

Figure 1.
Marcellus Hartley (1827 to 1902)
Roy Marcot photo collection.

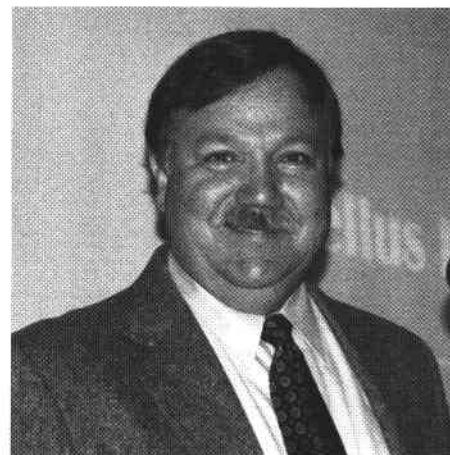
Marcellus Hartley—Merchant, Financier, Millionaire and Philanthropist

Roy Marcot

If any individual could be called a Renaissance Man of the 19th century, it would be Marcellus Hartley. Here was a self-made man who was unafraid of risk—both personal and financial—and who treasured integrity and business ethics above all else.

The Hartleys were descended from Englishmen and could trace their ancestry back to the 15th century in the northern counties of England. Marcellus' grandfather, Isaac Hartley, was a manufacturer who immigrated to the United States in 1797. The family settled in Schenectady, New York, and in 1806 purchased a farm in Perth, New York. Among Isaac Hartley's children was Robert, born in 1796, who left home in 1822 to seek employment in New York City. After a few years in the commercial sector, Robert began a lifelong career in charity and philanthropy, notably improving conditions for the poor. In 1824, Robert married Catherine Munson, and their firstborn son, Marcellus, was born on the twenty-third day of September, 1827.


Young Marcellus received his primary education in various schools in New York City, including a classical academy which prepared its students for moving on to college. Yet college was not to be for this young man. In 1844, seventeen-year-old Marcellus left school to become a clerk in his father's office, remaining there for three years. He then got a job as entry clerk and assistant bookkeeper at the import house of Francis Tomes & Sons of New York City, dealers in fancy hardware and sporting goods. Even at this young age, Marcellus was renowned for his unfailing memory, a trait that would serve him well throughout a long business career.



Twenty-year-old Marcellus was soon transferred to the gun department where his duties often required him to solicit business from dealers in the South and Midwest. These early years prepared him for a career in the gun business and hardened him to long and arduous trips to visit both suppliers and customers throughout the world. After seven years in this employ, Marcellus left to seek his own fortune, believing that it would be impossible for him to rise to a partnership position where he was.

With a thorough business knowledge of American and European sporting arms, Marcellus made the acquaintance of two men who worked for a competitor of Francis Tomes & Sons, Jacob Schuyler and Malcolm Graham of the firm Smith, Young & Company. It took no time at all for the three young men to strike up a friendship and discuss the feasibility of establishing "a fancy hardware and military goods" business to compete with their former employers. Thus, the firm Schuyler, Hartley & Graham was established on March 1, 1854, at 13 Maiden Lane, New York City, as purveyors of military goods (uniforms, swords, weapons and musical instruments) and sporting arms and related accessories. Capital for the venture came from two special partners, Michael Lieman (\$20,000) and Henry Eilshemius (\$20,000), and from Schuyler (a full partner, who also contributed \$20,000).

The fledgling firm borrowed heavily to establish themselves as a company which could compete with the older, more entrenched firms. Young Hartley, accustomed to busi-



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GUNS, PISTOLS, Military Goods,

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Also, a full assortment of

Jet, Coral, and Steel Goods.

Schuyler, Hartley & Graham,
19 Maiden Lane & 22 John Street. N. Y.,
31 Rue du Chateau d'Eau, Paris.
Sands St., Birmingham, Eng.

Figure 2. Harper's Weekly, July 30, 1864.

ness travel, and his partner Schuyler were given a modest letter of credit and sailed for Europe to purchase goods for the new but nearly empty store. They traveled throughout the Continent and England for about four months, procuring goods and establishing business relationships with manufacturers and wholesalers which they would utilize for decades to come. The risk was great, but the venture produced grand profits for willing buyers.

Returning to New York, Hartley and Schuyler helped Graham market the recently acquired goods, with buyers throughout the industrialized East, the rural South and the burgeoning West, including Saint Louis and Chicago. Firearms were needed for hunting, target shooting and protection, and buyers included sportsmen, shopkeepers, gentlemen and emigrants. There was no lack of willing buyers of new and used firearms in the years prior to the Civil War, and the firm, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham flourished.

In the fall of 1855, Marcellus married Frances Chester White, second daughter of a prominent New York City physician. During the following year he returned to Europe, taking his new bride with him. Hartley initiated annual buying trips to Europe and established professional relationships with all of the important overseas sporting arms manufacturers.

Schuyler, Hartley & Graham, a firm based on sound financial ethics, weathered a serious monetary panic in New York in 1857, unlike many of their direct competitors. As the firm flourished, they were in excellent position to weather yet another economic crisis in 1860 when much of the nation was paralyzed by the threat of an approaching civil war. While other merchandisers suffered, the unique nature of the business of the firm—selling firearms and related accessories—assured success in the months and years to come. The pressing need for weaponry would change from sales to individuals to dealing with state and federal arms

procurers who needed hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of arms. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham had the goods that they needed.

The year 1861 was a turbulent one for the firm as demand for firearms outraced the supply on hand. And it was not surprising when antagonists accused Schuyler, Hartley & Graham of selling military goods to agents of the South. A grand jury was convened in New York City to examine such potentially treasonous accusations. A thoroughly pro-Northern business practice and meticulous record-keeping practices convinced the grand jury to exon-

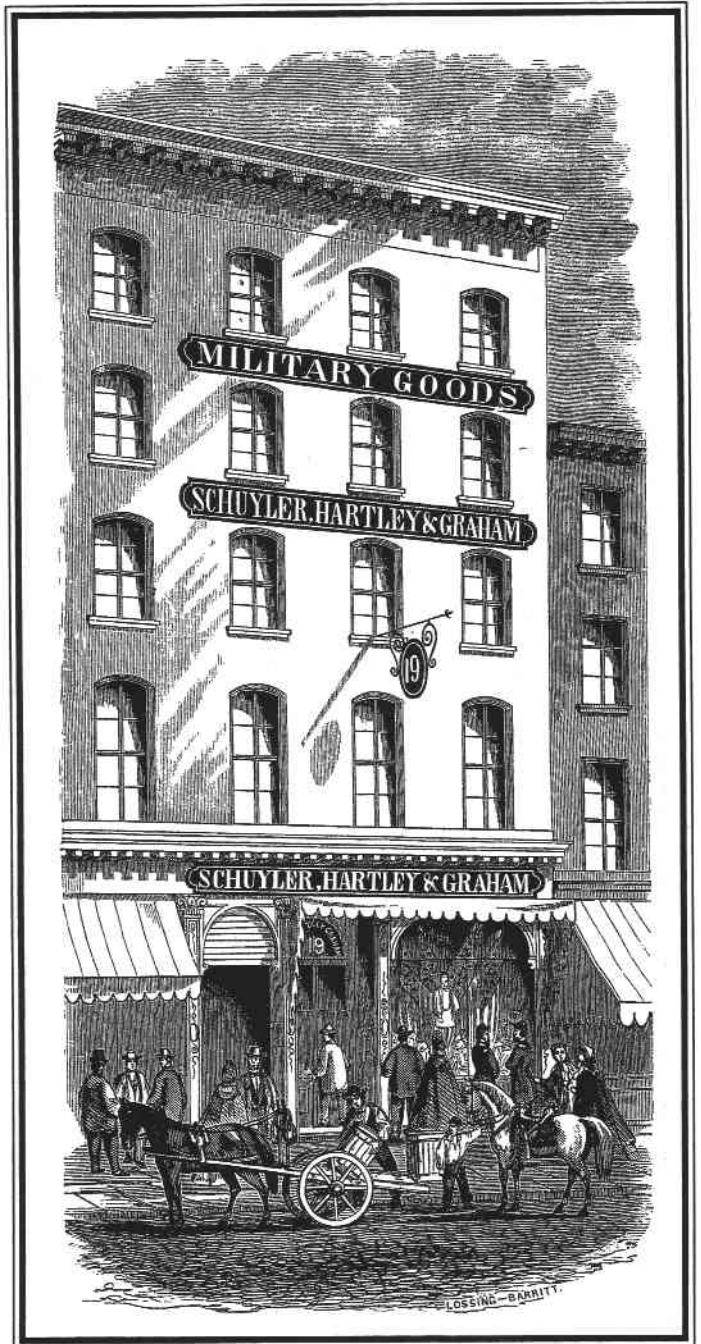


Figure 3. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham catalog, 1864. Roy Marcot collection.



Figure 4. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham catalog, 1864

erate the firm of the pro-rebellion acquisitions, and all charges were dismissed.

ARMS FOR THE UNION

When the newly organized Confederate forces fired on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, all hope of keeping the Union intact was lost. Abraham Lincoln, inaugurated as president of the United States only a month earlier, was compelled to call up 75,000 volunteers to augment an existing but small standing army. This resulted in a fever of recruiting throughout the loyal Northern states and the ranks swelled with enthusiastic but unarmed men and boys. The government was ill-prepared to train, house, feed and equip the thousands of soldiers who entered service every month, and chaos reigned. Indeed, an overworked Federal Ordnance Department under General James Wolfe Ripley was unable to manufacture or purchase the weaponry needed to arm the soldiers with pistols, muskets, ammunition and cannon. Problems abounded, including attempts to procure weaponry privately—most notably, General John Fremont's well-

intentioned but foolish purchases of substandard Halls carbines and European muskets in 1861. Procurement was further exacerbated by the appointment of Colonel George L. Schuyler (no relation to Jacob Schuyler of Schuyler, Hartley & Graham) as the Union's primary agent to purchase firearms from private sources. This unfortunate appointment by Secretary of War Simon Cameron took place on July 29, 1861. The inexperienced Schuyler squandered much of the \$2,000,000 given him to purchase first-class firearms in Europe, having procured mostly second-class and antiquated muskets from secondary manufacturers, hardly the arms needed by desperate troops preparing for war.

Fortunately, President Lincoln replaced Cameron with the more businesslike Edwin M. Stanton, who immediately sought to rectify the arms procurement problem. Among other actions, Stanton ordered a commission be established to clean up the arms mess, appointing former War Secretary Judge Joseph Holt, Ohio arms merchant Robert Dale Owen and U.S. Ordnance Officer Major P.V. Hagner. Stanton also

sought a replacement for Schuyler, someone more experienced in procuring weaponry from arms-producing houses in Europe. Both General Ripley and Robert Owen suggested that the only man truly qualified to succeed was Marcellus Hartley. How right they were.

By late 1861, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham occupied stores and warehouses at 13 and 19 Maiden Lane in New York City. Attractive displays of engraved Colts, plain Remington pocket pistols and Beals Navy revolvers, and many other civilian and military-type firearms, graced the walls along with officers uniforms, dress swords and other militaria.¹ The partners realized the importance of Hartley's mission for the federal government and for their firm. Therefore, when Marcellus Hartley was appointed "the special and confidential agent of the U.S. Government, for the purpose of obtaining arms in Europe" on July 14, 1862, he began his duties with all the zeal that he could muster.² Harley's appoint was confidential because the secretary of war wanted him to negotiate as a private procurement house, not as an official government-appointed representative. Stanton believed correctly that Hartley (secretly appointed by Lincoln with a rank equivalent to brigadier-general) could procure weaponry at much lower prices if the European sellers thought he would then need to re-sell the arms to the States or to the U.S. Government.

Hartley, the confidential arms-procuring agent for the Union, traveled to England, arriving on July 26, 1862. His duties in Great Britain and on the Continent kept him there for the next nine months. His duties included procuring quality firearms at the lowest possible price and, whenever possible, preventing Confederate agents from acquiring arms for their cause. Hartley procured tens of thousands of Enfield rifle-muskets, Prussian percussion muskets, Belgian-made muskets and Austrian and French muskets. By the end of December 1862, Hartley had successfully negotiated for the purchase of more than 204,000 muskets, enough to arm more than 200 regiments of infantry. In April 1863, his mission accomplished, Hartley returned to the United States to find that his firm had prospered in his absence.

Upon his return from Europe, Marcellus Hartley went with his wife to live at 17 West Thirtieth Street in a house which he had purchased during the first months of the war. He and his wife Frances eventually had four children: Caroline, who died in infancy, Emma and twin daughters Grace and Helen. His wife bore no sons to carry on the family name.

Marcellus Hartley's contributions to the success of the Union went unheralded throughout much of the four-year-long war. He sacrificed much during this time, spending many months away from his New York-based business, and applied his considerable business skills in procuring much-needed weaponry for troops that never knew his name.³

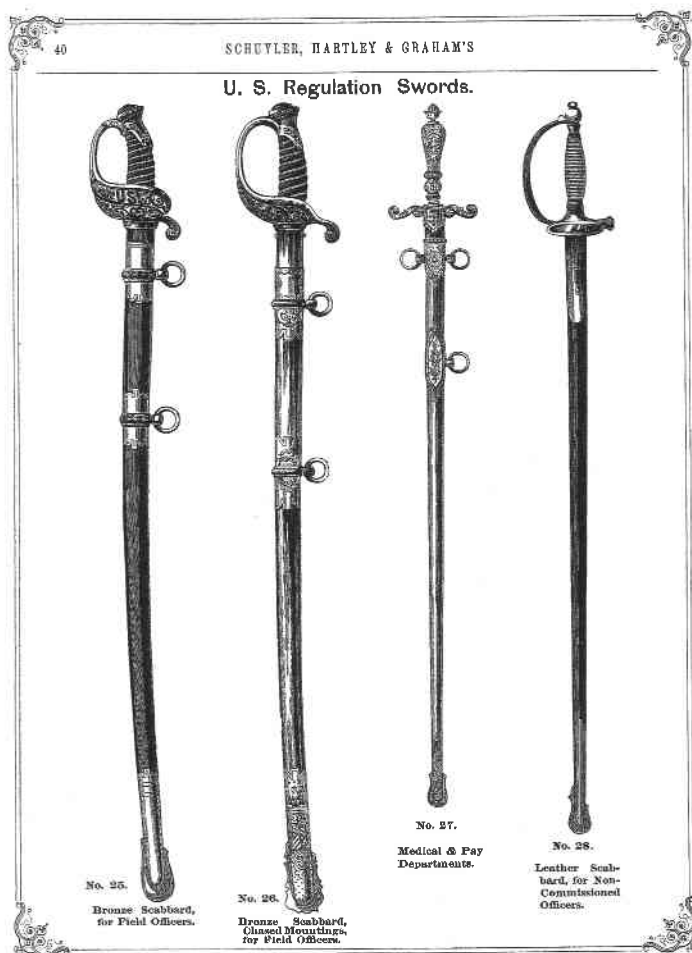


Figure 5. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham catalog, 1864.

THE FUTURE OF AMMUNITION—METALLIC CARTRIDGES

The Civil War has been referred to as the first modern war because so many military innovations came about during this four-year-long conflict. The advent of rapid-firing weapons, ironclads and submarines was matched in importance by two technical innovations: breech-loading firearms and self-contained, metallic ammunition.

Breech-loading carbines and rifles were more sought after than their muzzle-loading counterparts, which were clumsy and slow to load. Breech loaders such as the Spencers and Sharps could be rapidly loaded and fired. It was said that a soldier armed with a Spencer was equivalent to six armed with a Springfield rifle-musket. By the close of hostilities in April 1865, the fate of muzzle-loaders was doomed and the U.S. Ordnance Department set about converting thousands of Springfields and Enfields to breechloaders. Hundreds of thousands of new and used muzzleloading muskets sat in warehouses awaiting eventual sale. U.S. soldiers now were to be armed with breechloading arms.

The Civil War introduced self-contained, internally primed metallic ammunition that was impervious to the rigors of field service such as rough handling, moisture, tem-

Arms and Ammunition.

Smith's Patent Breech Loading Carabines and Rifles.
Military Carbine—Barrel 23 inches long, Weight $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, Calibre 60-100ths of an inch.

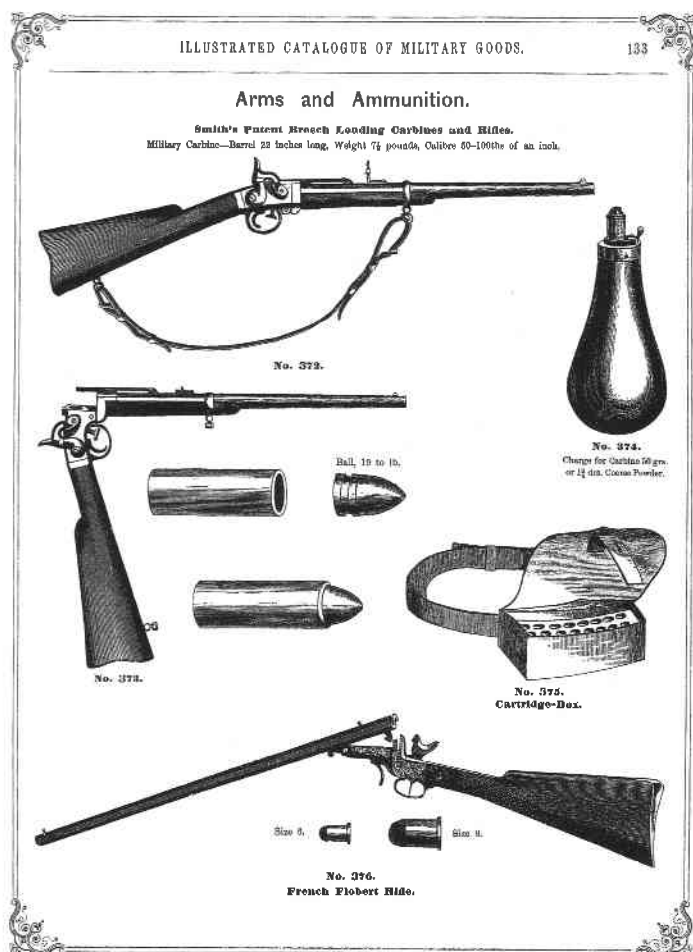


Figure 6. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham catalog, 1864.

perature and humidity. The alternative was paper-wrapped cartridges containing a lead bullet and loose powder together with a separate percussion cap. The new rimfire cartridge could be readily loaded and the spent casing could be extracted once every six or seven seconds; a muzzleloader could be fired and reloaded only once every 30 to 40 seconds. The superiority of the one over the other was overwhelming. During the four-year conflict, the Federal Ordnance Department purchased more than 73 million rimfire cartridges and more than 39 million other metallic cartridges.⁴

These technological improvements were not lost on the proprietors of Schuyler, Hartley & Graham, a company which had grown to immense proportions during the Civil War.⁵ In December 1865, they had the capital necessary to purchase the assets of two struggling manufacturers of metallic ammunition: Crittenden & Tibbals Manufacturing Company of South Coventry, Connecticut,⁶ and C.D. Leet & Company of Springfield, Massachusetts.⁷ Combining the metallic cartridge machinery of both companies and the know-how of experienced workmen, a new company was established on March 19, 1866, in Bridgeport, Connecticut and was called the Union Metallic Cartridge & Cap

Company.⁸ Alfred C. Hobbs became the plant manager and the product of the company mirrored that of the final productive days of Crittenden & Tibbals: copper-cased, rimfire metallic ammunition from .22 short to .69 musket sizes.

The company later shortened its name to the Union Metallic Cartridge Company by incorporating on August 13 and 27, 1867. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham of New York City remained the principal, absentee owners. In that year, the company commenced manufacturing central-primed metallic ammunition of numerous sizes both for sporting and for military use. In the decades which followed, UMC would become the most profitable of all of Marcellus Hartley's ventures, eventually making billions of cartridges for sporting and military purposes. By the beginning of the 20th century, UMC was recognized as the largest ammunition manufacturer in the United States, and probably the world, and their financial success made Marcellus Hartley and Malcolm Graham very wealthy.

SCHUYLER, HARTLEY & GRAHAM'S NEW YORK BUSINESS PROSPERS

Besides the ammunition business in Bridgeport, the unprecedented success that Schuyler, Hartley & Graham continued to achieve after the Civil War seems to have been because they were firearms and military accessory dealers, not manufacturers. Following every major conflict, it is the manufacturers of arms who suffer the most when orders cease: workers are released, machines stand idle and no more money flows in to pay for large mortgages, leftover stock and semi-finished goods. Dealers, on the other hand, have no such huge outlay of capital and can readily scale back their operation to meet peacetime needs.

When the Civil War ended in April 1865, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham resumed their sporting arms business, but turned to Central and South America and to the Orient for new opportunities to sell military weapons. The product—surplus weaponry and military equipage—was at their doorstep in U.S. Government warehouses in New York City and many other Eastern facilities reachable by train and ship. The company needed only to find willing buyers, so they began a network of merchandising in dozens of foreign countries.

Concurrently, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham established relationships with local shops that were skilled in repairing, retrofitting, refinishing and altering firearms and military equipment. Eventually, the company turned to the Starr Arms Company Armory⁹ in Yonkers and Wm. F. Coxford of New York City to work on all manner of arms. Carabines were changed into muskets, rifles were shortened into musketoons or carabines, browned barrels were polished bright and rifle or

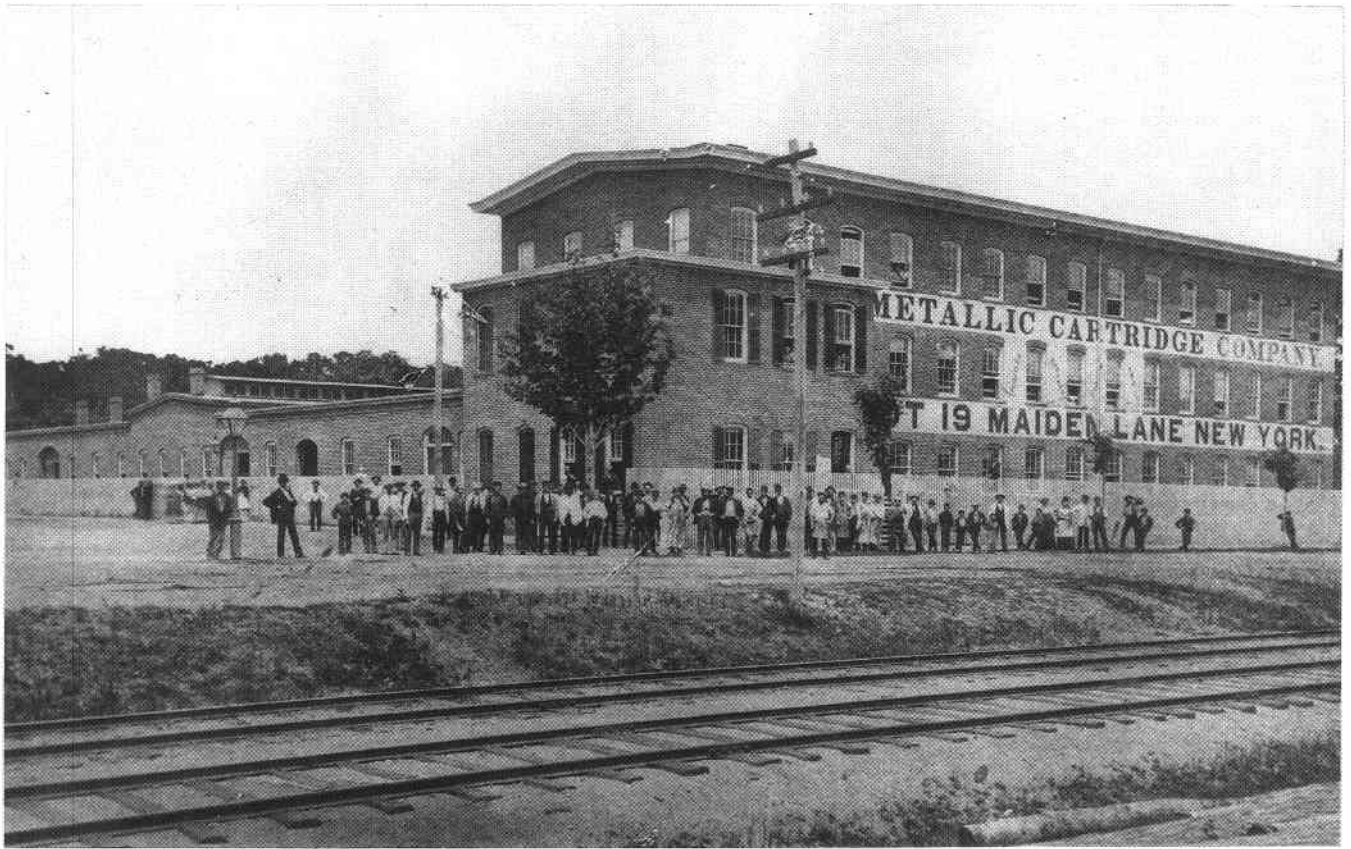


Figure 7. Union Metallic Cartridge Company, Bridgeport, Connecticut (circa 1873). Remington Arms Co. photo collection.

carbine barrels were fitted with lugs for bayonets. In short, whatever the customer wanted, the company would provide.¹⁰

By 1872, the company was advertising all types of modern weaponry, including breechloading rifles and carbines, swords, pistols, Gatling guns, field artillery batteries and heavy sea-coast guns. They also sold ammunition of all sizes and types from the smallest rimfire to the largest projectiles for artillery and coast defense guns. Sales brochures boasted of having all types of military equipment, including uniforms, knapsacks, tents, flags and leather goods. "Regiments and Companies Completely Equipped" was not an idle statement in their catalog. It seems that Schuyler, Hartley & Graham could supply all the necessary materials to outfit units as small as local militia or as large as standing armies. This was an immense firm.

The largest military operation after the Civil War was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. France found itself ill-equipped to fight superior German forces and turned to the U.S. for the latest innovations in arms and ammunition. The situation grew critical as the conflict escalated and France would do anything to procure ordnance. The Government of the United States had signed a neutrality act with both belligerents and could not officially supply either

country. But this did not stop private arms firms such as E. Remington & Sons, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham and Poultney & Trimble from procuring arms and munitions for France. When the government received word that the actions of these private concerns was interfering with the neutrality agreement, President Grant ordered that all such "interference" cease and commissioned a board of review to investigate the matter.

On April 8, 1872, Marcellus Hartley, proprietor of Schuyler, Hartley & Graham of New York City, gave sworn testimony regarding the supply of arms and munitions to France during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871

At the beginning of the French War we had a very large stock of arms, and we sent one of our young men to Europe. We sent samples to London, samples to Germany, and samples to France. Mr. Reynolds went with them, and about the 15th of September, 1870, he consummated a contract with the government of France. The contract was telegraphed to us on September 15, 1870. A credit was to be opened through the French Consul at New York, and the goods were to be delivered and payment made by him. We went to work and executed that contract. It took us about six weeks or two months probably to execute that contract.



Figure 8. Interior view of the ammunition manufacturing department, Union Metallic Cartridge Company (circa 1873).

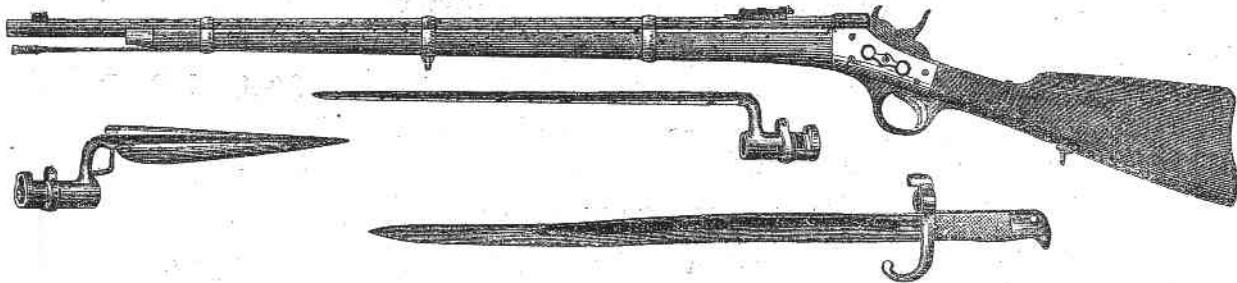
SCHUYLER, HARTLEY & GRAHAM,

19 Maiden Lane and 22 John Street, New York, U. S.,

AGENTS FOR THE

REMINGTON CELEBRATED BREECH-LOADING ARMS.

Manufactured by E. Remington & Sons, at Ilion, New York.



Reasonable terms made with Dealers for furnishing the new arm or transforming Muzzle-loaders for Militia purposes.
A UNIFORM SYSTEM AND CALIBRE FOR RIFLES, CARBINES, AND PISTOLS.

For Military and Sporting Purposes.

300,000 REMINGTONS IN THE HANDS OF TROOPS.

ADOPTED BY THE UNITED STATES NAVY, AND MANY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

RECOMMENDED AS FIRST BY ST LOUIS ARMY BOARD, MAJOR-GENERAL SCHOFIELD, PRESIDENT—AND REPORT FULLY CONCURRED WITH BY GENERAL

W. T. SHERMAN, COMMANDING UNITED STATES ARMY.

EXTRACT.—“Considering all the elements of excellence and cost of manufacture, the board are unanimously and decidedly of the opinion that the REMINGTON is the BEST system for the Army of the United States.”—Report of the St. Louis Army Board, June 10, 1870.

MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS IN ALL KINDS OF
MILITARY ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND EQUIPMENTS, ORDNANCE AND ORDNANCE STORES.

AGENTS FOR THE

UNION METALLIC CARTRIDGE CO.

NONE OF THE CARTRIDGES FURNISHED BY THE UNION METALLIC CARTRIDGE CO. MISSED FIRE IN THE REMINGTON GUNS AT THE TRIAL BY THE ST. LOUIS BOARD.

RICE'S PATENT TROWEL BAYONET, FOR ARMY PURPOSES.

PENROSE AND CRISPIN PATENT EQUIPMENTS.

IMPORTERS AND WHOLESALE DEALERS IN

GUNS, RIFLES, PISTOLS AND SPORTING ARTICLES.

AGENTS FOR THE

CELEBRATED WILLIAM GREENER GUN.

FINE BREECH, AND MUZZLE-LOADING SHOTGUNS.

GUN WADDING, AND-PERCUSSION CAPS.

GOODS IN VARIETY, ETC., ETC., ETC.

ELY'S, DIXON'S, AND HAWESLEY'S

PARIS AND VIENNA FANCY GOODS.
RICH CLOCKS BRONZES, JEWELRY, AND FINE CUTLERY,
GARNET, CORAL, AND SILVER GOODS.
OPERA, FIELD, AND MARINE GLASSES, OF ALL THE CELEBRATED MAKERS.
FINE RUSSIA LEATHER, AND GANVASS TRAVELLING BAGS, PORTE-MONNAIES,
GLOVE AND HANDKERCHIEF BOXES, DRESSING CASES, ETC., ETC., ETC.

DRUGGISTS' SUNDRIES, AND FANCY ARTICLES. LOW'S SOAPS, LUBIN'S EXTRACTS, ETC.
ARMY and NAVY GOODS “Conforming to U. S. Regulation.”

FINE GOLD EPAAULETS, CAP ORNAMENTS, LOOPS, LACERS, AND HAT CORDS. SWORDS, SABRES, AND BELTS. ARMY CLOVES OF ALL COLORS.

PARTICULAR ATTENTION PAID TO ORDERS FOR THE STATE MILITIA.
REGALIA AND THEATRICAL GOODS IN GREAT VARIETY.

Figure 9. Army & Navy Journal, February 11, 1871.

We purchased the Sharps Rifle Company stock, and the balance of the stock of the Spencer Company after they were broken up, and we had some Remingtons. We own the Union Metallic Cartridge Company works at Bridgeport, where we made the ammunition, but the French Government requirements were 400 cartridges per gun, and we had to buy some Spencer ammunition from the U.S. Government . . . including 5,000 Spencer carbines purchased from the U.S. Government at \$20 each; Spencer ammunition; Springfield musket ammunition; Sharps cartridges at \$16 per thousand; and 5 million musket caps at 40¢ per thousand.”

Schuyler, Hartley & Graham never paid a dollar [of graft or gratuity] to any French official.

Jacob Schuyler, the more senior of the three partners, retired from the business in 1876 but the name of the company remained unchanged. He died in 1881, but had not been active in business affairs since his interest was eventually bought out on December 31, 1879.

On May 24, 1878, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham made a decision to sell the fancy goods and jewelry department of their business to Hall, Nichol & Granberry. Three years later, Hartley & Graham became special (monetary only) partners in that concern for \$70,000 each.

In February 1878, Marcellus Hartley established a new company to manufacture gun implements such as loading tools, cleaning rods, shell extractors and powder-measures. The new venture was named the Bridgeport Gun Implement Company and was located (as the name implies) in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

In 1879, Marcellus Hartley moved from 17 West Thirtieth Street, where he and Frances has resided since 1863, to a new home at 232 Madison Avenue, where he was to reside until his death. On January 3, 1880, the two remaining partners officially changed the company name to Hartley & Graham.

Some time thereafter, the partners established a laboratory in Bridgeport to experiment with alternating current for

SCHUYLER, HARTLEY & GRAHAM,

SCHUYLER, HARTLEY & GRAHAM.
19 Maiden Lane and 22 John Street,
 NEW YORK,
 IMPORTERS AND WHOLESALE DEALERS IN

MILITARY GOODS,
 GUNS, PISTOLS, CUTLERY,
 Jewelry, Fancy Goods, &c.,
Clocks, Statuary & Bronzes,
 DRUGGISTS' SUNDRIES,
 AND
TOILET ARTICLES.

Fine Russia Leather and Turkey Morocco Portfolios, Porte-monnaies,
 Dressing Cases, Writing Desks, Cigar Cases. Rosewood, Ebony
 Inlaid, Ivory and Pearl-mounted Writing Desks, Work,
 Handkerchief and Glove Boxes. Fine English and
 French Leather Traveling Bags. Ivory and Pearl
 Silver-Mounted Paper Folders. Bronze,
 Marble & Rosewood Ink Stands. Pearl,
 Ivory, Shell and Silver Card Cases.
 Pearl, Ivory and Shell Photo-
 graph Albums.

50 Boulevard Haussmann, | 14 Whittall,
 PARIS. | BIRMINGHAM.

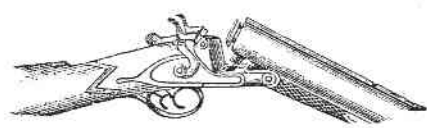
Figure 10. Schuyler, Hartley, & Graham catalog, 1872.

domestic and commercial usage. They hired a well-known gun man, Hiram Maxim, to experiment with dynamos and various forms of electric lamps. Maxim was successful in producing working models even though his activity was eclipsed by another inventor, Thomas Alva Edison. Maxim's work, along with the inventions of Mr. Farmer and Mr. Weston, were enough to convince Hartley & Graham to fund



**SCHUYLER, HARTLEY
& GRAHAM,**
 19 MAIDEN LANE,
 NEW YORK,
**MILITARY AND MASONIC
 GOODS.**

Figure 11. Army & Navy Journal, October 25, 1873.



SCHUYLER, HARTLEY & GRAHAM,
 IMPORTERS AND MANUFACTURERS OF
GUNS, RIFLES, PISTOLS,
 AND SPORTING ARTICLES.
 19 Maiden Lane, 20 & 22 John Street,
NEW YORK.
Breech Loading Guns a Specialty.
 FINE GUNS AND RIFLES MANUFACTURED AND IMPORT-
 ED TO ORDER.
 AGENTS FOR THE UNION METALLIC CARTRIDGE CO.
The Sturtevant Brass Shell
 FOR
BREECH-LOADING SHOT GUNS.
 Send for circular.

Figure 12. The American Sportsman, April 4, 1874.

a new venture, the United States Electric Lighting Company of New York. The company was organized with capital amounting to \$300,000, which was soon after increased to \$1,500,000. Sub-companies of the parent were established in many larger cities throughout the U.S.

Opposition to "new-fangled" electricity for lighting and power came from a skeptical public, rival electric companies pushing direct current, and from the entrenched gas companies. Further problems arose from the costs involved for litigation to defend electricity-related patents. For these and other reasons, Marcellus Hartley decided to divest himself of the electric business, selling out to George Westinghouse. The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company was formed and Hartley was named vice president. The new company proved the superiority of alternating current over direct current and the success of Westinghouse was assured.

On May 6, 1880, Hartley's oldest surviving daughter, Emma, married Norman White Dodge. As a present, Hartley purchased a house adjoining his own on 37th Street in New York City and, after remodeling the gift house, built a connection between the two. Father and daughter had always been very close, which made her unexpected death in March 1881 so devastating to him. Hartley and his wife took in Emma's young son, Marcellus Hartley Dodge, and raised him to manhood. Twenty years later, the control of Hartley's vast industrial and commercial empire would pass to this grandson.

Following Emma's death, Marcellus Hartley returned to his business endeavors and was said to find solace in the hard work. Besides his day-to-day responsibilities with Hartley & Graham and with the Union Metallic Cartridge Company, Hartley served on the board of directors for sever-

HARTLEY'S BUSINESS RELATIONSHIP WITH
E. REMINGTON & SONS

During the 1870s and 1880s, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham developed a strong business relationship with the proprietors of E. Remington & Sons of Iliou, New York: Philo, Samuel and Eliphalet Remington. This Iliou, New York, gun manufacturing firm had been established by the father of the proprietors, Eliphalet Remington II, in 1816, making it "America's Oldest Gunmaker."¹²

The Remingtons ran a diverse organization, the products of which included firearms, ammunition, agricultural implements, fire engines, bridges, sewing machines, typewriters and electric dynamo devices. Some of these ventures were successful but most proved unprofitable.

The Remingtons were manufacturers and relied upon independent dealers to sell their goods to the civilian market. Through 1881, E. Remington & Sons relied upon its president, Samuel Remington, to market its military arms to governments in Europe. They relied upon other salesmen to sell their military arms to Central and South America and to governments in Asia. As it was, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham came to handle the majority of this American and Asian market for the Remingtons, selling more than 144,000 Remington firearms over a 20-year period. Thousands of

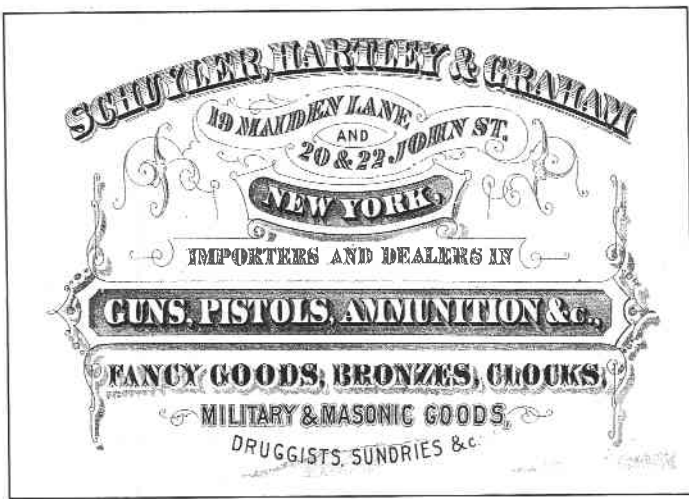


Figure 13. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham trade card (circa 1875). Roy Marcot collection.

all major corporations including the New York Times;¹¹ the Equitable Life Assurance Company; the Manhattan Railroad Company; the Western National Bank, Lincoln and German-American National Banks; the Mercantile Trust Company; the Fifth Avenue Trust Company; the American District Telegraph Company; the Audit Company; the American Surety Company; and the International Banking Corporation.

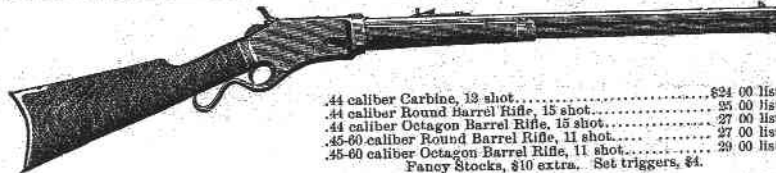
RIFLES, SPORTING AND TARGET.

COLT'S MAGAZINE.



.44 caliber Carbine, 12 shot.....\$24 00 list.
.44 caliber Round Barrel Rifle, 15 shot..... 23 00 list.
.44 caliber Octagon Barrel Rifle, 15 shot..... 27 00 list.
Fancy Stock, Checkered, \$10 extra.

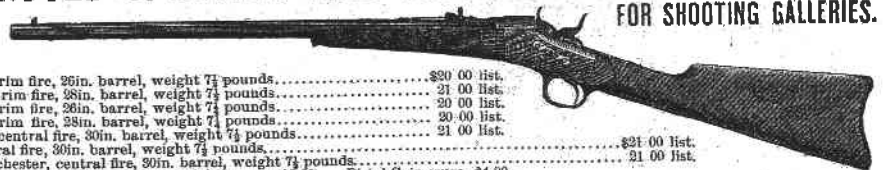
KENNEDY MAGAZINE.



.44 caliber Carbine, 12 shot.....\$24 00 list.
.44 caliber Round Barrel Rifle, 15 shot..... 23 00 list.
.44 caliber Octagon Barrel Rifle, 15 shot..... 27 00 list.
.45-60 caliber Round Barrel Rifle, 11 shot..... 27 00 list.
.45-60 caliber Octagon Barrel Rifle, 11 shot..... 29 00 list.
Fancy Stocks, \$10 extra. Set triggers, \$4.



WHITNEY IMPROVED SPORTING AND TARGET RIFLE.



FOR SHOOTING GALLERIES.

.22 caliber long, rim fire, 26in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds.....\$30 00 list.
.22 caliber long, rim fire, 28in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds..... 21 00 list.
.32 caliber long, rim fire, 26in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds..... 20 00 list.
.32 caliber long, rim fire, 28in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds..... 20 00 list.
.32 Winchester, central fire, 30in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds..... 21 00 list.
.38 caliber, central fire, 30in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds.....\$21 00 list.
.44 caliber, Winchester, central fire, 30in. barrel, weight 7 1/2 pounds..... 21 00 list.
Peep and Globe Sights extra, \$5.00. Pistol Grip extra, \$4.00.

CAN BE OBTAINED THROUGH ANY FIRE ARMS DEALER.

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Figure 14. Forest and Stream, October 2, 1884.



ARMY NAVY

GAZETTE OF THE REGULAR JOURNAL. AND VOLUNTEER FORCES.

VOLUME XXVII.—NUMBER 57. } NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1890. { SIX DOLLARS PER YEAR.
 WHOLE NUMBER 1884. } { SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS.

HARTLEY & GRAHAM,


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WAR MATERIAL,
 REMINGTON BREECH-LOADING RIFLES AND CARBINES,
 CARTRIDGES, REVOLVERS,
 GATLING GUNS, ETC.
 AMMUNITION FOR GATLING AND OTHER MACHINE GUNS.
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Cartridges, Shells and Bullets for all Sporting and Military Arms, Paper and Brass Shot Shells
 Wads, Primers, Caps, Etc.

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Figure 15. Army & Navy Journal, May 10, 1890.

Remington military rifles and carbines were stored in Schuyler, Hartley & Graham warehouses in New York City, ready for shipment at a moment's notice. Such was the close relationship that grew between the principals.

Remington's vast business empire came crashing down in the mid 1880s because of bad debts, over-capitalization in too many diverse ventures, unsuccessful products (such as the Keene rifle) and a paternalistic method of management which would not allow the brothers to scale back employees when times got tough. By early 1886, E. Remington & Sons went into receivership and by early 1888 was to be sold at auction. Marcellus Hartley believed that his firm should acquire the ailing company and decided to involve the Winchester Repeating Arms Company in a potential purchase. Gaining control of Remington's sporting arms business interested Winchester management and controlling Remington's ammunition business interested both Hartley & Graham and Winchester (which manufactured ammunition

and firearms). Marcellus Hartley proposed this venture to Winchester's board of directors, which met to discuss the proposal on January 24, 1888. The directors approved of Hartley's plan, as long as Winchester's maximum expenditure would not exceed \$150,000, which would be a half-interest in the acquisition of the assets of E. Remington & Sons.¹³

On February 1, 1888, a court-ordered sale of the assets of E. Remington & Sons took place in Ilion, New York. When the bidding ceased, it was the syndicate of Hartley & Graham and Winchester which offered the top bid of \$152,200. This sale, however, was not confirmed by the Supreme Court of New York, which stated that the price was far below the actual value of the concern. A new auction was ordered and, on March 7, 1888, the assets of E. Remington & Sons (including real estate, buildings and machinery) were again auctioned off. The partnership of Hartley & Graham and the Winchester Repeating Arms Company were high bidders at

\$200,000.¹⁴ The new owners had promised the New York courts that they had every intention of keeping the gun manufactory in place and infusing needed capital to again make firearms in Ilion.¹⁵ On July 8, 1888, the company was reorganized as a new corporation, the Remington Arms Company.

Soon after the acquisition, the new proprietors made good on their promise and infused enough capital to revitalize the Remington factory and, subsequently, to bring prosperity back to the village of Ilion. Laid-off workmen were rehired and long-dormant gunmaking machinery was restarted. Marcellus Hartley was appointed president, Thomas G. Bennett (VP of Winchester) was named vice president, Wilfred Hartley (another Hartley & Graham officer) was appointed corporate treasurer, W.W. Reynolds (formerly with Hartley & Graham) was named corporate secretary and F.C. Cross was made general manager. Finally, Remington had a strong management direction and an established distribution pipeline to assure success.

In the years that followed, a trimmed-down Remington manufactured a wide variety of sporting arms and military weapons, including 22 rifles, hunting rifles, target rifles, sporting shotguns, target pistols and military rifles and carbines. Factory buildings were refurbished, new machinery was installed and new workers were trained in its use. To meet a growing demand, in 1891 Remington's Ilion works began to manufacture bicycles. Under Hartley's direction, Remington Arms Company's marketing effort brought prosperity back to the Mohawk Valley of Central New York.

MARCELLUS HARTLEY'S FINAL YEARS

Hartley controlled four distinct, autonomous companies: Hartley & Graham of New York; Remington Arms Company of Ilion, New York; the Union Metallic Cartridge Company of Bridgeport, Connecticut; and the Bridgeport Gun Implement Company. Through his managerial know-how, he insisted that each operate individually with a minimum of control from the corporate office in New York City. It was later said that Hartley's enterprises were not an industrial empire but an economic confederation.¹⁶

On May 8, 1891, Hartley & Graham moved its offices and warehouse facilities from 17 and 19 Maiden Lane to 313 and 315 Broadway. The arms, ammunition and military accoutrements business continued to flourish with customers throughout the world.

In September 1896, Winchester sold its half-share in the Remington Arms Company to Hartley & Graham. By relinquishing their interest, it was understood that Remington would not produce a repeating rifle to compete against Winchester. This, evidently, was only a verbal prom-

ise as no written agreement was ever found to preclude Remington from making autoloading rifles in 1906.¹⁷

Marcellus Hartley followed in his father's philanthropic footsteps in many ways throughout his life. Most notable was his founding of The Hartley House, a settlement for the industrial poor and unfortunate at 413 West 46th Street. This settlement was developed for the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (an organization that Hartley's father had devoted much of his life to in past years).

On December 19, 1899, Hartley's partner Malcolm Graham died. As the sole surviving owner, Marcellus Hartley reorganized the organization as M. Hartley & Company, incorporated in the State of New York, on April 24, 1900. Other than the direct management of this concern, Hartley's final activity was his tenure as president of the International Banking Corporation.

By the turn of the century, the finest and most prolific gun designer was John Moses Browning, a Utah-based inventor who remained independent but who sold his designs to Colt, Winchester and other American gun manufacturers. Arguably, Browning's best sporting gun design was an autoloading shotgun and rifle which he perfected in 1899 and 1900. Unfortunately for Winchester, they and Browning had a falling out and the revolutionary autoloading design was not offered to them. Rather, John Browning traveled to New York City to meet with the president of the Remington Arms Company, Marcellus Hartley.

As the story goes, Hartley told Browning to come to his office on the afternoon of January 8, 1902. While the Browning brothers were in the waiting room of M. Hartley & Company, they were informed that Marcellus Hartley would not be keeping this important appointment, not then and not ever. Hartley had been attending an executive committee of the American Surety Company and, surrounded by his business associates and friends, had quietly passed away.

The entire Hartley & Graham organization was torn asunder and there was no time for anyone to meet with the inventors from Utah. So the Brownings carried off their prototype autoloading firearms and sailed to Europe to meet with Fabrique Nationale officials.¹⁸ A deal was signed whereby F.N. would produce and market the autoloading Browning shotguns throughout the world, excepting the United States. Manufacturing began in earnest in the summer of 1903 and the first 5-shot, 12 gauge Browning automatic shotgun was shipped by F.N. on September 17, 1903.¹⁹ Returning to America, Browning was unsuccessful in establishing a manufacturing and marketing concern on his own and turned to the new head of M. Hartley & Company, Marcellus Hartley Dodge, grandson and successor to Marcellus Hartley. Young Dodge willingly accepted Browning's proposal, and Remington Arms

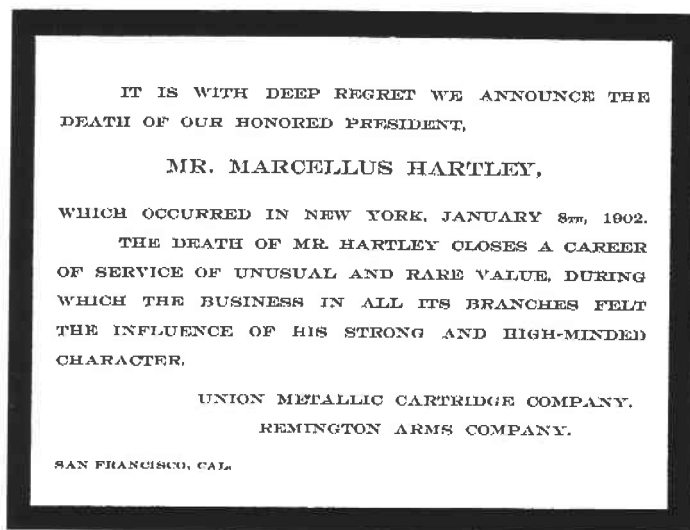


Figure 16. Marcellus Hartley death notice, January 1902. Remington Archives collection.

Company of Ilion, New York, began making Browning guns for sale to sportsmen in America. The first successful autoloading shotgun in America was fabricated in Ilion in 1905 and the first successful autoloading rifle came out the following year.

Marcellus Hartley was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, New York. He was survived by his widow, Frances, his daughter and three grandchildren, including college-aged "Marcy" Dodge. It was Marcellus Hartley Dodge, "Marcy,"

that the Hartley empire was to rely upon in the years to come.²⁰

Testimonials to Hartley's valued life of more than 74 years included such words and phrases as "perseverant," "steadfast," "systematic," "the highest character," "imaginative," "patriotic," "loyal" and "exacting." Another simply said, "his manner was always kindly." One who knew him best remarked, "He died as he lived—in the harness."²¹ What more could one ask to be said once ones life has ended? Marcellus Hartley was indeed a remarkable man.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Herbert Houze for providing historical information on Winchester's involvement with Marcellus Hartley, Bruce Bazelon for providing obituary information on Hartley, Graham and Schuyler, and H.J. Swinney for editing the work and providing other valuable historical assistance.

NOTES

1. Illustrations in the *Schuyler Hartley & Graham Catalog*, published in 1864.

2. War Department letter of appointment dated July 14, 1862, and signed by P.H. Watson, assistant secretary of war. National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C. Records of the Secretary of War.

PRICE LIST, 1903-04 ♣ ♣ ♣



**MILITARY ARMS, EQUIPMENTS
AND ORDNANCE STORES**

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AGENTS: REMINGTON ARMS CO. AGENTS: THE UNION METALLIC CARTRIDGE CO.

Figure 17. Roy Marcot collection. M. Hartley Co. price list, 1903-1904.

3. An excellent accounting of Marcellus Hartley's war years is written in Chapter 8, "Millions for Muskets," of William B. Edwards' fine book *Civil War Guns*. The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, PA, 1962.

4. *U.S. House of Representatives Executive Document #99*, "U.S. Ordnance Department contracts from 1861 to 1866." "Other metallic cartridges" includes those for Maynard carbines, Billingham-Requa guns, etc.

5. The R.G. Dun financial reports on Schuyler, Hartley & Graham estimate their worth at \$60,000 in 1854, \$500,000 by 1864 and \$1,000,000 by 1868. *R.G. Dun Records for New York City—Schuyler, Hartley & Graham—1854 to 1891*. Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business, Boston, MA.

6. Crittenden & Tibbals could trace its origin at least as far back as 1850, as a manufacturer of percussion caps. Because of Federal Ordnance Department contracts during the Civil War, C & T would become the largest manufacturer of rimfire ammunition in the world. However, by 1864, the company's worth was estimated at less than \$10,000 by the R.G. Dun Company. Nevertheless, Schuyler, Hartley & Graham purchased the assets of C & T in August 1864 for \$32,000.

7. John L. Barber, *The Rimfire Cartridge in the United States and Canada*. Tacoma, Washington, 1987, p. 3.

8. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham had purchased property in Bridgeport, Connecticut, from P.T. Barnum in September 1865 in anticipation of establishing an ammunition facility in that city. *Marcellus Hartley—A Brief Memoir*. New York, 1903, p. 52, privately authored and published.

9. Later changed to The Starr Armory & Machine Shop, 182 to 186 West Houston Street, New York.

10. Thousands of work orders that were examined during the author's research of Hartley & Graham records at the McCracken Library, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, revealed the varied nature of this work. The work performed on 19th century firearms sold by Hartley & Graham will not be pleasant news to many gun collectors who heretofore believed they possessed prototype or experimental firearms. Sorry collectors, the firearm is probably a Hartley & Graham modified weapon.

11. It was said that Marcellus Hartley was the individual who penned the slogan "all the news that's fit to print" for the New York Times banner. *Marcellus Hartley, a Brief Memoir*. Privately published, New York, 1903.

12. In fact, Remington Arms Company, Inc., successors to E. Remington & Sons, are still identified as being "America's Oldest Gunmaker." The company is one of the very few that can trace its uninterrupted lineage back to early 19th century America and that still makes its original product.

13. D.H. Veader and A. W. Earle, *The Story of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company*. 1918, pp. 137 and 138.

14. The decision of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company to join Hartley & Graham in the acquisition of Remington was made to halt Remington's entry into Winchester's repeating rifle market and to halt

Remington's production of ammunition. The demise of E. Remington & Sons' ammunition business helped their competitors: UMC (owned by Hartley & Graham) and the Winchester Repeating Arms Company (which also manufactured ammunition). Herbert G. Houze, *Winchester Repeating Arms Company*. Iola, WI, 1994, p. 143.

15. *The Herkimer Democrat*. March 14, 1888, front page.

16. Alden Hatch, *Remington Arms—A Brief History*. New York, 1956, p. 187.

17. D.H. Veader and A.W. Earle, *The Story of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company*. 1918, p. 138.

18. Alden Hatch, *Remington Arms In American History*. New York City, 1956, p. 199.

19. Colonel W.R. Betz, "Browning Auto-5," *American Rifleman*. August 1986, p. 35.

20. Marcellus Hartley's will dictated that his vast estate be split into shares, one-sixth going to his grandson, Marcellus Hartley Dodge, and the remainder being divided between Hartley's widow, Frances, the heirs of his deceased daughter, Grace Stokes, and his surviving daughter, Helen Jenkins. The women had faith in the young man, and on his twenty-first birthday elected him president of M. Hartley & Company.

21. Testimonial by James W. Alexander. *Marcellus Hartley, a Brief Memoir*. Privately published, New York, 1903, p. 101.

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