The Hudson River Railroad and the Development of Irvington, New York, 1849-1860

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Introduction

Close by Sunnyside is one of those marvelous villages with which America abounds: it has sprung up like a mushroom, and bears the name Irvington, in compliment to the late master of Sunnyside. A dozen years ago, not a solitary house was there.... Piermont, directly opposite, was then the sole terminus of the great New York and Erie Railway, and here seemed to be an eligible place for a village, as the Hudson River Railway was then almost completed. Mr. Dearman had one surveyed upon his lands; streets were marked out, village lots were measured and defined; sales at enormous prices, which enriched the owner, were made, and now upon that farm, in pleasant cottages, surrounded by neat gardens, several hundred inhabitants are dwelling.... Morning and evening, when the trains depart for and arrive from New York, many handsome vehicles can be seen there. This all seems like the work of magic. Over this beautiful slope, where so few years ago the voyager upon the Hudson saw only woodlands and cultivated fields, is now a populous town. The owners are chiefly business in [sic] of New York, whose counting rooms and parlours are within less than an hour of each other.

—Benson J. Lossing, The Hudson, 18661

Irvington, New York, was created by the coming of the Hudson River Railroad. Nearby towns such as Tarrytown, Yonkers, and Ossining had all existed in colonial times, but what was Justus Dearman's single farm in 1849—the year the railroad began service—was, in 1860, a village with 600 inhabitants, recognized as one of the premier suburbs of the day.²

There were two Irvingtons. The first, the one well known later in the century for its architecture, surrounded the town, used its post office and railroad station, and was comprised of luxurious estates like Sunnyside owned by gentleman farmers who aspired, like many in England did at the same time, to the life of the country nobleman. The second Irvington, less well known but perhaps more important, is in the village laid out by Mr. Dearman's surveyors onto 50'x100' lots, owned by small merchants and craftsmen, some of whom commuted to New York, but some of whom were locals. These were the fore-runners of the millions who fled the cities in the 20th century: middle-class families seeking a home with a healthier, safer lifestyle in the country.

The story of Irvington illustrates how a transportation innovation altered the pattern of city growth, and how rural regions not only were turned into extensions of a metropolitan region, but fully supported and participated in that transformation themselves. The story includes fortunes made overnight, successful and failed land speculation, technological advances, industrialization, the growth of the home as a refuge from the cold world of business. It involves old-family farmers, wealthy merchants, small-time entrepreneurs, craftsmen, and immigrants.

This paper will attempt to tell that story for the first ten years of the town's existence, until 1860. It will examine how Irvington was formed, who moved there, who profited from it; further, it will attempt to understand why they moved there and what life was like for these early suburbanites. It will describe the changes that antebellum suburbanization brought to Westchester.

Antebellum suburbanization has been dealt with, notably in Kenneth T. Jackson's Crabgrass Frontier and John R. Stilgoe's Borderland: Origin of the American Suburb, 1820-1939, but usually as a prelude to the boom in suburbanization that came after the war. The change from rural to urban ways of life is demonstrated in *The Urban Threshold*, a study of Kingston, New York, on the west bank of the Hudson, by Stuart M. Blumin. But Kingston is a city which grew for internal reasons, and his study applies to Irvington only in limited ways. There is very little work done on Irvington itself, and little of that focuses on the crucial years of 1849-1860: Woolfert's Roost, a 1971 illustrated history

with no listed author passes quickly from revolutionary times to the post-Civil War era, giving only a few paragraphs to the subdivision of the farms, and is very concerned with prominent local families. An unpublished typescript, "History of Irvington," at the Westchester Historical Society focuses mainly on pre-1850 history. The Irvington Historical Society published for a time a magazine, *The Roost*, from which I have used two articles, but again, it mainly misses this period and is involved with local stories rather than history.

The Coming of the Railroad

On September 29, 1849, an inaugural special opened the Hudson River Railroad from 30th Street on the west side of Manhattan to Peekskill, 47 miles up the river, and the lower Hudson Valley was changed forever.³ The Hudson River was one of America's great highways of commerce, connecting New York, the nation's largest city and greatest port, and Albany, a major city in the 19th century. The river towns along its length had never been isolated—mail from Tarrytown to New York (22 miles) frequently took only a day.⁴ Still, the river valley's connection with New York depended on a river only navigable eight months out of the year, or on tedious, long carriage journeys. The railroad brought all of Westchester within a ninety-minute journey of Manhattan, on a route unaffected by weather.

The line had been envisioned for some time, but steamboat interests and the objections of the New York & Harlem Railroad and its investors had delayed it. The Harlem was chartered in 1838 to connect lower Manhattan with the Harlem River, and had by 1844 reached White Plains, 20 miles north of the city. It was planning to continue its inland route to Albany.⁵

The inland route worried some in the established cities on the river—notably Poughkeepsie, where Matthew Vassar, the wealthy brewer and merchant, had organized a preliminary survey for a riverbank railroad as early as 1842.6 In 1846 the Hudson River Railroad Company was organized, and by March of 1847 it had raised the \$3 million capital that the state legislature had required for it to be granted a charter. The first section opened two years later, and the line was complete to Greenbush [East Albany] in October 1851. The following year, the Harlem line reached the state capital.⁷

Before the railroad, Westchester County was primarily agricultural. A few river towns, like Tarrytown, had been around in colonial days, and local industry concentrated in

those places. The bulk of the population of Westchester was in the northern half of the county, where there were large farms that provided New York City with much of its food.

There had been suburban estates in Westchester before the railroads—Washington Irving's Sunnyside, Colonel James Hamilton's Nevis, former New York mayor, William Paulding's Paulding Manor—but only for the very wealthy who could afford the second home or hotel expenses that sporadic commuting by boat or carriage required. With the railroad, middle-class New Yorkers could commute to the city every day. The lower part of the county began to grow in population and in importance. The railroad access led many farmers to begin dairying, and the Harlem River Railroad made \$40,000 a year shipping fresh milk into Manhattan every morning. One farmer in Carmel, 35 miles north of New York on the Harlem, switched to dairy cows from beef cattle and sheep when the railroad came, and in 1850 grossed \$3,600 from the sale in New York of milk and cream from his fifty cows.

The Hudson River Railroad also expected commuters to be among its passengers. Upon the railroad's opening, it published a tariff for discounted daily commutation fares. A one-way ticket from Tarrytown to New York was 35 cents; a commuter paid 22 cents each way if he bought them in quarterly installments of 120 tickets. ¹⁰ These fares allowed the middle class to commute—one hundred dollars a year was a good amount of money, but not a fortune.

The railroad was not entirely egalitarian. It began with one standard of service, but soon adopted the European system of first- and second-class cars; it must have had a diverse ridership.¹¹ More importantly, fares were based on mileage; while the Tarrytown commuter paid 22 cents, the fare to Manhattanville (now in the Bronx) was only 10 cents.¹² This was unlike omnibus lines, which charged per ride rather than by distance. These distance-based fares kept working-class New Yorkers from moving farther out than what is now the Bronx, preserving Westchester for the prosperous middle class.

Mount Vernon, New York, on what is now the Westchester-Bronx border, provides an example of how suburbanization was sorted by class according to distance from the city and, therefore, by commutation fares. In 1850, a group of New York tradesmen, employees, "and other persons of small means" organized themselves into the New York Industrial Home Association #1, which proposed to secure homes for its members and escape "the exorbitant rentals then exacted by landlords in the city." By the spring of 1851, the group had selected a site at the intersection of the New York and New Haven

Railroad with the New York & Harlem, in Westchester but close to Manhattan. One year later, three hundred houses were under construction; by 1860, Mount Vernon had 1161 residents, compared to Irvington's 600.¹⁴

Even Mount Vernon would not be an enduring working-class community. A poor economy in the 1850s forced homeowners individually to sell to outsiders wealthier than themselves. In 1860, Mount Vernon looked like the rest of Westchester; the workers had returned to the city, leaving suburban commuting for the professionals and businessmen.¹⁵

There was also an established market for the upscale country home. Alexander Jackson Downing had popularized the suburban cottage and villa in his magazine, *The Horticulturalist*, and other writings. The New York *Evening Post* frequently carried advertisements for auctions of suburban land in its front-page "Public Sales" column, and classified advertisements offering Westchester, Rockland, New Jersey, and Long Island farms and lots were common. All stressed the availability of railroad commuting to New York. A classified ad on April 19, 1850 offered two farms in Westchester and one in Rockland County, listing for each the closest rail line and station. It concluded: "All the above named farms possess many advantages for gentlemen wishing to reside in the country, and doing business in the city." ¹⁶ It said "reside in country," not summer or vacation there.

The Beginning of Irvington

On March 29, 1849, Justus Dearman, an 84-year-old farmer in Westchester County, New York, sold a quarter-acre of riverfront land to the Hudson River Railroad. The line had been buying land since 1847, and would open as far as Peekskill in September. Dearman's neighbor, Calista Crosby, had sold three-quarters of an acre to the railroad in 1847 and only got \$250; because he had waited to sell, the old farmer got \$700 for his plot one-third that size. 18

Dearman had owned his land since 1817, when he bought 140 acres of a neighbor's farm, and he had bought an additional 14 acres a few years later. ¹⁹ His farm lay directly across the river from the Piermont, New York terminal of the newly constructed New York & Erie Railroad. With the arrival of the Hudson River Railroad, it would be a logical place for a village.

Dearman saw this far in advance of the railroad's actual arrival. Only one month after the railroad opened, he sold his 154 acres to a New York broker, Gustavus A. Sacchi, for the astounding sum of \$26,500.²⁰ Sacchi had already bought some land from Dearman's neighbor, Calista Crosby.²¹ The property was surveyed and divided into lots measuring 50'x100', valued altogether at \$39,000. They varied in price: the lots closest to the river were twice as expensive as those farther up the hill towards the Albany Post Road.²²

On March 26, the following advertisement appeared in the "Public Sales" column on the front page of the New York *Evening Post*:

Building Sites on The Hudson River

—Situate [sic] between the Albany Post Road and the River, at Dearman, to be sold at auction on the 25th of April, at the Merchant's Exchange, by COLE & CHILTON, Auctioneers.... A part of the property fronting the water will be sold in village lots, and in plots on the upland to suit purchasers. The premises are now being laid out, planted and improved....

Seventy-five per cent of the purchase money may remain on bond and mortgage. For further particulars application may be made at the station house on the premises to Mr. GEO. W. DEARMAN, at 5 Broad Street, to G.A. SACCHI; or at the Auctioneer's office, 9 Wall st, where maps of the premises can be seen.

N.B. Persons wishing to build for the summer, can purchase at *private sale*, on very liberal terms, on immediate application as above.^{23,24}

Advertisements were also placed in the New York Courier, Tribune, and in the magazine Home Journal.²⁵

It is significant that Dearman's son, George W. Dearman, is listed as a contact person; it means that the farmer and his family participated fully in the sale; he was not swindled by a group of New York speculators. Dearman saw a great opportunity, and took it; the old farmer was not sentimental about his farm being subdivided when there was money to be made.

Sacchi probably assumed that large numbers of middle-class New Yorkers would move to the lower Hudson Valley as quickly as workingmen moved to Mount Vernon, but very few of the lots sold at the first auction. He was not alone in this assumption. On April 30, only four days after the auction, the Sing Sing, New York Hudson River Chronicle

reported erroneously: "there are some three or four hundred buildings contracted for and in progress" at Dearman's. It may have misinterpreted the auction map, which showed 266 lots for sale; it may have been reporting the plans rather than the reality. The article went on to stress its faith in the area's suburban future:

The proximity of the County of Westchester to New York, and the decided advantages which it possesses as a place of residence for the business community of the city, over other neighboring counties, renders it peculiarly beneficial in all points of view, as a resort at all seasons of the year, for all classes and descriptions of businessmen.²⁶

The paper's editors must have seen in the map what they had wanted to see. West-chester residents seem to have been even more eager for suburbanization than the New Yorkers were.

The same day as the Chronicle article, the New York Evening Post carried another Cole & Chilton advertisement:

Tuesday, June 11

At 12 o'clock at the Merchant's Exchange
Cottage sites at Dearman, on the Hudson River Railroad—
The balance remaining unsold of those beautiful plots of ground at the above place, will be sold on the above day, if not previously sold at private sale. Persons wishing to purchase at private sale can do so by applying to the auctioneers, No 9 Wall street. Persons wishing to build immediately, 90 per cent of the purchase money may remain on bond and mortgage for a term of years. Several choice parcels are yet unsold.²⁷

This ad ran for the entire month of May and into June, with the heading "Private Sale." Meanwhile, Cole & Chilton ceased holding their auctions at the Merchant's Exchange, and when the June 11 auction was finally advertised again, it was to take place in Dearman's itself. The firm advertised 100 plots yet unsold—after one auction and six weeks of private sales advertised daily—and a special train to take New Yorkers to the auction. The agents had finally realized that there was a market for the land outside of New York; in addition to the special train, they had arranged for the ferry to offer free rides from Piermont, "for the convenience of the citizens of Rockland and Orange counties." Though Cole & Chilton did not, other New York auctions (and auctions on the premises by New York firms) were being advertised in the *Hudson River Chronicle*. 29

Whether all the lots sold on that date is unclear. However, Sacchi either lost interest in the land or had overextended his capital. He mortgaged the land back to Dearman, and, before long, had trouble making his payments to the farmer.

A Manhattan druggist, Franklin C. Field, had noticed Dearman's early. On October 27, 1849, two days after Sacchi bought his land from Dearman, he sold some of it to Field. Field's drugstore was at 34 Beekman Street, and it must have done a good business, because he not only lived at the posh Metropolitan Hotel on Broadway but also had money to invest in land speculation.³⁰

On June 4, 1850, before the second auction even took place, Field began to acquire the land out from under Sacchi's mortgage by paying Dearman for it lot by lot.³¹ He may have lacked the thousands to pay for it all at once; or he may have had the wisdom to realize, as Sacchi did not, that the land would take time to sell. Field deposited the auctioneer's map with the county government as the official map of the village of "Dearman," and in the 12 separate transactions, he acquired most of the 266 lots. The area was known variously as Dearman, Dearman's, Dearman's Station, and Dearman's Landing; in 1854, the residents ended the confusion by renaming the settlement Irvington, in honor of their august neighbor at Sunnyside.³²

Sacchi seems to have lost almost all the property in Irvington to Field, and probably made little money for his effort. But the one setback at Dearman's did not stop Sacchi's land speculation; between 1849 and 1895 he sold over 600 parcels of land in Westchester.³³ Similarly, although Cole & Chilton may not have been entirely successful with the sale of Dearman, they kept up their interest in Westchester: an advertisement on June 11—the very day of the second Dearman's auction—promised an auction of lots at Sing Sing, only a few miles further upriver.³⁴ With time, Field did very well on Dearman's; by 1858, the druggist had become a full-time broker, with an office at 50 Exchange Place in New York.³⁵ Dearman also did well for himself: he died in 1855 with an estate of over \$17,000. Like many farmers who made money, his newfound wealth seems not to have altered his lifestyle, as it did Field's: his estate inventory shows a silver tea set and six gold spoons to be his only extravagances.³⁶

The Suburban Aesthetic

The auction map of Dearman's shows the streets Dearman and Sacchi laid out.³⁷ First Street, marked "70 feet wide," runs east from the railroad station up the sloping farm to

Broadway. Also called the Albany Post Road, Broadway was the main north-south road of the area and ran into its namesake in Manhattan. The other east-west street in Dearman's, unnamed on the map, connects Broadway to the dock and ferry landing, with a bridge over the railroad. There were eight north-south cross-streets, approximately 50 feet wide, lettered from the river up the hill as A Street, B Street, and so on to H Street one block west of Broadway.³⁸ This design resembles the grid map of New York; it has nothing to do with the landscape or the countryside.

At the top of the map are two sketches of cottages and ground floor plans, based on Downing's designs and published in his book, *Victorian Cottage Residences*. The larger, "A Cottage in the English or Rural Gothic Style," was to cost \$4,500 to build. Downing envisioned it on a plot of 200' x 1600', with elaborate landscaping. Downing included a bedroom on the main floor, an unusual composition (most houses had all bedrooms on the second floor); he mentions that "there are many families mainly composed of invalids, or persons advanced in years, [who require] little or no necessity for ascending or descending stairs." It was intended for the comfortable among the middle-class—the largest rooms are the library and the parlor. There were to be one or two servants, but the lady of the house would be fully in charge of the household.³⁹ A family in this house would have entertained guests frequently.

The second design, slightly smaller, is "A Small Cottage or Gate Lodge," which would only cost \$830 to build. Downing supplies this second design as appropriate for the gardener or farmer of a larger manor in the same style. "It would otherwise," he writes, "make a neat and picturesque dwelling, if properly located, for a small, respectable family who wish to lead a quiet and simple life."

The two houses show at what part of the market Dearman, Sacchi, and Field were aiming. The auction map was advertising, and these imagined houses would more effectively entice prospective buyers than a sketch of the farmland that Dearman's was at the time of the auction. The use of Downing's designs shows that the suburb's promoters always knew that the scenery, distance from New York—and higher potential profits—made their targets the professional and business classes.

The respectability and neatness of the village was a high priority. Quiet and property value concerned the first suburbanites; an early deed for land in Dearman's from Field contains the stipulation that "no dwelling house shall at any time be erected...of less value than \$500 and [prohibited any] trade or business [that] may prove a nuisance to the neighborhood or injurious to the value of the adjoining premises."41 Health was

also stressed: the Cole & Chilton advertisements all claim that Dearman's has a "position perfectly healthy." Cholera had returned to America in 1849, and many city residents—especially in New York, the hardest-hit—saw country life as a way to avoid the diseases of the city.⁴² The things that made people escape the city—noise, smells, crowds, disease, business, perhaps the lower classes—would be prevented from the very beginning.

Downing's success with his home designs—and the motive to put drawings of houses, rather than of Hudson Valley scenery, on the map—came from the increasing American love of the home. The Reverend William G. Eliot, Jr., told an audience of women in 1853 that

the foundation of our free institutions is in our love, as a people, for our homes. The strength of our country is found, not in the declaration that all men are free and equal, but in the quiet influence of the fireside, the bonds which unites together in the family circle. The corner-stone of our republic is the hearth-stone.⁴³

He expressed a popular sentiment that was at that moment finding buyers in Dearman's. That he eschews the importance of the equality of man is significant in an ideology that excluded the poor from its vision and was fully to be achieved only by the rich.

The New Suburbanites

Elisha S. Chapin, who sold shoes in New York, was one of Field's early customers in New York, purchasing two plots in 1853.⁴⁴ He had a townhouse on Barrow Street in Manhattan and, by 1856 a store at 46 Dey Street, in the center of town.⁴⁵ Chapin's business was growing; Dey Street in the 1840s had been a tenement neighborhood, and only in early 1850s converted completely to dry goods shops. He must have had the money to move both store and home at the same time.⁴⁶ With his wife and two-year-old son, he brought a family of servants to his new home in Dearman's. In 1860 he claimed real estate of \$10,000 and personal property of \$2,500. He maintained his townhouse on Barrow Street in New York until at least 1856, but gave it up by 1860; perhaps it took him a few years to depend entirely on daily commuting.⁴⁷

Another New York buyer was John Woodhead, who bought land in 1855. An Englishman married to an American, he was 65 years old and had three children, aged 9 to 15. In the New York City directory of that year, he listed a home on Fourth Avenue

in New York and an importing business on Warren Street; he also had a home in London, and probably made several trans-Atlantic crossings for business each year.⁴⁸ In 1860, his 19 year-old son, Albert, joined him in business.⁴⁹ While he maintained his New York townhouse and probably stayed there when working late, Irvington was his permanent residence, and his family was there year-round. Wealthier than Chapin, Woodhead had a personal estate of \$8,000 in 1860, and employed a coachman and two female servants.⁵⁰

Just south of the Dearman property, one of Irvington's wealthiest new residents was collecting property and building a mansion. In 1853, Theodore McNamee, a New York silk merchant, assembled four pieces of land into a gentleman's farm with a broad view of the Hudson.⁵¹ He built a large Italianate villa, four stories tall, complete with a greenhouse.⁵² The estate was a working farm, and McNamee was listed in the 1860 Westchester County Directory under "Farmers."^{53,54}

McNamee was only 38 in 1853; his wife was 42, and they had several children. His domestic staff included 3 female Irish servants, a coachman from New York, and a gardener from France. In 1860, he possessed real estate worth \$100,000 and had personal assets of \$20,000—making him among the very rich for that era.⁵⁵ He had moved to Irvington from a townhouse at 134 10th Street, at the corner of Brevoort Place, several blocks from his silk business at 112 Broadway.⁵⁶ But McNamee commuted every day; by 1855 he had sold the townhouse and listed Irvington as his only address.⁵⁷

Of these early commuters, several generalizations can be made: all came to Westchester with families; all were established in their businesses or professions. For all, as for most of their contemporaries in mid-19th century America, movement was a part of life: Chapin moved home and store in 1853, McNamee's business moved from 112 to 320 Broadway in 1857,58 Woodhead had transatlantic connections, Field changed both occupation and place of business.

In moving out of town, they all sought a pastoral ideal which only McNamee could truly attain—with his vast grounds, farm, and river vista. For the others, Irvington was a compromise that allowed them only small lots—probably not much bigger than their New York townhouses—in exchange for the quiet of suburban life, a picturesque setting on the Hudson, and such amenities as a vegetable garden and the ability to design their own homes. Despite the drawbacks, they came, testifying to the power of the suburban ideal in the 1850s.

Local Irvingtonians

In providing the free ferry rides to the second auction, the land speculators recognized what would become a major part of their business: local craftsmen and small businessmen who saw a lucrative market in the new settlement. One of Field's first sales was to John J. Banta, a young carpenter, who bought lot 22, a mid-block parcel one block away from the river, for \$240 in October 1850.⁵⁹ Such a low price was still too much for the craftsman to afford outright; two months later he mortgaged the land to Colonel James A. Hamilton, grandson of Alexander Hamilton and a rich local lawyer.⁶⁰

Another local who arrived in 1850 was Benson Ferris, Jr., the son of one of the area's most prominent men; his father had owned Sunnyside before Washington Irving. The younger Ferris went to the Tarrytown Institute, a private school for young men, and later taught there. He opened the first store in Dearman's, which he kept until he returned to Tarrytown in 1856 to open a hardware store. He was an active citizen, serving on the Greenburgh Board of Education and, in 1855, organizing the Westchester County Republican Party.⁶¹

Peter Warman had always lived in Dearman's, as a laborer doing odd jobs for various neighbors, including Washington Irving. He and his family—his mother, wife, and four children—probably lived as informal tenants on Dearman's farm because there is no recorded lease for him or his family until 1854.⁶² In that year, his mother, Lavinia, leased a plot from Isaac Lent, who may have just bought the land from Field or Dearman and wanted a formal agreement.⁶³ Warman profited directly from the railroad's approach—in 1851 he became the railroad's station agent at the new Dearman station.⁶⁴

In 1853, Field sold land to Benson F. Jewell, a tanner, cousin to Benson Ferris, Jr. 65 Jewell came from an established local family—his grandfather, John Jewell, had been imprisoned in Tarrytown by the British during the Revolution, and after the war bought 340 acres nearby. 66 John Jewell, Jr., Benson's father, was born in 1785 and had just died in 1851, worth \$20,000. His will forgave \$1,000 that Benson had borrowed just before his father's death; Benson had several siblings, and it seems that this was all he got from the estate. 67 Jewell prospered as the town grew around him; by 1860, he called himself a "gentleman." Some of his wealth may have come from his brothers or the estate of his father; Benson's wife, Julia, was Justus Dearman's granddaughter, but Dearman left her only \$25 upon his death in 1855. 68 Later, Jewell opened a county store in the town with a partner. 69

Stephen Crosby, another tanner, bought a lot in 1850, and moved in with his mother, his wife and child, two Irish servants, and two black laborers. His mother was Calista Crosby, the neighbor who had sold her land to the railroad too early to make much profit. She had bought two plots from Gustavus Sacchi in 1849, and Stephen, perhaps on his mother's advice, acquired three plots in Dearman's. He profits of tanning and land speculation combined to give Crosby, too, the ability to call himself a gentleman in 1860. Although he had lost his laborers and one of his servants by then, he had the assets to claim the title: \$6,000 in real estate and \$10,000 in personal assets.

Another early Dearman's family was that of Justus' son, George Dearman, who lived at the top of the village, on Broadway, and ran a grocery store there. He and his wife, Euphemia, who came from the prominent Odell family, had four children. When George died in 1855, his widow sold the business to J.J. Banta, the carpenter, who became the major grocer of the town. Banta mortgaged the store to the estate.⁷²

Caleb Wildey, Jr., was a blacksmith in Dearman's, and also lived near Broadway. His father had been one of the early settlers of nearby Tarrytown, and in 1845 had a street named after him.⁷³ But Caleb, Sr., died the next year, when Caleb, Jr.—the oldest son—was 14, and without enough children to work the farm, the family must have fallen on hard times.⁷⁴ They listed no real estate in the 1850 census; the farm was probably sold to support the family, but Caleb's mother may have saved enough from the sale to allow her son to purchase the land to set up his shop.

These residents demonstrate the way the local population was changed by and profited from the move to the suburbs. Some, like Dearman and Crosby, saw it coming and made a profit from land sales. Others, like Wildey and Banta, found new customers who bought goods the local farmers either made themselves or did without. Several, including Ferris, only stayed for the very first years of the village, when their knowledge of the area may have given them a business edge over competitors; for Ferris, simply being the first was probably all the edge he needed.

Suburban Immigrants

As Banta, Jewell, and Crosby left their trades, Irish immigrants moved in to take their places in the new community. Michael Bray arrived from Ireland in 1853 with his wife, bought a plot near Broadway and opened a blacksmith shop. Shortly thereafter, he and his wife had a son and a daughter. His business grew, and by 1860 Bray had \$5,000 in

property and \$500 in cash, and had two other Irish blacksmiths and an Irish wheel-wright working and living in his shop.⁷⁵ Unlike some immigrants, Bray intended to stay: he filed a declaration of intention to naturalize in 1853 and was granted citizenship in 1855.⁷⁶

Abbottsford was a second Irvington that sprang up on the other side of Broadway, on the former Harmse farm. It was divided and sold at about the same time, and some of it also by Franklin Field, but its lots, less scenic than Dearman's, were mainly sold to immigrant servants of the local mansions. One example was Christopher Fitzsimmons, a coachman on Colonel Hamilton's Nevis estate. In 1863, he sold his house and lot in Abbottsford to another Irishman, John Huston, who put \$5.00 down on the \$2,500 price, and got a job on the Hudson River Railroad.⁷⁷

A Complete Town

By 1855, Dearman's was a complete, functional village, like many emerging suburbs along the railroads in Westchester. Tarrytown and Yonkers showed the same trends, but those two towns had existed before the railroad; Dearman's started out as a suburb, and so the suburban trends could be seen there most purely. It had a coal and lumber business at the pier by the railroad station, a post office, and a grocery store. Five years later, it had acquired a confectioner, a carriage maker, a butcher, two shoemakers, a house painter, and a hotel—all catering to a middle-class, commuting population.⁷⁸ Greenburgh Public School #2 had been on Broadway well before Dearman contemplated subdividing his farm.⁷⁹ However, the local population of children was increasing: in 1851, there were 150 children aged 4-21 in School District #2, and in 1853 there were 171.⁸⁰ (District #2 included areas outside of Dearman's; but a good part of that increase might be ascribed to it.) Most of the Hudson River Railroad's trains stopped at Irvington.

Although some of the local residents who moved to Dearman's or speculated in its land may have prospered from the new suburb's emergence, the town's effect on its residents was not mainly one having to do with prosperity or social mobility. It is in the change in life-style that the suburb itself is important. The increase in population and urbanization across the country meant that new customers could be found in growing towns like Tarrytown, nearby. Ferris' good timing in being the first storekeeper in Dearman's gave him a small edge, but he soon gave it up to return to Tarrytown and open a store there. Craftsmen like Banta and Crosby went into business in many established towns, and

laborers like Warman found jobs related to the transportation and industrial revolutions all over America; it did not take a new town to accomplish these social movements.

Rather, Irvington is significant in that it affected the life-style of all who lived there. There was direct and constant connection with New York City—but the Hudson Valley had always had a good connection to it, and the coming of the railroad changed the valley in that way much less than it did Binghamton or New Jersey. The significant factor of the suburb is that, in a rapidly urbanizing society, many people strove to return to smaller towns—not only New Yorkers, but people from Westchester and other outlying areas as well. Tarrytown had a population of 1,000 in 1842, but it had grown greatly by 1860.81 It is likely that, in 1860, life in Irvington, with 600 neighbors, more closely resembled life in the earlier Tarrytown than Tarrytown itself did in 1860.

Another significant fact is that Irvington was not a community of New Yorkers in a pastoral setting; if anything, it was a few families of commuters set in a Westchester village. The level of interaction between New Yorker and local was great; while the commuters themselves went to the city during the day, their families stayed in Irvington. Mrs. Chapin and Mrs. Woodhead probably did some of their own shopping, and would have known the various storekeepers such as Dearman and Banta. Their children, at least during their elementary school years, would have attended either the local common schools or the Tarrytown Academy, where they would have joined the local elites such as the Ferrises. The commuters, interestingly, seem not to have had any political involvement; Westchester leaders such as Benson Ferris, Jr., Colonel Hamilton, and T.W. Crisfield held the local offices.

The houses in Dearman's were substantial; neat and attractive if not always elegant. Many houses as well as mansions were designed by major architects of the day, such as Alexander Jackson Davis and George Woodward, and several aspired to architectural interest.⁸²

None of the houses could have been very small, due to the restrictive clause in the deeds, and all would have been solid and big enough for a large family; family life was a major part of the suburban ideal. Up the hill at Broadway and in Abbottsford, where the lrish lived, there were pigs and chickens in the street; Downing saw the immigrant population as a cause of village ugliness, writing "wherever they [the Irish] settle, they cling to their ancient fraternity of porkers, and think it no free country where pigs can't have their liberty." Most of the houses had gardens, though none had the space to grow anything as elaborate as Downing envisioned.

Downing himself objected to nearly everything about Dearman's, and would have objected to the use of his designs for its promotion. He intended his cottages for spacious grounds, not small lots. He wrote in *The Horticulturalist* of his anger at the land speculator (like Sacchi and Field) who "covers the ground with narrow cells, and advertises to sell or rent them as charming rural residences." He specifically condemned Dearman's, charging that its developers wasted a beautiful setting by building "mere rows of houses upon streets crossing each other at right angles and bordered with shade trees."

Dearman's straight streets represented the best city planning of the Enlightenment: straight streets, right angles, numbers instead of names to make address-finding easy. But Downing and others in the artistic world looked to a new ideal, the Romantic, which sought closeness with nature and personality rather than efficiency. Downing preferred curving roads following the terrain, large plots for gardens and woods around each house, isolated settings with grand vistas. Bearman was born in 1765; a practical farmer from a rational age, he would have seen nothing romantic in nature. To him, straight streets would have meant progress; it also meant cheaper surveying, more lots fronting on a street, more profit. Romanticizing the wild was something only wealthy city-dwellers would do.

A Changed County

Westchester County in the 1850s was a contrast between areas of "prosperity" and those of "slovenliness," and the difference between the two was mainly the distance from one of Westchester's three railroads, as John R. Stilgoe notes in *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb*. Nathaniel P. Willis, a writer who lived on the west side of the Hudson at Cornwall, near Newburgh, remarked upon a ride he took up the Harlem River Railroad:

Miles upon miles of unmitigated prosperity weary the eye. Lawns and park-gates, groves and verandas, ornamental woods and neat walls, trim edges and well-placed shrubberies, fine houses and large stables, neat gravel walks and nobody on them—are notes upon one chord and they certainly seemed to me to make a dull tune of Westchester....Westchester wants a dash of wretchedness to make it quite the thing.⁸⁸

Suburbanization also disrupted the farming that had previously been Westchester's main occupation. Solon Robinson, editor of *The American Agriculturalist*, looked at the county's farms in November 1850, and marvelled at the Harlem line not for its passengers but

for its \$40,000 annual freight bill for raw milk.⁸⁹ "Tillable land has increased in value," he wrote, but the problems of new neighbors overwhelmed the farmers. Orchards were abandoned because too much fruit was stolen, and coal smoke from the local brickyards had already ruined many trees; domestic dogs attacked sheep. Feeling helpless, many farmers neglected the upkeep of their properties: "Everything has an ancient...behind-the-age appearance," Robinson wrote.⁹⁰

According to Robinson, one indication of the farmers' inability to adapt quickly to their new neighbors was the fact that the country houses of commuters were usually supplied mainly from the city; even the gentlemen farmers were not self-sufficient. Local farmers continued to supply the city with milk, and failed to turn to market gardening and supply the commuters' families with the fresh meat and vegetables they wanted. Robinson concluded that "Close as this county is to the city, the majority of the inhabitants have not yet caught the infecting spirit of improvement." The result was that even more aspiring suburbanites bought the farms, improved them, and carried on agriculture as a hobby or sideline.

Robinson failed to see what was really going on around him. The few farmers left in central Westchester were holdouts, continuing dairy farming in an increasingly expensive area when competitors from farther-out areas, accessible by rail and ferry but more inconvenient for the commuter, such as Orange County on the Erie Railroad, Putnam and Dutchess Counties on the Harlem, and Long Island, had lower expenses because they did not have suburban neighbors raising the property values that Robinson himself noted were increasing. Dairy farming was probably not a bad living, but when contrasted to the "prosperity" New Yorkers brought with them, even well-run farms were apt to look slovenly. Robinson may even have been comparing old farms with farms run as sidelines: McNamee's farm did not need to show a profit each year; it only had to please its rich owner. The native farmers—the ones who, unlike Dearman, Crosby, and Ferris, had not seen that suburbia was the future of Westchester—could hardly keep up with their rich neighbors' cosmetics even if they could get by economically.

The population growth of the lower part of the county was dramatic. Between 1845 and 1855, Westchester's population expanded from 47,394 to 80,678; of this 33,284-person increase, 22,461 were in the towns newly served by railroads. Greenburgh, the town in which Irvington and Tarrytown sit, alone grew by 6,230.93 The time and cost of commuting kept this growth south of Tarrytown and White Plains: "Merchants and professional men, obliged to go to New York every day, hardly find it easy or profitable to live

higher up the river than Tarrytown, and accordingly we shall find that the large towns north of that village owe their growth rather to internal than external causes."94

Still, it is too easy to ascribe this growth entirely to the railroads. The figures quoted above also show a 10-year increase of 10,000 persons in towns *not* served by railroads; Westchester was growing itself. The local buyers of small plots—the Bantas and Ferrises and Jewells—were the sons of local farmers who could not continue farming in the area because there was not enough land. This may explain why Westchester's residents, like the editors of the *Hudson River Chronicle*, were so eager for the business of New York to move upriver; it would give their sons something to do. The locals who became the storekeepers in the new suburbs probably had brothers who went west to continue farming.

Conclusions

The experience of Dearman's illustrates the changes that took place in Westchester—and in many suburbs of major cities—as railroads allowed daily commuting beginning in the 1840s. Everyone—local farmers, city speculators, country newspaper editors—expected suburban growth to follow the railroad. The local people—farmers, merchants, and laborers—welcomed it, participated in it, and many prospered from it. The slovenly farmers Solon Robinson reported on were the few who had not seen it coming and did not have the enterprise to adapt to the new situation. In fact, suburbanization followed less quickly than expected, in a steady stream rather than in a rush, to the detriment of those, like Sacchi, who expected quick sales. It also involved many who had not worked in New York, but found jobs or enterprise in a newly commercial society based not on farming but on salaries and wages drawn in New York by the commuters.

What is remarkable about Irvington is the extent to which the local population participated in the remaking of their county. Irvington is not a story about big-city developers taking away land from content farmers. It was Justus Dearman who sold his land and provided the mortgage for his first broker; his son was an agent in the sale, and Justus most likely paid close attention to the sale's progress, if only because he might never collect on his mortgage if things went badly. The first sales of land were not only to speculators from New York, but also to speculators from the neighboring towns, and Dearman's first residents were not commuters but locals who came to establish the basic businesses every small town in the 1850s required. In the few local histories, Irvington has often been portrayed as a community of housekeepers and servants, but it was not so

homogeneous. Woodhead and Chapin from New York were wealthier than most of the local families, but not all; Peter Warman, who as a hired hand for Washington Irving would have held his hat before the writer, could, as a station agent, sell tickets and provide assistance to passengers without subservience. Theodore McNamee was probably wealthy and aloof on his estate, but he was an exception, high above the shopkeepers and farmers but also beyond the social reach of the smaller city merchants like Woodhead and Chapin.

Irvington was bound for a change after the Civil War. During the Gilded Age of the 1870s and 80s, some of the most extravagant villas of New York financiers were built there, and many of the first residents' homes were bought and enlarged into mansions. But in its first decade of existence, Irvington was not a suburb as much as a suburban town, where a few commuters provided the seed money around which a Westchester community grew.

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Appendix 1

Advertisments Related to Dearman's

First Advertisement for the auction of land at Dearman's.

New York Evening Post, March 26, 1850, page 1, "Public Sales" column.

Building Sites on the Hudson River

-Situate between the Albany Post Road and the River, at Dearman, to be sold at auction on the 25th of April, at the Merchant's Exchange, by COLE & CHILTON, Auctioneers. The distance from the city by the Hudson River Trains, is three-quarters of an hour. The fare is the same as to Dobb's Ferry and may be commuted quarterly or by the year. A part of the property fronting the water will be sold in village lots, and in plots on the upland to suit purchasers. The premises are now being laid out, planted and improved. The views are commanding and beautiful, and the position perfectly healthy. The Ferry with Piermont affords constant communication between this point and the opposite shore, and connects the Hudson River and Erie Railroads. The neighborhood is excellent, including in the immediate vicinity the country seats of Messrs. Washington Irving, Ambrose C. Kingsland, Gen. Paulding, Mrs. Colford Jones, Messrs. Henry Sheldon, James A. Hamilton, and George Schuyler, besides the residences of many gentlemen belonging to Westchester county.

Seventy-five per cent of the purchase money may remain on bond and mortgage. For further particulars application may be made at the station house on the premises to Mr. GEO. W. DEARMAN, at 5 Broad Street, to G.A. SACCHI; or at the Auctioneer's office, 9 Wall st, where maps of the premises can be seen. All the trains of the Hudson River Railroad stop at Dearman; and Gentlemen who

would view the premises, may take the cars at Chambers street, at 7, 8 1/2 A.M., 3, 4 1/2 and 6 P.M., and leave Dearman, returning at 7 25, 9 24 A.M. and 1 29, 5 29, and 10 12 P.M.

N.B. Persons wishing to build for the summer, can purchase at *private sale*, on very liberal terms, on immediate application as above.

Running Advertisement for the first auction.

New York *Evening Post*, April 8, 1850, page 1, "Public Sales" column. Also ran April 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20.

Bruce A. Chilton, Auctioneer
BY COLE & CHILTON
[Several other auctions of New York City property listed]

THURSDAY, 25th

At 12 o'clock at the Merchants' Exchange

Building Sites on the Hudson River, at Dearman, between Dobb's Ferry and Tarrytown. For full particulars, see advertisement in Courier, Tribune, Evening Post, and Home Journal, or enquire of the auctioneers, where maps are now ready and can be had.

Main Advertisement for the first auction.

New York Evening Post, April 22, 1850, page 1, "Public Sales" column. Also ran April 23 and 24.

Bruce A. Chilton, Auctioneer
BY COLE & CHILTON
[Two auctions for Manhattan properties precede Dearman auction]

THURSDAY, 25th At 12 o'clock, at the Merchants' Exchange

Cottage sites for Summer Residences on the east bank of the Hudson River, at Dearman, between Dobb's Ferry and Tarrytown.

The premises are situated between the Albany Post Road and the river at Dearman, in the town of Greenburgh, each lot being 50 feet by 100 feet. The distance from the city by the Hudson River trains is three quarters of an hour. The fare is the same as to Dobb's Ferry, and may be commuted quarterly or by the year. A part of the property fronting the water will be sold as village lots, and in plots on the uplands to suit the purchasers. The premises are already laid out,

planted, and improved. The views are commanding and beautiful, and the position perfectly healthy. The Ferry with Piermont affords constant communication between this point and the opposite shore, and connects the Hudson River and Erie Railroads. A wide avenue leads from the post road to the river, gently sloped, well graded, and lined with a double row of trees. The neighborhood is most excellent, including in the immediate vicinity the country seats of Messrs. Washington Irving, Ambrose C. Kingsland, Gen. Paulding, Mrs. Colford Jones, Messrs. Henry Sheldon, James A. Hamilton, and George Schuyler, besides the residences of many gentlemen belonging to Westchester county. The homestead of the former proprietor, Mr. Dearman will be sold with the out buildings.

Only ten per cent of the purchase money will be required on the day of sale, and if purchasers build immediately, the whole of the balance may remain on bond and mortgage. In the case of purchasers not building, seventy-five per cent may so remain.

For further information, application may be made at the Station House on the premises, to G W Dearman, at No. 5 Broad st to GA Sacchi or at the auctioneer's office No. 9 Wall st, where maps of the premises can be had.

All the trains out of the Hudson River Railroad stop at Dearman, leaving Chambers street at 7 o'clock and 8 22 o'clock A.M., and at 3, 4 1/2, and 6 o'clock P.M. and leave Dearman returning at 7 o'clock 25 minutes and 9 o'clock 24 minutes A.M. and 1 o'clock 29 minutes, 5 o'clock 29 minutes, and 10 o'clock 12 minutes P.M.

A number of plots have been sold at private sale, which will be pointed out by the auctioneer. The Hudson River Railroad Company are now laying a double track between this point and the city, and are also making improvements at Dearman Station which, as the point of union of the great Northern and Western routes, possesses peculiar and important advantages over the adjoining villages. A branch Railroad is in contemplation from Dearman to Port Chester or William's Bridge, to connect the Erie and New Haven routes.

Running advertisement for the second auction.

New York Evening Post, April 30, 1850, page 1, "Public Sales" column. In Cole & Chilton's regular box. Ran throughout May with heading "PRIVATE SALE," without date, time, or place of auction.

TUESDAY, June 11 At 12 o'clock at the Merchant's Exchange

Cottage sites at Dearman, on the Hudson River Railroad—
The balance remaining unsold of those beautiful plots of ground at the above place, will be sold on the above day, if not previously sold at private sale. Persons wishing to purchase at private sale can do so by applying to the auctioneers, No 9 Wall street. Persons wishing to build immediately, 90 per cent of the purchase money may remain on bond and mortgage for a term of years. Several choice parcels are yet unsold.

Main Advertisement for the second auction.

New York Evening Post, June 5, 1850, page 1, "Public Sales" column. Also ran on June 7 and 8.

TUESDAY, June 11 At 3 o'clock, on the premises.

Cottage sites and village lots at Dearman, on the Hudson River— The balance of the lots remaining unsold at Dearman, opposite Piermont, comprising about 100 in number.

The Dearman premises front upon the Hudson River and Railroad, and extend thence easterly on a fertile slope to the Albany turnpike, with a gradual ascent of 130 feet. From all parts there is a beautiful and extended view up and down the river. The lots near the railroad, 50 feet by 100, are well adapted for business purposes, and the plots on the upland for private residences are unrivalled in their commanding and healthy position, fine scenery and excellent neighborhood. A wide avenue, well graded and lined with a double row of trees leads from the postroad to the river.

In the immediate vicinity are the country seats of Messrs. Washington Irving, Ambrose C. Kingsland, Moses H. Grinnell, Gen. Paulding, Mrs. Colford Jones, Messrs. Henry Sheldon, James A. Hamilton, and George Schuyler, besides the residences of many gentlemen belonging to Westchester county. The distance from the city by the Hudson River trains is three quarters of an hour, and all the property is within five minutes walk of the station.—The fare is the same as to Dobb's Ferry, and may be commuted quarterly, or by the year, at rates varying from 18 to 23 cents, according to the number of tickets taken.

Numerous plots have already been disposed of at private sale, in addition to those sold at the first auction.

The ferry with Piermont, under the management of the Piermont and Dearman Ferry Company, which was incorporated at the recent session of the Legislature, with a capital of \$80,000 (Hezekiah C. Seymour, State Engineer, President) affords constant communication between this point and the opposite shore, and connects the Hudson River and Erie Railroads; and the Hudson River Company are making large improvements at Dearman to meet their consequent increase in business. A branch railroad is in contemplation from Dearman to Port Chester or William's Bridge, to connect the Erie and New Haven routes; and application is being made for a post office at this station.

These combined advantages give to the property at Dearman, as the point of union between the great Erie and Hudson routes, and the probable point of connection between the Erie Road and those of New England, an actual perspective value in incalculable magnitude.

Only 10 per cent of the purchase money will be required in cash from purchasers who intend to build immediately. The whole of the balance being allowed to remain on bond and mortgage. In case of purchasers not building, sixty per cent may so remain.

For further particulars, application may be made at the Station House on the premises, at No. 5 Broad street, to G A Sacchi, or at the auctioneer's office, No. 9 Wall st., where maps of the premises can be had, showing the unsold plots.

The Hudson River trains for Dearman leave Chambers street daily at 7, 8.15 A.M. and 3, 4 45 and 8.30 P.M. and leave Dearman returning at 7 25, 9 42 A.M. and 1.39, 5 50 and 10 18 P.M.

Arrangements have been made with the Hudson River Railroad company for a special train on the day of the sale, to leave Chambers street, New York, at 1 15 P.M., and return after the sale is over, and for the convenience of citizens of Rockland and Orange counties, the Piermont and Dearman Ferry Company have directed the ferry boat to run without charge on the day of the sale.

Appendix 2

List of Businesses in Irvington in 1860.

Source: Thomas Hutchinson, Westchester County Directory for 1860-1 (New York: Thomas Hutchinson, 1860).

Blacksmiths

Michael Bray

Caleb Wildey, Broadway near First Avenue

Boot & Shoemakers

Alexander Hectos, Broadway & First Avenue John Thomas, First Avenue near C Street

Butchers

James Lent, First Avenue near Broadway

Carpenters & Builders

M.B. Demarest

Charles Lawrence

Clergymen

C.H. McHugh, Presbyterian W.A. McVicar, Presbyterian-Episcopalian S.H. Orcutt

Coach & Carriage Makers

Gustavus Schillinkey

Coal Dealers

Storms & Lockwood, Railroad near dock

Confectioners

Henry Twitchings, First Avenue & B Street

Dry Goods

Banks & Evans, First Avenue & Railroad John J. Banta, Broadway & First Avenue

Grocers

Daniel Cashman, First Avenue near C Street Banks & Evans, First Avenue near Railroad John J. Banta, Broadway & First Avenue Arthur Kilpatrick, First Avenue near C Street

Hotels

Irvington House (Henry S. Downes, proprietor)

Lagerbier Saloons

Lewis Hoffer, First Avenue near Railroad

Lumber Dealers

Storms & Lockwood, Railroad near dock

Painters, House & Sign

George Mayo, First Avenue & B Street

Harness & Saddle Manufacturers

John C. Clark, Railroad near First Avenue

Tin & Sheet Iron Workers

Stephen T. Wright, Railroad near First Avenue

Farmers

labez L. Ellis

Theodore McNamee

Nathaniel O. Tompkins

Postmaster

T.W. Crisfield

Public School #2—F.B. Abbott, Principal

Appendix 3

Advertisment for Farms

New York Evening Post, April 19, 1850, page 4, classified section.

FOR SALE—A desirable Farm of 80 acres together with the crops and stock, in Mamaroneck, Westchester county, near the New Haven and New York Railroad Deport, [sic] Price for Farm, crops, and stock \$7,000.

Also, a Farm of 20 acres, in the town of Yonkers, near the Tuckaho Depot of the New York and Harlem Railroad. Price \$2,200.

Also, a farm of 80 acres in Rockland county, eight miles from Piermont, and one mile from Clark's Corner Depot of the New York and Erie Railroad. Price \$6,000. All the above named farms possess many advantages for gentlemen wishing to reside in the country, and doing business in the city. They are well improved with abundance of various kinds of grafted fruit, &c. &c. Apply to WM. P. MOSS, No. 1 Nassau, cor. of Wall st.