Sanitation"

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SCHOLARS´ DEBATE

1.- Charles Dickens and America

It is true that Dickens´ **American Notes** was not well received at all by Americans, notwithstanding the respect that Dickens showed for one of the most cherished American writers at the time, Washington Irving (Leonora Stein, Washington Irving, The Quintessential New York Writer). Still today, the controversy about whether Dickens overreacted against Americans, or just the opposite, is open to debate. For example, the remark on the pigs in Broadway has been seen simply as a strategy to stir the building of self criticism and sense of humor: *"If Dickens' jokes about our nationalism still sting, perhaps it is just as well. He worked to remind us that a country is not great merely by saying so. He put fort ideals of honesty, and suggested that we might achieve more of such ideals if we could laugh at the pigs in our streets, the tobacco juice on our carpets, our provincial bragging, our humorless religious sects which encourage alienation more than warmth, our "darning" of our mothers more than of ignorance, our praising giants of physical stature more than those of character, etc."*. (Louie Crew, Charles Dickens as a Critic of the United States).

What is the real debate about the intellectual relationship between Dickens and the Americans? Did New Yorkers like his description of the city?

2.- Local Authorities Home Rule in the First Decades of the Union.

Item 4 of the Main Page explores how the Mayor was able to get from a Grand Jury the decision that Mr Harriet could not allow his pigs to run at large. The Common Council had just issued a law with exactly the opposite content.

How can it be that the Mayor can overrun the Council?

Under the Montgomerie Charter of 1730, which remained in 1818 the fundamental law of the corporation of the City of New York, the Mayor was an officer appointed by the State Council of Appointments, rather than one elected by municipal residents (see Hartog, FN 21). What does this fact tell you about home rule democracy in the State of New York in the first years of the Republic?

Moreover, have in mind that NY city is famous because of its early establishment of a municipal government even in the years when it was still an outpost of the Dutch West Indies Company (see Shorto). [About the original constitutions of New York between the Dutch management of the West Indies Company and the Independence, see Daniel J. Hulsebosch, Imperia in Imperio: the Multiple Constitutions of Empire in New York, 1750-1777]

As it is well known, three academic viewpoints existed on municipal governance under the common law: Dillon's Rule, the Cooley Doctrine, and the Fordham Rule. Dillon's Rule, mandated a strict construction of municipal powers, given that municipalities are deemed creatures of the State. The Cooley Doctrine, on the other hand, held that localities are not creatures of the State but have inherent powers. Lastly, the Fordham Rule, while mandating a more liberal construction of municipal powers, still held that such powers should be devolved from the State (see Louis v. Csoka, The Dream of Greater Municipal Autonomy: Should the Legislature or the Courts Modify Dillon's Rule, a Common Law Restraint on Municipal Power?; and Jim Williams & Randolph Horn, Local Self Government in Alabama). Which of them was applied to NY after the Revolution?

3.- Fencing Laws in Rural America During the Nineteenth Century

In the Main Page, Item 5, we assert that “it is somehow not a coincidence that the change in the rule (or at least its serious enforcment) came about the same time when it changed also at the countryside”. The reason for the coincidence has a clear explanation and it was in part based on the development itself of farming and the economics of rural towns, and in the definitive impulse that the new rule got form the consequences of the Civil War.

As Jack Temple Kirby (The Civil War: An Environmental View) has explained, “by the early nineteenth century (…) wealthy planters began to attack the range and its essential fencing laws as archaic: animals should be fenced instead of fields, they argued. Timbers for countless miles of fencing grew scarcer and expensive, range animals were more subject to disease epidemics, rural neighborhood peace was continually disrupted by disputes over broken fences and tramped crops. Edmund Ruffin and his friends proposed `reform in Virginia during the 1830s, but their effort was promptly crushed.

Virginia was, after all, a white-male democracy, and ordinary rural men understood that those with little or no land could hardly grow feed crops for confined animals. Fence reform would deprive them of their herds and reduce them to dependency.

In the North, meanwhile, fencing reform succeeded and spread westward through the free states, so that by the time of the Civil War, the southern countryside was truly distinctive and, ironically, considering the prevalence of plantation slavery, a `democratic´ countryside where even poor men (white, mostly) could feed their families and, as drovers and sellers of surplus beef and pork, participate in markets (…).

Many battles took place on farms, and there, too, horrible destruction of both built and arranged landscapes transpired. Farmhouses, barns, and other outbuildings were blown up, burned (often intentionally), or, if left standing, stripped of boards by needy troops of both sides. Farm fences everywhere disappeared, because they were conveniently sized and aged for firewood (…). Thus, the war destroyed not only thousands of miles of fences but consumed range cattle and hogs (…) The open range was fatally crippled during 1861-1865—decades before fencing reform was finally successful—and the South was transformed from a self-sufficient surplus-shipping region into a region that imported fat Midwestern pork."

Union soldiers taking rail fences to use as firewood, North Carolina, 1862 North Carolina Civil War Image Portfolio. Prints and Photographs. North Carolina Collection. Courtesy of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

It had also a debastating effect on the economies (and the health) of the recently freed African-Americans: "There was no `Forty Acres and a Mule´—black folks' modest dream of reward during the war. Nor were there to be sufficient feral cattle and hogs in the woods and swamps, which might have provided the most basic sustenance and

independence. Had the free range actually functioned as it had before the war, many black peasants might have taken up the economies poor white men had enjoyed already for two centuries; i.e., they might have claimed, bought, or inherited some pigs, ranged them in the woods, fed themselves their own meat, traded for other food and necessities, and ultimately, perhaps, with expanded holdings sufficient to market surpluses for cash, purchased land. Instead, most ex-slaves fell into a dependency of an especially onerous sort, sharecropping, taking rations from landlords and merchants who bought Ohio meat by the barrel, falling into near-perpetual debt, and into the dubious celebrity, ultimately, of medical pathology (...) since in the twentieth century, the South was known not only as the `Bible Belt´ but the `Hypertension Belt.´ The postwar landscape, meanwhile, relentlessly reorganized, deforested, and cotton-spread, gradually closed out remnants of the open range and opportunity for poor people of any color."

Do you agree with this analysis? Were not the 1880s the years when beef started to be massively produced in the US? Is not hypertension linked to beef consumption rather than to pork? Were not the domestic economies of freed slaves rather hit by different obstacles raised in the era of reconstruction both to land, labor and liberal professions?

4.- Did customary common law apply in the United States?

Hendrik Hartog has argued that the reason why Mayor Colden was able to obtain a favorable ruling from the Grand Jury in 1819 was because the "right to the free roaming of pigs" was not customary common law. The argument is somehow sophisticated. For legal scholars, that is certainly debatable. Could one say that the fact that the rule had been originally introduced by formal acts of the colonies (at least the rule for free roaming pigs in countryside towns) makes it impossible to argue that a custom developed afterwards? [In order to research the issue it is necessary to read carefully Hartog´s "Pigs and Positivism" (see Section on Works Cited).]

5.- The Contribution of Women to the Environmental Movement in its Early Stages. The Case of Urban Sanitation.

Historians have reached the conclusion that "in the decades around 1900, middle-class women were indispensable in every environmental cause in the United States, and they often justified their activism as an extension of traditionally feminine responsibilities. The prominence of women as advocates of environmental reform posed a challenge for men who sought to stop pollution, conserve natural resources, and preserve wild places and creatures" (Abstract of Adam Rome, "Political hermaphrodites": Gender and Environmental Reform in Progressive America).

Independently of how did men respond to the challenge of making their case without losing their masculine authority, which has also been researched (see Id), the question that is still open to farther research is to which extent did the very active participation of women in the urban sanitation reform movement in cities such as NY in the last quarter of the 19th Century did influence other women attitudes toward environmentalism later, at the turn of the Century.

The first annual report of the New York Ladies' Health Protective Association, published in 1894, was typical. "It is an eminently proper thing for women to interest themselves in the care and destination of garbage, the cleanliness of streets, the proper killing and handling of meats, the hygienic and sanitary condition of the public schools, the suppression of stable nuisances, the abolition of the vile practice of expectorating in public conveyances and buildings, the care of milk and Croton water, the public exposure of foods, and in fact everything which constitutes the city's housekeeping," the report proclaimed. "It is the right of women to undertake these matters as they are brought into constant contact with the results of this housekeeping and will therefore be able to judge how it should properly be carried out." (Id.)

Women with professional ambitions also drew on traditional expectations about a woman's place in society to justify pioneering careers as environmental experts. Caroline Bartlett Crane became a nationally renowned sanitary consultant. She conducted sanitary surveys of cities, and then reported her findings at civic meetings. To which extent were the premises upon which these women worked "modern", in the sense that they adopted strategies for the civil society that were different from the religious (see, e.g., New York Ladies' Health Protective Association) and moralistic reform approaches of other women´s institutions such as The American Female Moral Reform Society [organized by followers of Charles Finney in 1834, which began by attacking prostitution and expanded its scope to the alleviation of the poverty that drove women into the sex trade], the Female Benevolent Society [organized to rescue "fallen women" (prostitutes) in the Five Points founded with the help of John Robert McDowall], or the New York Ladies´ Home Missionary Society ["similar goals of taking domesticity into the public realm inspired the Ladies' Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church to open the Five Points Mission in the following decade", Jonathan D. Sassi, Religion in Barnum's America] ?

To which extent did they clear the pace for the suffragists of the 1910s?

Were most of the suffragists also "environmentalists", as it was the case of settlement-house leader Jane Addams (the first American woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize)?

To which extent the attitudes of subcultures such as the G´hals (see Section on Guiding Students´ Discussion) contributed to feminism?

Christine Stansell, considers that, without losing sight of the hardships of poverty, working-class women possessed a degree of independence that was at the core of it all. Her study reveals a vigorous female culture that thrived in neighborhoods and in work groups (Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789–1860). Miriam Folline Leslie, magazine editor and publisher, was noted for founding and editing magazines in the Frank Leslie publishing empire, primarily Frank Leslie's Illustrated_Newspaper, one of the 19th century's most famous publications (see later Section on Guiding Students´ Discussion), and for contributing over $1 million to the suffrage cause after her death, helping finance the final drive for the vote. The media, was obviously involved too.

So, could it be that several social trends coincided in 19th Century NY all of them leading toward the hatching of feminism? Can the origins of feminism be understood

only by placing the focus on places / times where / when multiculturalism and women empowerment take places in multiple areas?

6.- The first "American" New Yorker: van der Donck´s Description of the New Netherlands.

Adriaen Cornelissen van der Donck (ca. 1618 – 1655) was the first lawyer and a landowner in New Netherland who intervened as a leader in the political life of New Amsterdam and contributed to the establishment of the principle of citizen participation in the colonies (rather, outposts of the West Indies Company). But, independently of his contribution to the life in the colony, he fell inlove with his new homeland and made detailed accounts of the land, vegetation, animals, waterways, topography, and climate.

Van der Donck (supposedly) and a page of his *Description of the New Netherlands*

Van der Donck published in Amsterdam, in 1655, his *Description of New Netherland*, which has been called by Charles Gehring, Director of the New Netherland Project, "the fullest account of the province, its geography, the Indians who inhabited it, and its prospects…It has been said that had it not been written in Dutch, it would have gone down as one of the great works of American colonial literature." The recent popularization of Gehring´s academic translation of the Dutch archives in the bestseller *The Island at the Center of the World* (See Item 2 of the Main Page) has contributed to restore this accomplishment. The *Description*, in Russell Shorto´s words, "was unabashedly a paean to the America Van der Donck knew. He arranged it thematically, devoting sections to the waters, woodlnds, wild vines, minerals, winds, seasons, and of course the Indians" (Shorto, at 251)

The influence of the *Description* was little, though, because it was not translated to English until 1841, and his translator, Jeremiah Johnson, did a lousy job anyhow.

Some scholars attribute real historical scientific, and anthropolgical value to his *Description*. "Today, he is also recognized as a sympathetic early Native American

ethnographer, having learned the languages and observed many of the customs of the Mahicans and Mohawks," says the omnipresent Wikipedia.

Others say that he was simply promoting the New World because he needed to actively promote immigration, to convince settlers to get established in the colony in order to ensure its future, looking –the critics- to the piece as if it were only some sort of "propaganda". [The final pages of the *Description*, which, following the contemporary literary tradition, consisted in a dialogue between a "Dutch Patriot" and a New Netherlander (himself) contribute to this image of the book. See also Ada Van Gastel, Rhetorical Ambivalence in the New Netherland Author Adriaen van der Donck]

Read the following excerpt from Van der Donck´s account, about how Natives understood Creation, and express your opinion about whether his description was sincere (maybe romantic, although we are speaking about a sixteenth century man who live in the seventeenth century, Shorto) or, to the contrary, whether you think that he may have been trying to convey a false image of a certain "paradise."

Their Opinions of the Creation, &c.

From the young Indians who frequent our settlements, and continue somewhat wild, we cannot derive any certain information of their belief on these matters; but we must have recourse to their aged men of understanding, when we desire to know their belief on those important subjects.

It sometimes happens when we enter into a curious discourse with them, that they ask us our opinions on the origin of man, and how they came to this country; and when we inform them in broken language of the creation of Adam, they cannot believe, or will not understand relative to their people and the negroes, on account of their great difference and the inequality of colour. According to their opinion the world was not created as described in the first and second chapters of the book of Genesis; but they say the world was before all mountains, men and animals; that God then was with that beautiful woman, who now is with him, without knowing when or from whence they came, then was all water, or the water covered all; and they add that if there had been any eyes in being, there was nothing but water to be seen, and nothing else visible in every direction.

It happened at this period, they say, that the before mentioned beautiful woman or goddess, gradually descended from heaven, even into the water, gross or corpulent like a woman, who apparently would bring forth more than one child. Having gradually settled into the water, she did not go under it; but immediately at the place where she descended, some land appeared under her, whereon she remained sitting. This land increased, and in time became greater and dry around the place, where she sat; like one who is placed on a bar, whereon the water is three or four feet deep, which by the ebbing of the tide becomes dry land.

Thus they say and mean to be understood, it occurred with this descended goddess. And that the land became of greater extent around her, until its extent was unbounded to the sight, when vegetation appeared; and in the time fruitful and unfruitful trees began to grow throughout the world as it now appears. Whether the world of which you speak originated at this time, we cannot say.

At this period of time, when those things had taken place and were accomplished, this great person was overtaken in labour and brought forth three distinct and different creatures. The first was like a deer as those now are, the second like a bear, and the third like a wolf in every respect. The woman suckled those animals to maturity, and remained a considerable time upon the earth, cohabitating with those several animals, and bringing forth at every birth more than one of a different species and appearance; from which have originated and proceeded all the human beings, animals and creatures, of every description and species, as the same now are and appear; being propagated according to nature, each in their peculiar order, as the same are in succession continued.

When all those subjects were brought to a state of perfection, and could continue, this common mother rejoiced greatly, and ascended up to heaven, where she will continue to remain and dwell, enjoying pleasure, and subsist in goodness and love, which her upper Lord will afford her, for which she is particularly desirous, and God also loves her supremely above all things.

Here on earth, in the meanwhile, the human species, and the animals after their kind, have multiplied and produced so many different creatures, and increased exceedingly: which every other thing that was created also does, as the same at present is seen. Therefore it is at this time, that all mankind, wherever they be, are always born with the nature of one or the other of the aforesaid animals. They are timid and innocent like the deer; they are brave, revengeful, and just of hand like the bear; or they are deceitful and blood-thirsty like the wolves. Although their dispositions are apparently somewhat changed, this they attribute to the subtlety of men, who know how to conceal their wicked propensities.

This, they say, is all they have learned from their fathers on the subject of the Creation; which has been handed down to them, and which they believe to be true. And they add if they had been able to write as you are, they would have transmitted and left us all the particulars on these matters, which they could not do, because they know not the art of writing.

Here, esteemed reader, you have all, both general and particular, that was worth writing, concerning the manners, opinions, and acts of the Indians in the New-Netherlands, which I could discover, and also which any of our Christians from the discovery of the country, could ascertain from them; and although much is fabulous and contrary to truth, I have nevertheless committed the same to writing. The more discerning (and I have heard some of them philosophize on the matter) take a more

extensive view, and have high speculations, and know, as we say, with Virgil, how to extract gold from the filth of Ennius.

Source of the map below: Van der Donck, Adriaen; O'Donnel, Thomas F. (editor): A description of the New Netherland. Syracuse Univ. Press (1968)

Map of the New Netherlands with a View of New Amsterdam, A. D. 1656

7.- Cultural Environments: New York´s Contribution to Universal Arts of African-American Origin.

The origins of America´s most important contribution to Universal Culture in the Arts, jazz, is undisputedly traced to the mix of music and musicians of African origin and European classical music, in the turn of the 20th Century New Orleans.

NY´s festive "play" urban environment (see Anbinder, Chapter 6), also contributed as an earlier precedent through the cultural "explosion" that some free African-American dancers induced in a predominantly Irish tip toe dance environment.

Master Juba´s dancing, which marvelled Charles Dickens, is being "recovered" through careful academic research and can even be visualized. Compare the paragraph of Charles Dickens´ American Notes below which describes Master Juba´s dancing when he was still a young local dancer, not jet world famous, with the video in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xe389fTa4FA (as of August 25, 2007), and explore whether this early art could at all have been "invented" in a different environment to that of the multiethnic early 19th Century NY.

But the dance commences. Every gentleman sets as long as he likes to the opposite lady, and the opposite lady to him, and all are so long about it that the sport begins to languish, when suddenly the lively hero dashes in to the rescue. Instantly the fiddler grins, and goes at it tooth and nail; there is new energy in the tambourine; new laughter in the dancers; new smiles in the landlady; new confidence in the landlord; new brightness in the very candles.

Single shuffle, double shuffle, cut and cross-cut; snapping his fingers, rolling his eyes, turning in his knees, presenting the backs of his legs in front, spinning about on his toes and heels like nothing but the man's fingers on the tambourine; dancing with two left legs, two right legs, two wooden legs, two wire legs, two spring legs - all sorts of legs and no legs - what is this to him? And in what walk of life, or dance of life, does man ever get such stimulating applause as thunders about him, when, having danced his partner off her feet, and himself too, he finishes by leaping gloriously on the bar-counter, and calling for something to drink, with the chuckle of a million of counterfeit Jim Crows, in one inimitable sound!

Master Juba (next page) was the stage name of **William Henry Lane** (1825–1852), who danced in minstrel shows in the 1840s. He was one of the first black performers in the United States.

8.- City and Landscape as Literary Subjects. The "Escape" along the Hudson. New Yorkers and the Nostalgic and Pastoral Literature and Paintings of American Landscapes in the Nineteenth Century.

NY itself, as a city, led to the creation of a new literary subject, writing cities, after Poe´s, Melville´s, or Whitman´s works. What is less known is that, during the first half of the 19th Century, elite Americans, as their British counterparts, lacked total interest in urban landscapes and proceeded to recreate pastoral romanticism. Following the call of Governor Clinton´s 1816 address to the Academy of Arts, New Yorkers started to "be exposed" to the US "wild, romantic, and awful scenery". While the images of the West were received in part from Europe (due to the celebrity of Karl Bodmer´s paintings of the 1832-34 travels of Prince Maximilien to the interior of North America), the establishment in the Catskills of the first US mountain resort in 1824 (the Catskill Mountain House) and in the seashore of the first retreat accommodation (the Coney Island House) allowed the first-class neighbors to "purify" now and then from the "contamination" of Manhattan. Fenimore Cooper´s novels, Washington Irving´s description of the Hudson River highlands, and Cole paintings, as well as many other paintings from the members of the Hudson River School of landscape painting, are a result of that cultural background (Burrows & Wallace, at 470 ff).

"Their paintings depict the Hudson River Valley and the surrounding area, as well as the Catskill Mountains, Adirondack Mountains, and White Mountains of New

Hampshire. The paintings also depict the American landscape as a pastoral setting, where human beings and nature coexist peacefully. Hudson River School landscapes are characterized by their realistic, detailed, and sometimes idealized portrayal of nature. In general, Hudson River School artists believed that nature in the form of the American landscape was an ineffable manifestation of God, though the artists varied in the depth of their religious conviction (…) While the elements of the paintings are rendered very realistically, many of the actual scenes are the synthesized compositions of multiple scenes or natural images observed by the artists. In gathering the visual data for their paintings, the artists would travel to rather extraordinary and extreme environments, the likes of which would not permit the act of painting. During these expeditions, sketches and memories would be recorded and the paintings would be rendered later, upon the artists' safe return home" (Wikipedia & PBS web pages).

Thomas Cole's famous painting of Katterskill Falls 1826
The Warner Collection.Gulf States Paper Corp.Tuscaloosa, Alabama

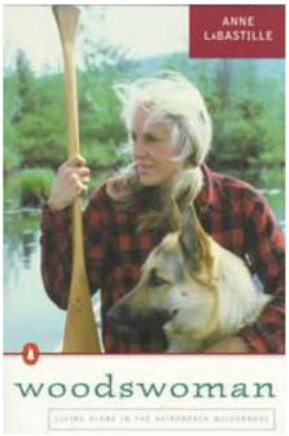
Looking at those paintings of Thomas Cole (1801-1848), Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) and other artists, did they inaugurate an era of landscape painting similar to what Patinir had done, for the whole world, three centuries before? [see Barbara Novak, Nature and Culture, American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875) and the Nature and the American Vision: the Hudson River School at the New York Historical Society, 2007-08 Exhibit at the Society.]

Was this way of introduction to nature what triggered the birth in the US of the typical middle-class nature conservation movement that was to produce National Parks and the coalition between politicians (Roosevelt, Pinchott…) and naturalists (Leopold, Muir…)? Henry David Thoreau visited NY. Could he have been exposed, and influenced, by New Yorkers before he launched his Walden philosophy? Was it the other way around?

Looking at this NY tradition, can one be surprised about the origins and establishment of the first National Park east of the Mississippi River (Acadia, in the coast of Maine) and its connection to the Rockefellers, Morgans, Fords, Vanderbilts, Carnegies, and Astors?

Have in mind that “it was the outsiders-artists and journalists-who revealed and popularized Mount Desert Island, in Acadia National Park, to the world in the mid-1800s. Painters of the Hudson River School, including Thomas Cole and Frederic Church, glorified Mount Desert Island with their brushstrokes, inspiring patrons and friends to flock here. These were the `rusticators.´ Undaunted by crude accommodations and simple food, they sought out local fishermen and farmers to put them up for a modest fee. Summer after summer, the rusticators returned to renew friendships with local islanders and, most of all, to savor the fresh salt air, beautiful scenery, and relaxed pace. Soon the villagers' cottages and fishermen's huts filled to overflowing, and by 1880, 30 hotels competed for vacationers' dollars. Tourism was becoming the major industry.” (Acadia National Park web page).

Can one be surprised by the location and whereabouts of the writings of one of the most famous woman nature writer at the closing of the 20th Century: Anne Labastille´s books on the Adirondacks? Or, rather, do her writings respond to a totally different tradition?



9.- Environmental Justice in the 19th Century? From Almshouses to City Power and Environmental Policy: NY and Newark Present Day Politics.

9.A.- Almshouses. Notwithstanding NY´s Council hand-off approach to the dreadful situation of the tenements, urban landscapes could not be understood without taking into consideration the policies put in place to deal with the poor.

As the Main Page said, "when the almshouse opened in May of 1736, the Common Council concerned itself with how to stop people's pigs and sheep from roaming and smelling up the city. (Marilyn Anderson Mary Peterson, Object of Charity)". What was the role of the almhouse of NY?

As Wikipedia enlightens us**,** almshouses are charitable housing provided to enable people (typically elderly people who can no longer work to earn enough to pay rent) to live in a particular community. They are often targeted at the poor of a locality, at those from certain forms of previous employment, or their widows, and are generally maintained by a charity or the trustees of a bequest. They are European Christian institutions. [Alms are, in the Christian tradition, monies or services donated to support the poor and indigent. Almshouses were established from the 10th century in Britain, to provide a place of residence for poor, old and distressed folk. The first recorded almshouse was founded in York by King Athelstan, and the oldest still in existence is the Hospital of St. Cross in Winchester, dating to circa 990.] Almshouses were created throughout the period since the 10th century, up to the present day. There is no strict delineation between almshouses and other forms of sheltered housing, although Almshouses will tend to be characterised by their charitable status and by the aim of supporting the continued independence of their residents.

The central European (Germany, Switzerland, The Nederlands) and the British Reformation changed the original medieval caretaking goal (house for wanderers, poor. or whoever needed aid) to one which pursued a harsher treatment of the poor and of those persons who were deemed "unproductive" (as well as "indolent" or "vicious"), building a consensus by which almshouses would become "workhouses", an institution devised to repress beggarism and pauperism and in which the "beneficiaries" would stay only if they followed strict rules and worked. Punishment and compassion were mixed in a confusion that today is very difficult to understand (David Wagner, The Poorhouse; America´s Forgotten Institution, pg. 4).

The first NY almshouse, built in 1736 on the site now occupied by City Hall, was no exception, although it seems that, of course, they included pig in the diet ["*The diet of the New York City almshouse residents was quite varied, although modest in cost. The residents consumed pig, chicken, and beef (…)*", Sherene Baugher, Visible Charity; the Archeology, Material Culture, and Landscape Design of New York City´s Municipal Almshouse Complex 1736 –1797].

Under the superintendency of John Sebring since 1736, its rules, which included "moderate whipping" as punishment, mixed the status of poverty with criminality. Bastardy, trespassing, runaway servents, vagabondage, war veterans, elderly, widows and orphans, crippled,… as well as unemployed, were all put together in the institution. Only one hundred years later was some differentiation introduced between the "deserving" and "underserving" classes of poor (Wagner, at 45). During the rest of the

19th Century, more and more the Poorhouses (and Poor Farms in rural areas) functions were increasingly shifted toward poor shelters.

The following figure, taken from David Wagner´s, includes the main milestones in the evolution of the institution. [Please, notice that the big push for the multiplication of poorhouses in the US took place after the two famous reports on the conditions of the poor in NY and Boston; NY´s report (at the State level) was done in by John Yates in 1820 and it promoted the disappearance of the previous system of outdoor relief; the conditions under which porhouses functioned became later subject of criticism, starting with the early activism of Dorothea Dix, but it was not until at least the turn of the Century that group by group pensions and other outer relief was reinstated until the movement toward poor shelters of the late 1970s and early 1980s; that was then, in NY, the Coalition for the Homeless got in the courts a "right to shelter" (David Wagner, Chapters 1 & 8; see also Robert E Cray, Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and its Rural Environs, 1700-1830; and Lance Liebman, Book Review)]:

16th Century Europe:	Origin of almshouses, workhouses, and other institutions to confine the poor.
1660:	First almshouses in New World is Boston's workhouse.
1820s:	Widespread drive to build almshouses/poorhouses in the East after the Yates (N.Y.) and Quincey (Mass.) Reports.
1830s:	Dorothea Dix begins her campaign to remove the mentally ill from almshouses.
1857:	New York State Investigating Committee is the first of many public reports to criticize poorhouses.
1871:	*Harper's Weekly* magazine publishes its famous "Over the Hill to the Poor-house" story; title becomes Will Carletons's popular song about the stigma of the poorhouse.
1870s-1890s:	Campaigns to remove children from almshouses.
1910s:	Progressive Movement leads to mothers' pensions in many states, helping "morally fit" mother with children stay out of the poorhouse.
1933-1935:	Campaign for Social Security Act uses poorhouses and county homes as a major propaganda tool to demonstrate the need for old age pensions.
1935:	Passage of Social Security Act.
1960s/early 1970s:	Despite many earlier reports of their demise, the last poor farms and almshouses finally close and/or become nursing homes.

The *Harper's Weekly* cartoon below, by Frank Bellew, condemns the neglectful and abusive treatment of orphaned infants under the auspices of the New York City Almshouse. During the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the streets of New York City were filled with children. In the late 1840s, nearly one third of the city's population consisted of children under 15 years of age. The institution hired poor women to nurse and care for some of the infants and young children. The meager payment was sometimes less than the cost of adequate care. During 1854-1859, nearly 90% of the children cared for by the private nurses died (Harper´s Weekly webpage)

To which extent can the conditions of the poorhouses be compared to the modern homeless shelters?

9.B.- Sanitation and urban landscape. The sanitation movement did not limit its actions to direct relief of the poor and other minorities. Big urban planning operations were also undertaken. The Croton Water supply; Central Park as the "lung" of the city;…etc were envisioned also with the final goal of providing the city with environmental quality. The same could be said, of course, of the regulation of tenements (see, for all, Jacob A. Riis´ The Battle with the Slum).

Sometimes the sanitary actions were even unintentional but produced great results. For example, the most important improvement in the sanitary conditions of Five Points neighbourhood may have consisted in the Worth Street Project: the extension of Worth Street to Chatam Street, which "let the daylight into the slums so effectually, that as many as could of the criminal class therein resident `got up and dusted´" (Leslie´s Illustrated , cited by Anbinder, pg 345).

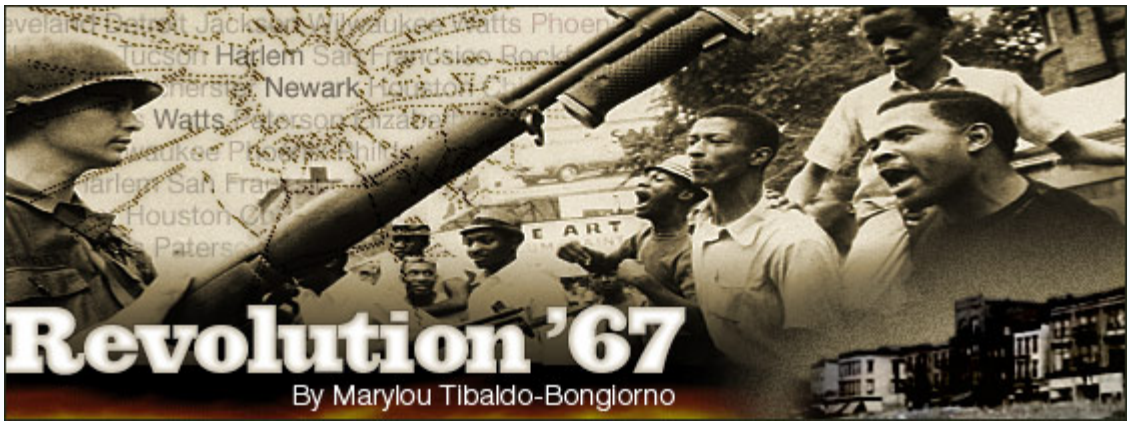
Did open space and charitable institutions (the so-called "New York Approach", Anbinder, at 433) perform the role that brownfields and environmental justice processes undertake in the early 21st Century?

9.C.- Riots and modern environmental city policies.

New Yorkers are also known for their tendency to riot (see J. T. Headley, The Great Riots of New York 1712 to 1873), but aside of the previously mentioned hog riots of 1821, 1825, 1826 of 1830, none of the famous riots had anything to do with the environmental conditions of the worst wards of NY (such as the 1834 electoral riot; the 1849 Astor Opera House riot; the Dead Rabbits "two NYPDs" 1857 riot [featured at the opening of Scorsese´s Gangs of NY, whose interpretation of the causes of the riot are probably wrong, although also backed by some scholars (see Anbinder, at 390 ff)]; the 1863 draft riots; the 1871 Orange riots [anti protestant, antibourgeois, see Michael Gordon, The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871 and Burrows & Wallace, Chapter 57, "The New York Commune"] … It seems as if, notwithstanding its horrors, most of the immigrants still always thought that they were better in the slum than in their respective European countries of origin. Instead of gentrification of their urban environments, they created their own "urban culture."

Modern riots in the neighbour City of Newark seem to respond to the same pattern, but not entirely. Since its foundation in 1666 by Puritans supported by the New Netherlands government, the city followed the patterns of NY, although without its flamboyant opulence. But in 1967 it became world famous due to its riots.

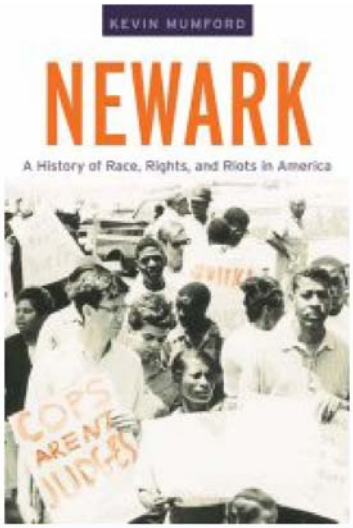
Newark's political history is, as 19th Century NY, checkered with episodes of corruption. In the period leading up to the riots, several factors led local African-American residents to feel powerless and disenfranchised. In particular, they had been largely excluded from political representation and often suffered police brutality. Rapid change in the racial composition of neighbourhoods was also a core problem.



Most of the studies done and the opinion of policy analysts [Report of the National Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968], scholars ["Ethnic Succession and Urban Unrest in Newark and Detroit During the Summer of 1967", by Dr. Max Herman, Joseph C. Cornwall Center for Metropolitan Studies, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, Newark], and writers/journalists [see Kevin Mumford, Newark: A History of Race, Rights, and Riots in America; Ronald Porambo, No Cause for Indictment], as well as the public "educational" media [see the splendid PBS Marylou Tlbaldo-Bongiorno´s film, "Revolution '67", an illuminating account of events too often relegated to footnotes in U.S. history -the black urban rebellions of the 1960s. Focusing on the six-day Newark, New Jersey, outbreak in mid-July 1967; the film reveals how the disturbance began as spontaneous revolts against poverty and police brutality and

ended as fateful milestones in America's struggles over race and economic justice; it Premiered: July 10, 2007], confirm, though, that unemployment, poverty, and especially concerns about low-quality housing and racial manipulation of the real state market also contributed quite substantially to the Newark riots [see e.g the second video, on the conditions that led to the riots, of Cari Ladd´s the educational materials included by in the web page of the PBS Film cited above].

Plans were in place to build superhighways which would bisect the black community when the city proposed the "clearance" of 150 acres of "slum" land to build a medical school/hospital complex. Of course, this would involve the demolition of numerous homes in the predominantly black Central Ward. Given the shortage of housing in other areas, the effects of such displacement were potentially devastating. The quality and availability of housing was a major source of contention among black residents and government officials. A public opinion survey by the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder in New Jersey, otherwise known as the Hughes Commission, revealed that 54% of black respondents indicated that "housing problems had a 'great deal to do with the riot'" Much of the existing housing in Newark during the mid-to late 1960s was uninhabitable by modern safety and health standards. The city's own application for the Model Cities program in 1966 "described over 40,000 of the city's 136,000 housing units as substandard or dilapidated. (…) Due to their limited housing options, blacks in Newark paid more money for lesser quality domiciles. Public housing in Newark merely helped concentrate poverty and despair in one centralized location, further isolating the black poor from the society at large" (Rutgers University Study). Between July 12 and July 17, 1967, 23 people lay dead, 725 people were injured and close to 1500 people had been arrested.



While Newark has progressed since 1967, unfortunately many of the same problems that contributed to the violence and destruction in 1967 continue to plague New Jersey's largest city; unemployment, poverty, and elevated crime rates are still major problems.

Both Newark and NY continue to struggle with policies to integrate the poor. Mayors Booker and Bloomberg have made a priority out of it for their present terms and medium term goals of both cities.

How can these policies and their urban development and community building lolegs be devised? Analyse both plans carefully [see the The New York City Commission for Economic Opportunity Report to Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, September, 2006; and the August 2007 “100 Days in Office comments to Mayor Booker Plan” in the Sections on Works Cited and Links to Online Resources], and structure their pros and weaknesses.

Newark City Hall

New York City Hall

Pigs in New York City; a Study on 19th Century Urban "Sanitation"

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GUIDING STUDENTS´ DISCUSSION

1.- Gotham

In the main page we saw that one of the best histories of NY until 1898 is Edwin G. Burrows & Mike Wallace´s, Pulitzer Prize winner, Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898. The use of the term Gotham City derives from a nickname for New York City which was first popularized by the author Washington Irving in his satirical work *Salmagundi* (1807). As the writer on Batman Dennis O'Neil says, "Batman's Gotham City is Manhattan below Fourteenth Street at eleven minutes past midnight on the coldest night in November."

Has this “image” of NY as a futurist ultrametropolitan environment been employed to recreate other similar environments in fiction literature? Where does the name “Gotham”, *per se*, independently of its use as a NY nickname, originally come from?

2.- The Origin of Wall Street.

Does Wall Street sound familiar? It is a city street in lower Manhattan, running east from Broadway downhill to South Street on the East River, through the historical center of the Financial District. Wall Street was the first permanent home of the New York Stock Exchange, and is also shorthand for "influential financial interests" in the U.S. and in the whole world.

The name of the Street derives from the fact that during the 17th century, a wall formed the northern boundary of the New Amsterdam settlement (the street ran parallel to it). In the 1640s basic picket and plank fences denoted plots and residences in the colony. Later, on behalf of the West India Company, Peter Stuyvesant, ordered in 1653 the construction of a stronger stockade. The wall was eventually dismantled in 1699, but the name stuck.

The linkage between 19th Century NY and free roaming hogs is so “natural” that sometimes even the name of this emblematic institution of the City, Wall Street, has been attributed to the need to control NY´s ubiquitous pigs at large.

For example, an apparently knowledgeable (supposedly) web page says the following !!

“On the insistence of Queen Isabella, Christopher Columbus took eight pigs on his voyage to Cuba in 1493. But it is Hernando de Soto who could be dubbed "the father of the American pork industry." He landed with America's first 13 pigs at Tampa Bay, Florida in 1539. The Indians reportedly became very fond of the taste of pork, resulting in some of the worst attacks on the de Soto expedition. By the time of de Soto's death three years later, his pig herd had grown to 700 head, not including the ones his troops had consumed, those that ran away and became wild pigs (and the ancestors of today's feral pigs or razorbacks), and those given to the Indians to keep the peace. The pork industry in America had begun. Pig production spread throughout the new country. Hernando Cortez introduced hogs to New Mexico in 1600, and Sir Walter Raleigh brought sows to Jamestown Colony in 1607. Semi-wild pigs conducted such rampages in New York colonists' grain fields that every owned pig 14 inches high had to have a ring in its nose. On Manhattan Island, a long solid wall was constructed on the northern edge of the colony to control roaming herds of pigs. This area is now known as Wall Street.” (7000 Years of Pork Domestication Missouri Agricultural Statistics Service. Missouri Farm Facts.)

The students should research whether this assertion is true at all, having in mind that the constructiion of palisades to keep cattle out of the twons, in the free riaming areas, was quite normal in colonial times (and that the colonists even sent the creatures at large in order to later claim rights to land). See Virginia De John Anderson, Creatures of Empire, Chapter 1)

To start with, they could look at the 1660 map in the next page, and guess if such type of fortification (the Wall was built in 1653) was really needed to keep hogs out of downtown Manhattan.

Other theories have suggested that it was constructed by Stuyvesant to protect the colonists from Indians: “Wall Street did indeed get its name from a wooden palisade that had been erected back in 1653 under the direction of Dutch Governor Peter Stuyvesant between the Hudson and East River to protect the town from marauding Indians. This palisade was 10 feet high and made of thick planks. However, before the wall was finished a street began to grow on the `town´ side. This became known as Wall Street and over the years, the barricade gradually fell into disrepair as the dreaded Indian attacks failed to materialize. The farmers and other citizenry would eventually rip down the planks to use as building material or firewood, so that it would finally disappear in 1699. But the `Wall Street´ name remained.” (New York Party Shuttle Tours, see Online Resources)

Is that true? Were there fights between Native Americans in the area (who were they?) and the Dutch? [Have in mind that on September 15, 1655, six hundred Indians attacked the city from the south raiding many houses and streets in the so-called “Peach War”]

Or, was it constructed to protect the Dutch colony from the New Englanders (then British)? (See Russell Shorto, pgs 259 ff). “Wall Street: Wall Street follows the line of the palisade wall that the Dutch erected across the northern perimeter of New Amsterdam in 1653 to protect against attack from the British New Englanders” (Sanna Ferstein, Naming New York; Manhattan Places & How they Got their Names, pg 30.)

By the way, the students could also do some research on the conceptual origins of the institution. Was Wall Street as a financial center created by the “invisible hand” of economic capitalism? Did the quintaessential New Yorker of the Founding Fathers of the Union, Hamilton, have something to do with it? (See Howard M. Wachtel**,** Alexander Hamilton and The Origins of Wall Street.)

"View in Wall Street from Corner of Broadway" New York. Engraving from Thirty Years'Progress of the United States (Hartford, Connecticut, 1867).

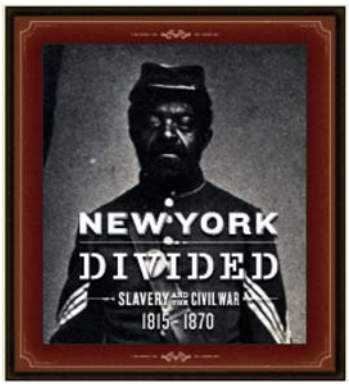
3.- The Role of NY in the Civil War. African-Americans in New York

From the very beginning of the New Amsterdam colony African-Americans could be, and many were, free men/women in the colony (although there were also slaves). In 1827, NY abolished slavery.

How can one then explain the anti-abolitionist riots of the 1850s, the lynching and hanging of every African-American on sight during the 1863 draft riots, or the hesitant (an even pro South) conduct of the populace and of the elites of NY before and during the Civil War? Is it not NY the place where tolerance and multiculture (the melting pot) was born in the US?

Had NY´s support of the Confederacy something to do with the strategic geopolitical situation of NY as "the hub of the nation" and the fact that cotton (the motor of the world economy) was being shipped to Europe from its harbour? What were the connections between the rich commercial venture capitalists of NY and the plantation owners of the South?

Many questions are still in need of an answer. In 2006-07 The New York Historical Society organized an exhibit to bring light and popularize the truth about the City´s uncomfortable past on the issue of slavery.



4.- Illustrated Newspapers. Their Role as the Trailblazers of the Modern Media.

Many of the illustrations and citations of the main page have used illustrated newspapers as the primary source; in particular *Frank Leslie´s Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper´s Weekly*.

Frank Leslie (1821–1880) [pseudonym of Henry Carter] was born in England. He learned his trade on the *Illustrated London News*, but in 1848 immigrated to New York City, where in 1855 he began publishing the now world famous *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, one of the first influential newsweeklies. "He inaugurated a method for speedily illustrating current events by dividing his drawings into blocks that could be distributed among a number of engravers and afterward reassembled. His profits and fame were greatest when, during the Civil War, his artists on the battlefields sent back illustrations. They now have great historical value. He went bankrupt in 1877." (The Columbia Encyclopedia)

"Motivated by the success of Leslie's, Fletcher Harper published the first issue of *Harper's Weekly* one year later on January 3, 1857. Harper's was aimed at the middle and upper socio-economic classes, and tried not to print anything that it considered unfit for the entire family to read. In addition to the importance of illustrations and cartoons by artists like Winslow Homer and Thomas Nast, the paper's editorials played a significant role in shaping and reflecting public opinion from the start of the Civil War to the end of the century. George William Curtis, who was editor from 1863 until his death in 1892, was its most important editorial writer." (Harpweek´s webpage).

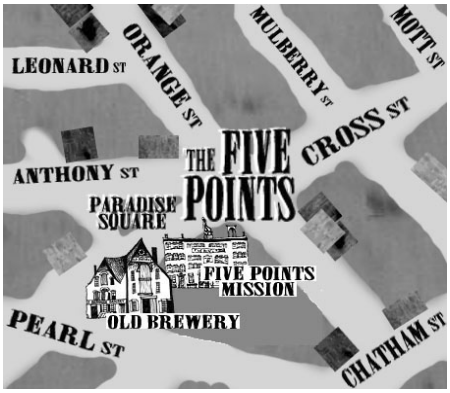
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, nevertheless, was second place, behind *Harper's Weekly* in the history of nineteenth-century American illustrated weeklies. In their heyday, Harper's had the greater circulation. Even today, the online easy access to its contents (see Online Resources) makes Harper's seem even more dominant.

But, which of them both did reflect better the social, cultural, and economic divisions of the Gilded Age? Did illustrated news weeklies appeal to a particular constituency? Did they contribute to inflame moods or did they inform objectively? (see Andrea G Pearson, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper and Harper's Weekly: Innovation and Imitation in Nineteenth-Century American Pictorial Reporting; and Joshua Brown, Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America.)

5.- Modern Recreation of Mid-Nineteenth Century New York: The Hollywood Imaginery

The Main Page reflects Scorsese´s serious attempt to recreate both the image and the historical facts of mid-19th Century NY in his famous film *Gangs of New York*. In several scenes hogs at large do certainly show up.

But, as item 9.C in the Scholars´ Debates Section has made clear, in some of the scenes, for example, what was behind the so-called Dead Rabbits Riot of 1857), Scorsese, or his advisors, of course, might have missed the real issues.



Then

Now

How much of *Gangs of New York* is fiction and how much reflects real facts? (See Ted Chamberlain´s "Gangs of New York": Fact vs. Fiction, in National Geographic News in Online Resources.)

6.- “B´hoys” & “G´hals”: suburban street cultures.

The picture of the Soaplocks, or Bowery Boys (Source: Nicolino Calyo, c. 1847, watercolor on paper; collection of the New-York Historical Society) open the Main Page. Who were they really?

As Tyler Anbinder has described them, these young men were “members of one of the most colourful subcultures in the city´s history. The precise origin of the “Bowery B´hoys” is unclear. Americans had used the term b´hoy [pronounced *buh-hoy*] as early as 1834 to describe a working class fellow who loved fun, adventure, hard drinking, and a night out with his pals. But by the 1840s, the New York b´hoys, especially those who hang out on the Bowery, had developed a unique style of their own” (Anbinder, at 178).

They dressed “to be noticed” (following the maxim: “dress well and look sharp”): black silk hat, hair well oiled, cravat a-la-sailor with shirt collar turned over it, vest of fancy silk, black frock coat, black pants, heavy boots, a half-smoked cigar,… and a peculiar swing in their walk (Anbinder, id). They were proud and passionate for independence: do as it pleases and take care of oneself. But they were socially responsible (many volunteered for the Mexican War). For a different account of who/what the B´hoys were, portraying them as a gang, see Herbert Asbury, The Gangs of New York, pgs 26 ff.

The girls (the B´hoys female counterparts) did not trail far from the same image, which might be more surprising since it was still to soon to exteriorize feminist attitudes. The G´hal –as they called themselves- “is as independent in her tastes and habits as [the B´hoy] himself. Her very walk has a swing of mischief and defiance in it, and the tones of her voice are loud, hearty, and free” (George G. Foster, New York by Gaslight, and Other Urban Sketches; cited also in Anbinder, 180). G´hals dressed flamboyantly in brightly colored clothing, a sort of always exaggerated copy of the prevailing Broadway fashion.

The question still remains about who were they, socially speaking. Did the urban environment of NY in the mid 19th century contribute to the creation of urban tribes? Did the attitudes of G´hals contribute to feminism?

An encounter between a Swell and a B´hoy (with the pigs at large nearby)
Culver Collection 1827, from Asbury´s Gans of New York

7.- Comprehensive and integrated present day City-wide environmental policies.

The leadership of NY in the "sanitation movement" of the end of the 19th Century, and the beginning of the 20th may be repeating itself a hundred years later. Mayor Bloomberg has launched an almost "revolutionary plan" to address most environmental concerns of NY: the April 22, 2007 Report: PLANYC: A Greener, Greater New York (see Online Resources), including its impact in the larger global environment (what ecologists refer to as the City´s imprint in the global environment: what is the total cost to the global environment that the lifestyle of a city requires from natural resources that may be located far away and the impact that its outputs, such as waste and pollution, are having abroad.)

The first implementing measures (such as blocking the entrance of cars downtown by imposing a costly tax or fee) have been blocked in the Summer of 2007 by the State legislature.

Students should analyze the major elements of PLANYC and comment on the extent to which cities have enough home-rule power to plan and apply integrated environmental policies such as those designed by the Bloomberg administration.

8.- The legacy of Dutch New Netherlands in the American culture.

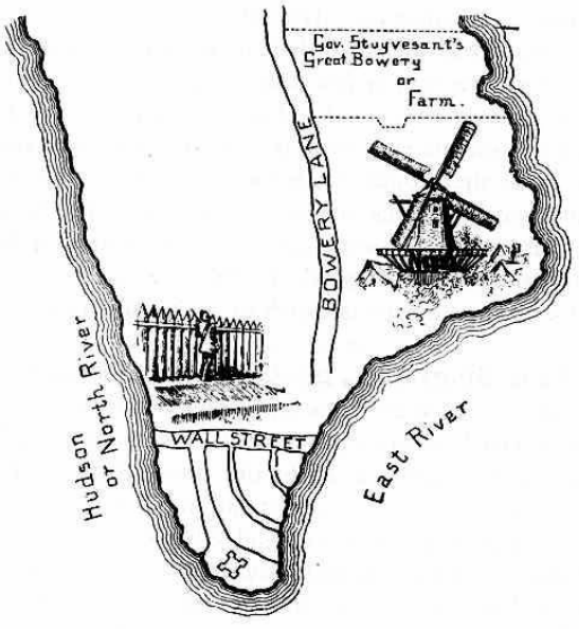
Russell Shorto´s and Charles Gehring´s recent work (see tem 2 of the Main page) has brought to the scene of American sociology and history a recurrent theme that the multiculturalism of post modernism seems to have finally accepted, notwithstanding the also recurrent reactions to the theme such as Samuel Huntington´s strange (if not openly ridiculous) "Who are we?" trying to define Americanism by overevaluating the classic stereotypes of anglo-written history.

Shorto argues that the idea of America as the melting pot cannot be understood without giving the proper weight to the contribution of New Amsterdam to American culture. To put it otherwise, the Puritanism of New Englanders and the Royalism and Anglicanism of Virginians and other Mid-Atlantic colonies, without the point of reference of the tolerance (not equality: it was too early in history) and cultural and ethnic mix of the New Netherlands, could have never produced the most valuable and universal elements of US history and collective values. The uniqueness and centrality of New Amsterdam did contribute much more than what has been admitted by the official historians (who did/do not realize that not all colonies, neither all territories, of what was to become the US were at all English) to the forging of Americans´ melting pot psyche.

Was New Amsterdam, and its Northern Territories of the New Netherlands, so unique? Did the Dutch colony fail, as Homberger has summarized, because of "bad government; failure to build population; incompetent commercial management; fraudulent use of company [the West India Company] for private profit; the arbitrary and high handed behaviour of the Director-General band their close allies; the failure to maintain the schoolhouse, almshouse or orphan asylum, and so on", in brief, because it was "poorly managed" and "discredited in the eyes of settlers"? (Homberger, Historical Atlas …, at 25); or,

to the contrary, did it surrender because it was so vibrant and the settlers had created such a wonderful world of their own that they convinced Director General Stuyvesant that it would be a pity to spoil and destroy (there were not enough soldiers/weapons to defend it) what could be considered a model colony? (Shorto, The Island…, Chapter 14).

What were the features of New Amsterdam that the Americans did, consciously or not, inherit to the extent that "Americans are" (paraphrasing Huntington) in great part what the seeds planted by the New Netherlanders grew up to be?



Map of the City of New Amsterdam (New York) in 1660.

9.- Learning from History I. How to deal with public housing and waste management polices in metropolitan areas.

Concentrate on **Benjamin Miller´s conversations with the New York Times and the Gotham Gazette** (see Main Page, and Links to Online Resources) and on the **analysis of how Newark is trying to reconstruct its community** (see **Cari Ladd´s** Educational Materials in the item 9.C of Section of the Scholars´ Debate; in particular, the third video that is recommended on the Materials the web page included in Links to Online Resources).

They describe in aninteractive way, in common language, today´s 2007 NY problems with the handling and management of garbage and Newark´s problems in dealing with public housing and access to urban services and community life.

Students should be exposed to both audiovisual materials and so that they can comment on the complexities of modern public policies concerning urban environments.

10.- Learning from History II. Maintaining the spirit of cultural landscapes in cities: the New Museum of Contemporary Art.

The Main Page contains some explorations of the urban environment of 19th century New York, in order to place in context the image of ubiquitous roaming pigs. In particular it describes the "ambiance" of the culture around the Bowery.

InDecember 2002, the New Museum of Contemporary Art, established in 1977 (housed in Tribeca's Fine Arts Building, moving shortly thereafter to donated galleries at the New School for Social Research) announced its plans to construct a state-of-the-art facility at 235 Bowery. Six months later, Kazuyo Sejima and Ryue Nishizawa of the critically acclaimed SANAA firm were selected to design the new 60,000-square-foot building, which broke ground in October 2005 and is slated to open to the public in fall 2007. The New Museum opened to the public on December 1, 2007, coinciding with the institution's 30th anniversary.

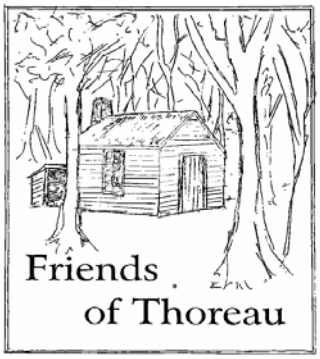
Photo courtesy the New Museum of Contemporary Art

Located at 235 Bowery between Stanton and Rivington Streets, at the origin of Prince Street in New York City it is the first art museum ever constructed from the ground up in downtown Manhattan. As its web page states, the architects described the building as their response to the history and powerful personalities of both the New Museum and its storied site. "*The Bowery was very gritty when we first visited it," they have said. "We were a bit shocked, but we were also impressed that a contemporary art museum wanted to be there (…) In the end, the Bowery and the New Museum have a lot in common. Both have a history of being very accepting, open, embracing of every idiosyncrasy in an unprejudiced manner. When we learned about the history of the New Museum we were flabbergasted by its attitude, which is very political, fearless, and very tough. The New Museum is a combination of elegant and urban. We were determined to make a building that felt like that*."

As the New York Times said (Nicolai Ouroussoff, New Look for the New Museum November 30, 2007), "*the decision to move the institution from SoHo to the Bowery was an effort to tap into its history — its uninhibited characters, seedy settings, voyeuristic attractions and, above all, rejection of bourgeois tastes*".

Will the New Museum retain "its spirit of experimentation and innovation, pioneering a groundbreaking curatorial philosophy that enacted in concrete, institutional terms the intense theoretical debates then crystallizing around the concept of `postmodernism´?"

Would this spirit perform a role of the missing link between the lively Bowery scenes of 19th century New York and new art-in-the- city 21st century utopias?



Pigs in New York City; a Study on 19th Century Urban "Sanitation"

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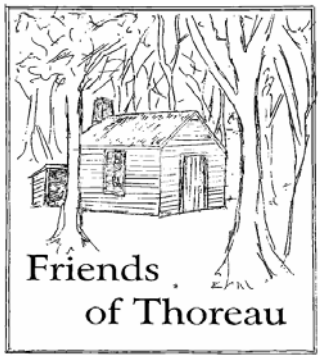

Pigs in New York City; a Study on 19th Century Urban "Sanitation"

ENRIQUE ALONSO & ANA RECARTE
Friends of Thoreau Environmental Program
Research Institute of North American Studies
University of Alcalá, Spain.

LINKS TO ON LINE RESOURCES

About the Parks **for the New Metropolis** (1811-1870)
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On the NY and Newark Plans to combat poverty:

http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/demographics/20030415/5/348

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Web page of the **New Museum of Contemporary Art** at the Bowery:
http://www.newmuseum.org/

On **Howard M. Wachtel´s Alexander Hamilton and The Origins Of Wall Street** can be seen in http://ideas.repec.org/p/wpa/wuwpeh/9610001.html

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The **PBS "Revolution '67" film**, can be found on:

http://www.pbs.org/pov/pov2007/revolution67/index.html

Its splendid educational materials by **Cari Ladd**: Lesson Plan: Root Causes of Urban Rebellion, can be found at:

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Rutgers study of the Newark riots (Dr. Max Herman, Joseph C. Cornwall Center for Metropolitan Studies) can be downloaded from:

http://www.cornwall.rutgers.edu/pdf/Herman-July%202002-Report.pdf

On The **New York Historical Society**: https://www.nyhistory.org/web/

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On the **Albany crack down on pigs**:

http://home.eznet.net/~dminor/NYNY1853.html

On **Bryant and Central Park** (Written and researched by Margaret Odrowaz-Sypniewski):

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoebe_Palmer

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The place of the Museum of New York City, **where many of the paintings and prints of 19th Century NY can be found**.

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http://www.harpweek.com/

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On the **history of Acadia National Park:**

http://www.nps.gov/acad/historyculture/stories.htm

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http://agebb.missouri.edu/mass/indepth/hogs/hghistry.htm

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The **Metropolitan Museum of Art collection of paintings and prints**:
http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/department.asp?dep=9
http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/phla/hod_24.90.1320.htm

Charles Dickens´ Chapter VI of American Notes can be downloaded from:
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On the **Oregon history of Indian Wars**:

http://bluebook.state.or.us/cultural/history/history14.htm

The New York Times and Gotham Gazette Conversations with Benjamin Miller can be read at:

Ask the Garbage Expert, The New York Times, July 16, 2007, 10:24 AM
http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/07/16/expert-on-citys-garbage-takes-questions/

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http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~vantasselfamilyhistoryhomepage/firstamericans/vanderdonck/appearance.html

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On **Caroline Bartlett Crane**:

http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/carolinebartlettcrane.html

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On **Master Juba**:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Henry_Lane
http://www.masterjuba.com/

On **New York City at the turn of the 20th Century**:

http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/papr/nyc.html

On **George E. Waring and his "army" of "White Wings":**

http://pubs.acs.org/subscribe/journals/mdd/v05/i05/html/05ttl.html

On the **history of waste and garbage treatment systems** (usually including pigs until certain dates):

http://www.alliedwastesanmateocounty.com/kids_trash_timeline-printer.cfm

http://environmentalchemistry.com/yogi/environmental/wastehistory.html

http://www.integra.org.uk/facts/history.html history of waste

http://www.radford.edu/~wkovarik/envhist/4industrial.html

http://www.astc.org/exhibitions/rotten/timeline.htm

http://wasteage.com/mag/waste_waste_wealth/

http://www.sewerhistory.org/grfx/wh_region/us_gen1.htm

http://www.nrel.gov/docs/legosti/fy98/25035.pdf

http://www.epa.gov/msw/timeline_alt.htm#2

On the **History of Waste in NY for kids**:
http://www.nyc.gov/html/nycwasteless/downloads/pdf/rrr-kit/chapter1_K-1.pdf

On the **(mistaken) origin of the name of Wall Street** by New York Party Shuttle Tours:
http://www.newyorkpartyshuttle.com/new-york-attractions/wall-street-new-york.php

On the **harsh NY City Tenement life**:

http://www/NY cities and environment\Life in New York-head tenement houses.mht

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http://www.maggieblanck.com/NewYork/Life.html
On the **cholera epidemics in New York** (Elizabeth Fee & Daniel M. Fox, eds., AIDS: The Burdens of History) and The cholera breeders in New York and vicinity

http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft7t1nb59n/

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On **the famous print of Five Points**:

http://www.vintagemaps.com/catalog/_antique_new_york_print__five_points__1827_3654462.htm

On the January 2003 **Scorsese-Spielberg discussion** on the NY environment recreation for Gangs of New York:

http://www.dga.org/news/v27_5/feat_gangsofny.php3

On the **food habits of the settlers in colonial America**:
http://www.freeessays.cc/db/26/hmd336.shtml

On the **myth of Gotham city**:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gotham_City

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http://www.depts.ttu.edu/porkindustryinstitute/Swine%20Production%20class/Intro%20History%20Pig%20numbers%20and%20structure_files/frame.htm

On the **Kieft´s War**: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kieft's_War

On the **conflicts about hogs of Virginia Indians** and Jamestown:
http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/jame1/moretti-langholtz/chap10.htm

On the **conflicts between the settlers and the Narragansett Indians**:

http://www.narragansett-tribe.org/history.htm

About **Piscataway Indians** by James Mooney:

http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12114a.htm

About **Hog Island, Jamestown colony** reference:

http://www.jamestown.abc-clio.com/ReferenceDisplay.aspx?entryid=859574

On the **Eighteenth-Century penalties for hog theft**:

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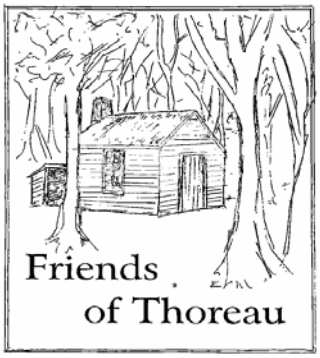
On the **New York Public Library comments about 1808 the February Bridewell**, and Charity-School, Broadway, Opposite Chamber [sic] **Street watercolor** (of The Phelps Stokes Collection) by Anne-Marguérite-Henriette Rouillé de Marigny, Baroness Hyde de Neuville (French, about 1779–1849)

http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/spe/art/print/exhibits/movingup/labeli.htm



Pigs in New York City; a Study on 19th Century Urban "Sanitation"

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The New York Public Library, whose magnificent marble lions that flank its entrance ("New York's most lovable public sculpture") keep on being beloved icons not only for New Yorkers, but also for visitors. Located at , http://www.nypl.org/pr/

The New Jersey Historical Society, located at 52 Park Place, Newark, NJ: http://www.jerseyhistory.org/

The Newark Public Library: http://www.npl.org/

Rutgers University and The Joseph C. Cornwall Center for Metropolitan Studies, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, Newark: http://catalogs.rutgers.edu/generated/nwk-grad/pg5194.html