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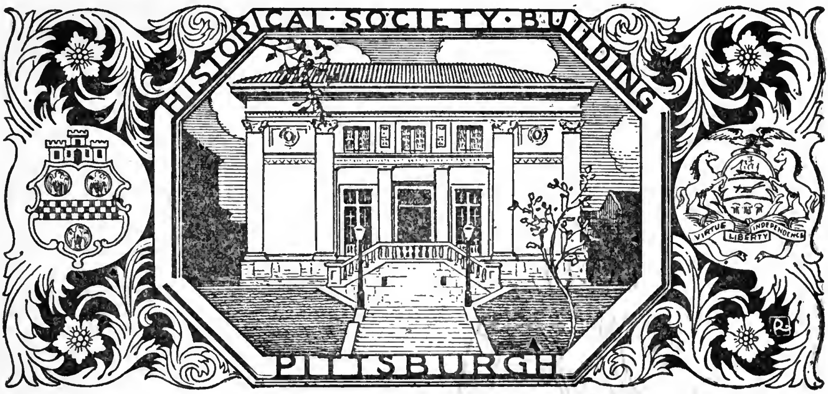
HISTORICAL · SOCIETY · BUILDING
PITTSBURGH
VIRTUE
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PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

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VOLUME 3 1920

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Henry Clay Frick

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 3, No. 1 JANUARY, 1920. Price 40 cents

HENRY CLAY FRICK.

A few months ago Pittsburgh mourned the death of its great philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie. Today it is called upon to honor the memory of a man who was at one time associated with Mr. Carnegie, and like his former partner, was a great public benefactor.

Henry Clay Frick was born in Western Pennsylvania, and was of the blood of those Germans who with the English Quakers organized the province, and whose descendants with the descendants of the Quakers controlled the destinies of province and state for a hundred and fifty years or more. He first saw the light on a farm; but neither the farm nor the village where he subsequently lived could long retain him. His ambition was boundless; and after being in a few minor employments he became interested in the manufacture of coke and removed to Pittsburgh. Now his rise was spectacular; he acquired coal lands, built coke ovens and in a few years was at the head of the largest coke manufacturing establishment in the United States. He then joined forces with Andrew Carnegie in the manufacture of steel, and the world knows of the phenominal success of the consolidated organization. That Mr. Frick accumulated an immense fortune was the natural consequence.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free of charge to all members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. The annual dues in this Society are $3.00 and should be sent to JOHN E. POTTER, TREASURER, FOURTH AVENUE AND GRANT STREET, PITTSBURGH, PA.

But to the world at large he was unknown. He never courted publicity, and it was only when the anarchist Berkman made an attempt on his life that he was momentarily in the public view.

Mr. Frick was refined and cultured, and his diversion was to own paintings by the best masters, and it was when he purchased some rare and valuable picture that his name occasionally appeared in the newspapers. It is since his death that his true greatness has been realized, not only in Pittsburgh but all over the United States. His bequests to charitable institutions were far larger than the sums left to his own family. He acquired wealth only to distribute it again for the benefit of mankind. In his lifetime his charities were numerous and unostentatious and although some of them became known, yet it was through no desire of his. If more rich men did as he has done, there would be less clamor against the accumulation of great wealth. It is said that he was not a member of any church, but he practiced all the precepts that are taught in the churches. He was a member of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the organization desires to place its wreath of laurel on his grave beside those of the others who have appreciated his worth.

RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY TIMES ON THE OHIO AND PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

BY

THOMAS L. RODGERS *

The following reminiscenses of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad were written in the year 1896 in compliance with a request made by one of the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, but were not used at the time. Some sort of a history was designed but the scheme was not carried out so far as the writer knows.

My connection with the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, which was the original eastern division of the Pittsburgh Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, extended from 1852 to 1856. In the first part of that period the road was still being built and was opened only as far as Wooster, Ohio. Some time in 1853 the road was extended to Crestline, which was the western terminus. The station was located on the line of the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati Railroad, and was about four miles above Galion which was the eastern terminus of the railroad running to Indianapolis. I commenced my service in the fall or winter of 1852, with John Fleming, the general ticket agent, as second clerk in his office. Mr. Fleming was at the time about sixty years of age. He had been a business man and accountant, before beginning his connection with the railroad company, and was the author of a system of bookkeeping used in the commercial schools of the day. My duties were to keep an account of the local tickets, which were distributed to the station agents monthly. These tickets were of the cardboard variety, no dates were stamped on them and there was no limit as to the time of using. The coupon tickets of today had not yet made their appearance. At Enon Valley we connected with stage lines to New Castle, Warren and Youngstown, and passengers by those

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*An unpublished manuscript written by Thomas L. Rodgers, a former president of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

lines received a card for the stage part of the trip. The chief clerk of the office was John A. Harbach who afterwards removed to Omaha, Nebraska, where he still resides; and he is said to be quite wealthy. Another clerk was employed in the office named N. P. Kerr, of whose subsequent history I am ignorant. Mr. Fleming, or the head clerk, were accustomed to settle with the other railroad companies monthly for the through ticket business, such as that over the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati Railroad, and the Sandusky, Mansfield and Newark Railroad whose headquarters were in Cleveland. The through ticket business was then quite small. Passengers for Cleveland, Chicago &c changed at Alliance to the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad, which had been built sometime before, from Wellsville on the Ohio River to Cleveland.

A line of steamers formerly ran from Pittsburgh to Wellsville connecting with the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad. One of these steamers was named the "Forest City." The general superintendent of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad was John Durand. The equipment of this road in engines and cars seemed to be of a much better quality than that of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad. In those days the locomotive engines were named after prominent stations on the line, such as Alliance, Allegheny, Salem, Wellsville, &c., a much more interesting method than the present system of numbering the engines. When the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad was extended to Crestline in 1853 or 1854, there was quite a celebration there of the event, and many prominent citizens from all along the road attended. After this time passengers for Chicago were ticketed by way of Mansfield and Sandusky to Toledo, and thence to Chicago via the Michigan Southern Railroad.

For Cincinnati and St. Louis passengers were sent by way of Crestline. The trains of the Bellefontaine Railroad ran up on the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati tracks four miles from Galion to Crestline, and St. Louis passengers were then changed to that line, as were also those for Indianapolis &c. Railroad traveling for long distances, was a formidable undertaking on account of the many changes of cars to be made, the condition of the tracks through imperfect ballasting &c., and the fact that most of the lines had only a single track. The writer remembers that during the years 1857 and 1858 it took him from thirty six to forty hours to make the journey from St. Louis to Pittsburgh, the same distance being now accomplished in from twenty to twenty four hours. There were no sleeping cars in the early fifties to minister to the comfort of the traveling public. You just had to double up on the seats and make yourself as comfortable as possible, but the nights seemed very long, and the coming daylight was hailed with enthusiasm. The abominable habit at the eating houses, of fifteen or twenty minutes for refreshments was already the rule. You watched the movements of the conductor as he came in and went out of the dining room, and governed your consumption of the viands set before you by his haste or delay. One great menace to safety in traveling was the number of animals straying on the tracks. Frequently the engine would plow its way into a drove of sheep; in that case it was bad for the sheep, but when a horse or cow was struck, it was very frequently bad for the train.

Many terrible accidents occurred, caused mostly by the want of system in operating the roads, due to inexperience. The writer recalls a collision in which a Sunday school train was struck, on the Fourth of July, 1855, near Philadelphia, by which sixty or seventy children were killed. Then a drawbridge was left open at Norwalk, Connecticut, just as a train came along, causing it to plunge down forty feet into the water beneath. Also near Chicago, a Michigan Central train plowed through one of the Michigan Southern at a crossing. At Angora on the Lake Shore road near Dunkirk, a train ran off the track and into an embankment causing a fearful loss of life.

Perhaps something should be said about the general offices of the company which were located in a homely brick structure of eight rooms situated on Federal Street, Allegheny, the eastern terminus of the road. There was no railroad bridge across the Allegheny River until about 1858. The building in which most of the business of the railroad was done, stood just where the present Federal Street station of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway is situated. The Pennsylvania canal was located near the building, on the south side, and ran into the Allegheny River a short distance westerly. Considerable traffic was still carried on over the canal which was connected with Pittsburgh by an aqueduct at Eleventh Street. The transportation of freight to the Pennsylvania Railroad was done by drays, vehicles which have long since disappeared from our streets. Passengers destined for the East were taken in omnibuses to Pittsburgh.

The rooms of the old station or "depot" as it was called, were occupied by the general superintendent, the master of transportation, the general ticket agent and the general freight agent, or freight auditor as he was called. The local freight office, baggage department &c., occupied other rooms. Long sheds extending along the tracks were used for freight. The chief engineer and general superintendent of the road was Solomon W. Roberts, a tall and distinguished looking man of about forty five years of age, who had more the appearance of a college professor than of a railroad superintendent.

The assistant superintendent or "master of transportation" was D. U. Courtney, an affable and energetic man who had been the conductor of the first passenger train on the road, while it ran from Allegheny to New Brighton. The auditor of the freight department (equivalent to general freight agent) was J. E. Jacks, who held that position for several years and resigned about 1854.

The late Frank M. Hutchinson was assistant road engineer and had his office in the building, but was mostly absent, attending to his duties out the railroad. The local ticket agent was George Parkin an elderly, stockily built individual who had formerly been publisher of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. The local freight agent in 1852 when I entered on my duties, was J. A. Biavis. He was succeeded by Charles Rea and he again in 1856 by Samuel F. Barr who afterwards removed to Eastern Pennsylvania and became a member of Congress. The late Wm. P. Shinn was what was called "wood agent." His business was to buy and have stored in proper places, wood for the engines, for it must be borne in mind that wood was the only fuel used on the locomotives. Coal was afterwards introduced, but at the earlier date the trains were light and wood was plentiful and cheap. The long rows of cord wood at all important stations were prominent features in the landscape. Mr. Shinn was a talented young man and afterwards became general freight agent of the Pittsburgh Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, and for a time was superintendent of the eastern division of the road. This was after the Ohio and

Pennsylvania Railroad had become a part of the through line to Chicago, formed by its consolidation with other companies. He afterwards engaged in the manufacture of steel rails at Braddock, being one of the original owners of the Edgar Thompson Steel works. Mr. Shinn died a few years ago in Pittsburgh. The secretary of the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad Company up to the year 1856 was James Robinson (son of the president), his office being on Third Avenue near Market Street, across the river in Pittsburgh. The treasurer was General William Larimer, a banker on Fourth Avenue, and a man of great prominence in the business affairs of this vicinity. About 1854 he failed in business, and his failure entailed a large loss on the railroad company as well as on the multitude of depositors in his banking house.

Since that time the railroad company has required its treasurers to confine themselves exclusively to that service and has forbidden them to engage in other lines of business.

The directors up to the year 1856, as far as I can recollect, were Hugh S. Fleming, Frederick Lorenz and General William Robinson, Jr., of Pittsburgh, John Larwick of Wooster, C. T. Russell of Massillion, and Zadok Street of Salem. General Robinson was the president, and was a well preserved old gentleman of about seventy five years of age. He was somewhat irascible, but a man of strict integrity and of great influence in the community. The failure of General Larimer, the treasurer, caused a revolution in the directorate, and the following persons were elected directors about 1856, viz: George W. Cass president, George Darsie, James Marshall and James McAuley of Pittsburgh, C. T. Sherman of Mansfield, and C. T. Russell of Massillion. There may have been others but I cannot recall their names just now.

Mr. Darsie acted as treasurer for a time and the late T. D. Messler of New York was appointed general secretary and auditor. Mr. Roberts, the superintendent having resigned was succeeded by J. H. Moon of Chicago, an experienced railroad man. Of the history of the railroad after 1856 I know very little, as I left the service of the company in the fall of that year, but believe the company had its share of the troubles of 1857 and 1858. The writer remembers inquiring about the price of the stock of the Ohio and Pennsylvania railroad company in the year 1857 and found that it was without any value, being informed that it was not worth a dollar a share.

During the period from 1853 to 1856, the railroad business being in the experimental stage, many mistakes were made and much energy misdirected, but the early workers in the development of the railroad enterprises deserve a meed of praise from their successors.

As I review this paper again (1903) the old directors and officials have, I think, all passed away; only a few of the old employees still linger on the "shores of time." Of these I might mention Charles Jenkins, the veteran baggage agent at the Union Station, John Kilroy, general passenger agent at that place, and Andrew Morrow, a conductor. Of the others there have lately died J. P. Farley, J. A. Biavis, Samuel McCleary (formerly conductor of the New Brighton accommodation), Abner C. Ela, formerly of the mail train running to Crestline, and Richard Wiggins, formerly conductor of the express to the same place. "Peace to their ashes".

In conclusion the writer would say that though these reminiscences may not be of value in a historic sense, yet it has been a pleasure to recall the men and affairs of the "vanished years".

A COUNTRY BOY BEGINS LIFE IN PITTSBURGH

BY

HENDERSON GEORGE

Henderson George was born on a farm in Liberty Township, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, on June 16, 1838, residing on the farm until nineteen years of age when he left for Pittsburgh to make his way in the world. It is this journey and his early experiences in Pittsburgh that he describes in this article. Some years after the close of the Civil War, in which he participated, he removed to Indianapolis, where he became a merchant and where with his family he still resides.

BREAKING HOME TIES.

After my experience in the chair shop at Mercer and return home, work was taken up on the farm as usual which was continued until the next year. I had a dislike for farming and could not think of making it my life vocation. I loved the country and country life, but somehow there was the feeling that I was not adapted physically to the rugged work required on the farm.

During the year I made up my mind to go to Pittsburgh and make an effort to secure a place as salesman in some line of business. This was quite an adventure for one who had never been away from home. In arriving at this conclusion I was probably influenced to some extent by the Morrison boys, for we had frequently discussed among ourselves our future plans and projects.

It was at this time, (September 1857) that John W. Morrison, who was about sixteen years of age, received by mail an offer from his brother-in-law, Mr. John Haworth of Pittsburgh, of a position in his store. Mr. Haworth was a photographer and in connection with this business he was also a manufacturer and dealer in photographic supplies. Young Morrison accepted the position and agreed to leave home for the city in a short time.

The news of this offer to John, brought me to a final conclusion to go to the city with him, although I had nothing in prospect, and did not know whether employment of any kind could be found. The fact, however, that John had been raised in a city (Philadelphia) gave assurance which was felt would be of great advantage in my first experience as a stranger in a strange city.

DEPARTURE.

Accordingly we laid our plans and set Thursday September 9, 1857, as the day of our departure for the city. The day previous arrangements were made and our stage fare of two dollars and a quarter each was paid, and all preparations undertaken for the journey of about fifty five miles. My few belongings were packed in a carpet bag, and that evening I bade the home folks goodby, and with carpet bag in hand went to the village home of the Morrisons to await the arrival of the four-in-hand stage coach.

The arrival of the coach was not expected before two o'clock the next morning and it might be an hour later. This uncertainty made it necessary for us to sit up in order to be ready when it came. The long waiting period of six or eight hours was put in socially, part of the time singing. I remember some of the songs we sang that night were "Oh! Willie We Have Missed You;" "Lillie Dale;" "Annie Laurie;" Love's Old Sweet Song;" Robin Adair;" "Home, Sweet Home;" "Long, Long Ago." Our choir consisted of seven voices; the Morrison boys, Hugh, John W. and William J., and the writer; the young ladies were Bessie and Katherine Morrison, and Mary Jane Taylor. We all were in a sentimental mood at the thought of parting, and it may be that some of the songs were sung through diffused tears.

SOUND OF THE BUGLE.

With us as far as Pittsburgh, on their way to Philadelphia, were Katherine Morrison, and Mary Jane Taylor. At two-thirty o'clock the sound of the bugle was heard as the coach approached from the north. We were immediately in action "Breaking Home Ties," bidding goodby with tears on the part of our lady companions, and solemn thoughts on the part of John and the writer. We entered the coach, the driver cracked his whip and the four-in-hand was off.

We passed such familiar places as McKnights Mill, the village of Centerville, (now called Slippery Rock), and at sun-rise arrived at the Stone House, seven miles on our journey. The Stone House, to us, was a place of considerable interest; in earlier times, it had gained the reputation of being the rendezvous of thieves, robbers, counterfeiters, and murderers. It was on the border of a wild and broken country, and many wierd tales went forth from its stone portals. At this point our horses are exchanged for fresh ones; ascending just beyond the Stone House, there is a long rough rocky hill the bane of teamsters and stage drivers. Up this hill John and the writer concluded to walk, partly to relieve the horses of our avoirdupois, and to see the surroundings and benefit our robust health by the exercise.

BUTLER.

Butchers Run Valley. Allegheny. Pittsburgh.

Our next stop was at the town of Butler. We arrived at about nine in the morning, twenty miles on our journey. After a brief stop and the exchange of horses we proceed on our way through the Butler Glades and arrive at Bakerstown near the northern edge of Allegheny County. This is our last exchange post; we are within sixteen miles of our destination. At five in the evening we are at the head of Butchers Run Valley down which we descend into the city of Allegheny. Butchers Run Valley is a sort of butchers paradise; the slopes of the long descending gully are lined with a cheap class of houses and were mostly inhabited by butchers who did their own butchering for the Pittsburgh and Allegheny markets. Butchers Run Valley was most unsanitary; offensive odors filled the air; sanitary laws were not thought of at that day.

At the outlet of Butchers Run Valley our coach turned westward along North Avenue to Federal Street, thence southward along Federal Street to the St. Clair Street bridge, (the old original covered bridge) over the Allegheny River, crossing which we are now in the city of Pittsburgh. Continuing through the city our coach finally landed us at the St. Charles Hotel situated at the southeast corner of Wood Street and Third Street (Now Third Avenue). This is our destination; here at six-thirty in the evening our party took supper.

The train that was to carry our lady friends to Philadelphia, left the Grant and Liberty Street Station at seven-thirty. Soon after leaving the dining room the railroad "bus" was announced and the ladies took passage to the railroad station. To see them off, John and I concluded to walk in order to save the quarter that it would have cost each of us to ride. The station was about ten squares from the hotel; and in order to keep in sight of the "bus" as it rumbled over the cobble stone streets, we were obliged to follow in "dog trot style", and when we arrived at the station we were pretty well outwinded. We saw the girls safely on board the train and as it pulled out, (this was the first time I had ever seen a locomotive or a train of cars) we waved a final farewell. The locomotive was a small affair compared with the great "mogols" of to-day, but was resplendant in its dress of burnished brass, and as it moved out of the station "chugging" with flying sparks from wood fuel, and the street lights glinting upon it, it was to me an interesting sight.

Our mission to the railroad station being accomplished we walked leisurely down Liberty Street discussing the question of where we should stay for the night. Our "pockets were light" and we concluded that it would be too expensive to go back to the St. Charles Hotel; but being strangers in the city we did not know where else to go. John suggested that we call on Mr. Haworth, his brother-in-law, at his boarding house on Smithfield Street. We chanced to meet Mr. Haworth on the street and I was introduced to him. After some casual conversation my friend inquired where we could find a cheaper hotel than the St. Charles; Mr. Haworth suggested the Red Lion, situated on St. Clair (now Federal) Street near the entrance to the St. Clair Street bridge, and directed us how to find it. We found the hotel without difficulty and registered for the night. The hotel was a popular stopping place for farmers and country people, and in this respect was quite congenial to the writer —a green country lad.

As a friendly act John proposed to stay with me for the night.

BUYING A SUIT OF CLOTHES.

The next morning we left the hotel at seven o'clock. The sun shone through the smoky atmosphere, the streets were thronged with people; trucks, drays, and vehicles of all descriptions were rumbling over the streets. As I looked upon the scene of my first experience in the city I was deeply impressed; it seemed as if a new world had opened before me—I was captivated.

As we walked up St. Clair Street I mentioned to John that I would like to go to a clothing store to purchase a suit of clothes to replace the country garb I had on. Walking along slowly John volunteered a word of advice, telling me that the clothing business was mostly in the hands of Jews, and that they would probably ask double the price they would finally accept.

We came to a clothing store at the intersection of Market and Liberty streets. It was the custom of the ready-made clothing dealers to keep a man on the outside pacing back and forth in front of the store, who acted as a sort of monitor to invite people, as they passed, into the store. He could always distinguish the men from the country, in fact they were his special mark; and he never failed to offer a warm greeting and a familiar pat on the back as the ruralite passed by. This is just what happened to me as we came in front of the store. I was not, however, so unsophisticated as to fail to understand the motive.

He very politely invited us into the store; we went in; a suit was selected and I inquired the price. He said he would sell me the suit at the low price of twenty-one dollars. I replied that the suit was all right and I would take it at six dollars. At this he threw up his hands gesticulating and saying, that such an offer was nothing short of robbery &c. "Very, well," said I, "You do not have to accept it, I will look farther," and turned to leave. He called me back and with a confiding air said, "If you want that suit you can take it for ten dollars." "No," said I, "My offer is six dollars, if you cannot sell it at that price I will look farther." "I cannot sell it for such a price" he replied in a rather indignant tone. "Well" said I, "You don't have to," and started to leave. He again called me back, and in a whisper, said, "You may have the suit for nine dollars." I thought for a moment and then said, "I will split the difference and make my offer seven-fifty," and again started toward the door. He called me back a third time and said, "All right you can take the suit."

Of course the suit was cheap in price; it was also cheap in material and make up. The clothiers had a sliding scale of prices, and in the clothing business there was wide latitude.

Donning the new suit which was far from a good fit, (there is an old ambrotype among my relics made the day after the suit was bought) I was ready to go with John to the store of his brother-in-law Mr. John Haworth at number 64 Fourth Street (now Fourth Avenue). We walked down Market Street which was thronged with people and vehicles, and through the crowded market to Fourth Street and east along Fourth Street to the store which was in a building next door to the Bank of Pittsburgh. Mr. Haworth's place of business was on the third floor of this building, over the Commercial Library. Here we again met Mr. Haworth and the subject of my obtaining a situation was at once talked over. Mr. Haworth kindly gave me a note of introduction to his brother-in law, Alexander Bates, who was the owner of a retail dry goods store at the northwest corner of Market Street and the Diamond. With this note in my hand and directions as to the location of the store the place was easily found.

THE BATES STORE.

It was now eight o'clock in the morning. Entering the store I found it full of customers; approaching one of the salesmen I inquired if he was Mr. Bates. "No," he replied, "Do you wish to speak to Mr. Bates in person?" I said "Yes". He then pointed him out to me.

Mr. Bates at this moment was busy serving a customer. In the meantime I was looking around. What impressed me most was the throng of customers and the lively business that was going on. The store was not large, probably about twenty feet by eighty, and was connected by a stairway with the floors above, up and down which people were walking; passenger elevators were not brought into use until many years later.

The bald headed person pointed out to me as Mr. Bates having finished with his customer, it was now my opportunity to speak to him. With some trepidation I stepped up and inquired if he was Mr. Bates, to which he responded in the affirmative, when I handed him my letter of introduction. After reading it and looking me over he inquired if my parents lived in the city. I replied, that they did not. Mr. Bates then said he could make use of a good stout young man to open and close the store, sweep out &c., but added "As your parents do not live in the city we could not pay you wages sufficient to justify you in paying board; we pay one dollar and fifty cents to a boy starting in with us—but come back on Monday morning and we will let you know what we can do." This was on Friday morning, the day after our arrival from the quiet scenes of home. I felt encouraged with the interview, and confident that something would come of it.

SEEING THE TOWN.

Friday and Saturday were taken up in walking about the city, taking in scenes that were new and interesting to a country lad. I was specially attracted by the animated traffic going on along the Monongahela River front. At this period steam boating was in the high tide of its glory; the iron road had not yet begun to affect it.

The Monongahela River front was more than a mile in length, the wharf was paved with cobble stones from the curb of Water Street down to the edge of the water. The sloping wharf was probably two hundred feet in width. Along the length of the wharf, scores of one horse drays, a peculiar two wheeled type of vehicle, were delivering merchandise for shipment or carting away stuff that had arrived. Boats departing were laden with a great variety of merchandise, including glass, cotton cloth, farming implements, iron, bacon, drugs, flour, leather, liquors &c., for ports down the river as far as New Orleans. Most of the boats also carried passengers; on the trip gambling was the pastime; the river was infested by a class of men known as blacklegs (gamblers); robbery and murder were not uncommon. Boats racing with one another was not unusual, and they were recklessly fired to the danger point.

Boats arriving brought in sugar, molasses, bailed cotton, &c. I was curious enough to count the number of steam boats moored along the wharf and found the number to be one hundred and twenty four. Boats ready to depart were blowing their steam whistles as a signal, while boats arriving were also screaming a signal of approach. The loading and unloading of the boats was done by gangs of negro roustabouts or stevedores. As each gang labored under the eye of an overseer they droned a monotonous song under a song leader, that was quaint and wierd.

The next day was Sunday. While I was strolling about, the church bells began to ring; it was half past nine; I concluded to go to the nearest church which happened to be Presbyterian. Entering I found myself in the midst of an animated gathering of children and young people assembled for Sunday school. It was soon noticed that I was a stranger, and a gentleman came and spoke to me and inquired my name, and invited me to his class to which I assented. Later I learned that the church was the Third Presbyterian; it stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and Ferry streets. Incidentally I was told that the church building covered the spot where the great fire of April 10, 1845 started. The conflagration swept eastward and destroyed many squares of buildings in the principal business district of the city, and was a notable event in the history of Pittsburgh.

GETTING TO WORK.

On Monday morning September 13th, filled with anxiety and suspense, I entered Alexander Bates' dry goods store and reported to the proprietor. He spoke to me kindly and said, "We have considered your application, (I learned afterwards that he had inquired of Mr. Haworth as to my standing and character) and can make use of a strong, willing, active young man who is not afraid to work, and can make himself useful. The special work which we will require of you will be to open and close the store, sweep and dust, deliver packages &c. We require the store to be opened at five o'clock on market mornings, that is on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and on other mornings at six o'clock. We close the store each evening except Saturday, that being market day, when we do not close until about ten or eleven at night. You will be permitted to wait on customers when not engaged in your particular work. Now if you wish to take hold of the work as outlined, and think you can render efficient service, we will start you on trial at a weekly wage of three dollars." I told him I was very glad and willing to accept the offer and do the best I could.

Mr. Bates then introduced me to two or three of his leading salesmen and told me I could go to work at once.

HARD WORK—LONG HOURS.

I was highly pleased at my success in so soon obtaining a position. The work, however, I found to be strenuous. Getting up at five in the morning and putting in the long day of about sixteeen hours was a tiresome task; neither was the labor light. Opening and closing the store required taking down and putting up about twenty five heavily paneled nine foot shutters, and piling them at the side of the building, about fifty feet distant. Then the delivery of packages throughout the city was no small job. This work was done on foot; delivery wagons were not in use by any of the stores, and there were no street cars. It was my duty to carry the only store key except the one carried by Mr. Bates. The responsibility placed upon me, coming all at once, was felt in a flattering sense, and I was proud of it.

HARE'S HOTEL.

Having secured a position, my next move was to find, if possible, a place where my weekly salary of three dollars would pay for room and board. At the Red Lion Hotel, where I first stopped and was still staying, the cost was quite beyond this limit. Samuel Hare, who during the year 1846 came out from Pittsburgh with his family of three boys and two girls, and kept the "Tavern" in North Liberty, had moved back to Pittsburgh in 1850 or 1851, and I had heard was in the hotel business.

The thought came to me to look up the hotel and make a friendly call, and incidentally inquire for rates. I knew Mr. Hare by sight, but was too young to have had any personal acquaintance with him while he lived in the village, but knew his three sons, John, James and Robert, who were near my own age.

Calling at the hotel to "see the boys," I met John the eldest who was acting as clerk. Although a period of more than six years had elapsed he remembered me with a very friendly greeting. After some casual conversation about old times, I told him I had come to the city and had a position in a store, and was looking for a place to room and board, and asked what it would cost me per week at the hotel. After a little thought he replied, "We will make you a rate of three dollars."

This price was much less than I expected, and was below the regular rates. His offer was accepted, and my carpet bag was moved from the Red Lion to Hare's Hotel.

This hotel like the Red Lion was a popular stopping place for country people.

HOW THE HOTEL WAS RUN.

The location of the hotel was on Liberty Street directly opposite the mouth of Fifth Street, (now Fifth Avenue) in the heart of the business district. The Liberty Street front was about fifty feet, the building having a depth of probably two hundred, and was four stories high. On entering from Liberty Street one came first to the office, lobby, and bar-room. Back of this was the dining room which had a depth of more than one hundred feet, and was furnished with three long dining tables. The lobby was separated from the dining room by folding doors which were closed except at meal time.

Near the hour for meals, the patrons, transient and regular, of which there were always a large number, assembled in the lobby waiting for the dining room doors to open, like a crowd before the door of a theater. As soon as the doors were thrown open the patrons rushed in pell-mell and occupied seats at the dining tables; at the same time a large Chinese gong was pealing forth a nerve distracting noise. At six o'clock in the morning a man was sent along the various corridors and hallways beating the gong to awaken the sleeping guests.

At night when a patron wished to retire he called at the office and was given a small lamp filled with "burning fluid," (coal oil had not yet been discovered) and a man was sent along to show the guest to his room. It was quite an effort to climb the long stairways. The lamp carried by the guest gave out a sickly blue light, barely sufficient to see the time on the face of a watch dial.

Only the lobbies, dining room and parlors were lighted with gas. The price of gas to consumers was three dollars and a quarter per thousand feet. The guest rooms even of the first class hotels were not piped for gas. The bar of Hare's Hotel dispensed only whiskey, brandy, gin, and wines; it was considered beneath the dignity of an American barkeeper to sell beer; beer saloons, and beer gardens were kept mostly by Germans, in German localities, and were held in rather low repute.

FURTHER EXPERIENCES.

Becoming somewhat inured to the work required at the store, it was felt that the responsibility placed upon me was at least being fairly well met. Mr. Bates found that this country lad could be relied upon to accomplish any ordinary task required.

I was always prompt in opening the store at the early hour of five o'clock, and putting the store in order for business.

Two or three of the salesmen were expected to be on hand when the store was opened, in order to wait on early customers. If they failed to appear on time, which was sometimes the case, it was necessary for me to drop my own work and wait on the customers. I remember one morning of selling a silk dress before any of the salesmen arrived, the bill amounting to thirty-two dollars. A custom that was prevalent in nearly all the stores, was for each salesman to make out his own sales ticket, going to the till and making his own change.

ADVANCEMENT.

After two months service in the store my weekly pay was increased to four dollars, and at the same time John W. Morrison and the writer arranged to keep bachelors hall in a vacant part of the building occupied by Mr. John Haworth, rent free. This arrangement served to keep our living expenses down to less than one dollar each per week; this was continued throughout the winter of 1857-1858.

When spring came our bachelors' hall was given up; in fact we were tired of it, and glad to make a change.

My salary was raised to five dollars per week, and room and board were secured at the house numbered 202 Smithfield Street, we each paying two dollars and fifty cents a week.

Having now been with the Bates store for nine months my pay was increased to six dollars, and at the same time

I was promoted to the full rank of salesman. I, however, still had the responsibility of carrying the key, and of opening and closing the store, but was relieved of the work connected with cleaning and keeping the store in order, except to see that my successor did the work satisfactorily.

After a year and a half from the time of taking employment my weekly pay was raised to seven dollars, and at the same time I was placed in charge of the shawl room. That was the day of shawls for both men and women. On the part of men I suppose it was a fad. Men almost universally, young and old took to wearing shawls in place of overcoats, and the women instead of cloaks or wraps. Wearing shawls among the men continued for several years and gradually disappeared. But for many years, shawls continued to be worn by male students in colleges and seminaries, because of their convenience in going to and from class rooms.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SCRAP BOOK OF THE LATE MRS. STEPHEN C. McCANDLESS.

THE HOME OF MRS. THOMAS COLLINS, THE GRANDMOTHER OF STEPHEN C. McCANDLESS.

Eighty or ninety years ago the most popular drive with the young society folks of Pittsburgh was through the fields and farms that have long ago given place to Penn Avenue and Butler Street, with all the smoky factories and hosts of soot-blackened toilers who spend their lives among them. A shady river road, marked by the most beautiful scenery, led to Negley's Run. It takes a vivid imagination to picture the beautiful dells and dales when the street cars whirl one along past shrieking locomotives, fiery furnaces, rows of tenement houses and stifling alleys. The odors of some of the byways are not at all like the scent of new-mown hay or the blossoms the bees love.

The most beautiful place in all these parts then was the fine estate of the Widow Collins, who was famed for her beauty, intellect and high social rank. There were twenty acres in the estate, which is in what was for many years the Eighteenth ward, and is now part of the Tenth. There was a beautiful home graced by all the refinements and luxuries of that day. The graceful widow played hostess not only to the wealth, wit and fashion of the city and state, but also to some of the people of highest rank in the country. Still spoken of when the descendants of the oldest inhabitants of the city get together is the entertainment given at the Collins mansion for Daniel Webster and his daughter. The diary of Colonel Milnor Roberts contains this mention of the event:

"August 18. 1833.

One day my friend McClure (the late judge) invited me to join a party to meet Mr. Webster and his daughter at the residence of Mrs. Collins.

"At dinner at the Exchange, where Mr. Webster stopped, the table was unusually crowded with young Whigs, Mr. W.'s political friends, and the wine passed pretty freely.

Mr. Webster appeared well pleased with the kind wishes expressed. The dinner ended with a few short speeches, Mr. Webster replying to a sentiment in a very happy vein.

"Those who were invited to Mrs. Collins' proceeded to carriages in waiting, and it so happened that Mr. Webster, Judge McClure, Mr. Alexander Foster and myself were in the same carriage. Mr. Foster did most of the talking, as Mr. McClure and myself, who were comparitively youngsters, did not interfere, and the orator fell asleep and seemed to enjoy the nap.

"Mrs. Collins soon made the party feel at home, and Mr. Foster, as soon as he reached the porch, asked leave to resume his smoking, which had been suspended during the drive. Although temperance societies had made some progress, champagne passed quite freely, along with other good things provided and handsomely set out on a table on the veranda, or porch. It was a charming party, nothing wanting, and Mr. Webster made himself very agreeable with young and old, as was his wont. It was quite dark before the party broke up, all highly gratified with the distinguished guests, the excellent hostess and the admirable accessories, and last, but not least, with the lovely place itself overlooking the beautiful river."

Mrs. Collins always took an enthusiastic interest in politics. She was ardent as a Federalist, and afterwards became a pure and patriotic Whig. Over her home every Fourth of July the American flag proudly tossed its colors to the breeze and always a part of the celebration of that day was the gathering together of all the people on her estate and of all the neighbors far and near to drink a glass of wine to Freedom and the Union.

The Collins home was a center for all the legal lights. Sarah Lowry was the maiden name of its mistress, and at the time she married Thomas Collins he was one of the four lawyers in Pittsburgh. Judge McClure and Judge McCandless married her two daughters. The latter built beautiful Allequippa, near the old home of his bride. For years it was used only as a summer residence, the winter home being a stately place on Penn Avenue, below Fourth Street. But by and by the attractions of Allequippa so endeared it to the owners that they spent all the year there. That splendid home was demolished in 1885, and furnaces and steel plants now cover the spot where once the beautiful house held sway over grounds covered with fine old trees. The Judge McCandless library in that home was one of the rarest and costliest in the state, and the house was filled with priceless heirlooms. Among them was the huge solid silver bowl that probably once did duty as a punch bowl. It is the baptismal bowl that has descended to Sarahs in the family for verging on two hundred and fifty years. It came across the ocean, and was a wedding gift to Joseph and Sarah Wardel when they were married in 1650 at Monmouth, New Jersey. On the bowl are panels with spaces for inscriptions, and the names and dates of baptism of a good many Sarahs have been registered there.

The fine old paintings that adorned the walls of Allequippa are most of them now to be seen in the present home of Mrs. McCandless and her daughter, on Hay Street. They are the work of celebrated artists, and in their massive, dingy frames are attractions that never fail to catch the eye. Prominent among them are the portraits of Mrs. Sarah Collins and Mrs. McCandless, that were painted by Sully. The beautiful face of Mrs. Collins, with its soul-lit eyes and remarkable sweetness and intelligence, is framed in by a close, quaint bonnet. Youth and the great beauty for which she was famous are marks of the portrait of Mrs. McCandless. The dress is an opera costume. Then there is a portrait of Napoleon that was painted by the famous artist David. It shows Napoleon in his youth before his ambition for power had hardened his face, and there is a good deal of pleasure to be found in looking at the painting, for it gives one a better opinion of the man to see that some traces of the light of human kindness once marked his features.

The picture belonged to Miss Preble, the niece of Commodore Preble. She was a personal friend of the conquering Corsican. In after years she became reduced in circumstances, and it will be remembered by many that she taught a private school here. This was probably the reason that the picture was sold to Mr. Anderson, who gave it to Judge McCandless.

A fine copy of Stuart's Washington is another of the pictures. There is also a valuable canvass of the infant St. John. It was brought from Rome by a naval officer, and Mr. McCandless bought it from him. Everything about Allequippa had a history, even to its name, which was bestowed upon it because it was there that Washington crossed the river on a raft to see the Indian queen Allequippa.

But perhaps the treasure in Mrs. McCandless' present home that is most appreciated by the young folks who love to gather there, is a big harp, upon which its owner still plays the beloved melodies of the days of her youth. That harp was in her mother's home, when she was a girl and then in her own. It has often responded to the touch of her fingers when the feet of beaux and belles of more than three-quarters of a century ago kept time to its music. Social life was centered at the Arsenal for a long time when the city was young, and the harp was quite a feature of the merry gatherings there.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH MADE BY COLONEL (AFTERWARDS JUDGE) WILSON McCANDLESS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO PITTSBURGH IN 1843.

"Here, standing on the portals of the Mississippi valley, his (Washington's) prophetic eye reaching far into futurity, he saw the materials for that great empire, with its teeming millions, that now reveres and venerates his name. Once on the Venango path, when the rifle of the warrior flashed in the pan. Again when his frail raft gave way, and he was precipitated amid ice and snow, and the raging elements, into the rapid waters of the Allegheny. And again on the shores of the Monongahela, when Braddock, and Halket, and Peyrouny fell, by the deadly arms of the French and Indians. Two horses shot under him, his clothes perforated with bullets, himself a bright and shining mark, yet the leaden messengers were turned aside by an invisible hand, and he was saved to lead the armies of his country to victory, and to lay deep that precious cornerstone of civil polity that has no parallel in the history of the world. Here it was that in the wigwams and partaking of the hospitality of King Shingiss, and Queen Allequippa, that his heart imbibed that warm and active benevolence in favor of the sons of the forest, that was so conspicuous in his subsequent administration of the government. Here it was that the influence of his great name suppressed an insurrection that threatened to sap the foundation of our beautiful political edifice. And here, sir, he has a monument in the affections of his countrymen more durable than brass or marble, and which will remain steadfast as long as the rippling of the Ohio flows on to the bosom of the father of waters.

"In 1798, the first armed vessel that ever floated on the western waters was constructed here under the directions of a revolutionary officer. She was a row-galley, mounting a solitary gun, and was intended to protect our infant trade with that splendid domain, which was afterward acquired to the Union by the wisdom and foresight of your illustrious friend and contemporary, Mr. Jefferson.

"The name of that vessel was the John Adams. And, if tradition is to be credited, after performing her duty here, she hoisted sails, entered the peaceful pursuits of commerce, crossed the Atlantic, passed the straits of Gibraltar, wended her way up the Mediterranean, threaded the Archipelago, and penetrated to the Dardanelles, on the borders of Asia Minor. Thus carrying upon her prow, into the very bosom of a despotic country, the name of one of the honored actors in the great struggle for Republican liberty.

"Look at the contrast now! Instead of the barge and the row-galley, our skillful mechanics, in 1843, completed on the very bastions of old Fort Duquesne an iron ship of war that is to carry on the Northern lakes the stars and stripes of our beloved country—and a frigate is now in the progress of construction which, with her 'iron sides,' is destined to defend the honor of the American name 'in every sea under the whole heavens.' "

REMARKS OF STEPHEN C. McCANDLESS ON FEBRUARY 11, 1897, WHILE PRESENTING TO THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, A CHANDELIER.

"My mother, Mrs. Sarah N. M'Candless, in presenting this chandelier to you, desires me to give some account of it and to inform you why she considers it of sufficient importance to be placed among the interesting relics which you have collected and intend to collect and preserve, in connection with that last remnant of Fort Pitt, which, with commendable patriotism, you have rescued from the ravages of time, the Redoubt built by Col. Bouquet in 1764.

"This is one of two cut glass chandeliers imported from Europe by Messrs Bakewell and Page, then engaged in the manufacture of glass at the foot of Ross Street on the bank of the Monongahela River, the other being that large chandelier which used to hang from the centre of the ceiling of the First Presbyterian Church on Wood Street (I refer to the building which preceded the present edifice, and which had been donated to that church by General James O'Hara on the twenty-fifth of August, 1818, the knowledge of which date enables my mother to fix the time when this was purchased by her mother for the parlor of her residence and, as she thinks, was the only chandelier in any private house in Pittsburgh at that time and for some years afterwards.

"The historical association connected with it is—that on the occasion of the visit of General Lafayette to this city, on the 30th of May 1825, it was borrowed by the committee and hung in the room occupied by him in the National Hotel. The National Hotel stood on the present site of the First National Bank Building, at the corner of Wood and Fifth streets.

"During the year passed by Lafayette in the United States as the Nation's guest, the veneration for him was exhibited in every city, town and hamlet that he entered, by some public demonstrations in his honor. A late biographer referring to this feature of his tour, says, the festivities and celebrations of that year had no precedent in the annals of the country. This resulted in the coining of a new word and for many years afterwards whenever extraordinary honors were paid to any individual, he was always said to have been 'Lafayetted.'

"He was accompanied by his son George and his secretary whose book entitled, 'Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825' is a very interesting narrative.

"After a brief sojourn in the Eastern cities, he made a tour by the way of the Atlantic and Gulf states to New Orleans, and having returned by river as far as Wheeling, he crossed the Pan Handle and journeyed through Washington and Brownsville (receiving a succession of ovations) to Uniontown where his old friend Albert Gallatin addressed him in behalf of the assembled people and afterwards, took him to his residence, 'Friendship Hill,' overlooking the Monongahela River at New Geneva. He remained there twenty-four hours, was then escorted back to Uniontown and thence to Elizabeth where the party arrived about noon on the 29th and, a boat being in waiting, they were rowed to Braddock's Field which was reached about sunset and where a numerous deputation from Pittsburgh had arrived to welcome them. They remained there over night as the guest of Mr. George Wallace, and, at daylight the next morning, detachments of volunteer cavalry arrived as an escort, and the cavalcade proceeded towards Pittsburgh.

"A salute of twenty-four guns was fired in honor of the distinguished visitor as he entered the Arsenal, where he and his party took breakfast with Major Churchill, the commandant, and soon after, entered the city where he was received by the magistrates, militia and people. All this is told with great particularity by M. Levasseur, the secretary, who also says that Mr. Shaler addressed the General in the name of the citizens and Mr. Gazzam in the presentation of the children of the public schools.

"He, of course, means the Hon. Charles Shaler, and, presumably, the Hon. Edward Gazzam. He compliments these gentlemen on their addresses and refers pathetically to the meeting between Lafayette and the assembled group of Revolutionary soldiers who had fought with him at the battle of Brandywine.

"My mother was a child of twelve years, but the patriotic enthusiasm and excitement so impressed her youthful mind that the parade on that occasion is as distinctly remembered by her as if it had occurred quite recently instead of seventy-two years ago. Her mother's house had been built and formerly occupied by General Presley Neville, then dead, who had served as an aid to Lafayette in the Revolution. This house was situated on Water Street between Ferry Street and Redoubt Alley and she with others were gathered about the entrance in eager expectation, when Col. Johnston, a Revolutionary soldier, came riding in advance of the procession and called to the children to gather flowers to strew (which was then the custom in compliment of a hero), for that General would stop there to see the house where General Neville had lived. She remembers General Lafayette leaning out of the carriage, that he shook hands with them as they gathered about him, and that, on the house being pointed out to him, he seemed much affected as he said, in good English but with a decided French accent, 'and this is the house in which my poor Neville lived.'

"More might be related of the attentions shown that distinguished man, such as the ball given at Ramsey's Hotel and other entertainments in his honor, all of which, however, has been told in a very interesting article by a gentlemen present, published a few years ago in the *Pittsburgh Bulletin* and I will not repeat it; besides I do not wish to get too far away from the subject of the chandelier, the brilliancy of which the General must have had very little opportunity to admire, for, from all accounts, he was not allowed to enjoy the quiet of his apartment to any great extent; but it hung there just the same, and if that circumstance entitles it to a place among the mementoes of the past, may it be a reminder of the services of General Lafayette, of the nation towards him, and of the hospitality of the people of our native city."

HENRY CLAY

INCIDENTS OF HIS VISIT TO PITTSBURGH IN 1848.

EDITOR *GLOBE*:

Some unknown friend has sent me a copy of your paper of February 17th, in which I find a very interesting sketch of my friend and law perceptor, Hon. Andrew W. Loomis and particularly of the part he took in the reception of the Hon. Henry Clay when passing through Pittsburgh to his home in Kentucky, after retiring from public life, in 1848. No such reception was ever before or since extended to a public man in America. Mr. Clay was exceedingly popular in Pittsburgh, not only with his own party (the Whig) but also among the Democrats, on account of his advocacy of a tariff for the protection of American industries.

When it became known that Mr. Clay, or "Harry of the West" as he was usually called, would come by way of the National Road, a meeting was held at the Monongahela House, when an immense delegation was appointed to meet him at Brownsville, and steamers were chartered to carry the party up and down the Monongahela River. It certainly was a brilliant and happy crowd, and music, speeches, songs, stories, jokes and general mirth, were gushing and boundless, both on the outgoing and incoming trip, and the three boats being lashed together the space between them was bridged with boards so as to avoid accident, and bring the entire party in friendly proximity.

On the return trip an incident occurred that will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it, and although I reported it in the *Post* the next morning, it will bear a republication after an interval of thirty years. Among the distinguished Pittsburghers, or more properly speaking, Alleghenians who joined in thus honoring "Gallant Henry Clay," was Col. Wm. Robinson, Jr., then president of the Ohio and Pennsylvania, now Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad. Like many others in the party, he indulged pretty freely in "Old Monongahela" and became greatly afflicted with the *cacoethes loquendi.* He monopolized almost the entire time of Mr. Clay, and related over and over again the history of his life, not forgetting to tell that he "was the first white child born west of the Allegheny River." This became somewhat monotonous to Mr. Clay, especially as he noticed that other admiring friends were anxious to show him attention. Straightening himself up and looking Col. Robinson in the face, he said: "Now, my good friend, as you have done nearly all the talking, allow me, by way of change to tell a little story. When I first went to Congress from Kentucky, then a young man, a number of us messed together, not only to save expenses, but to have social enjoyment. As story telling was a good deal indulged in we adopted a rule that when any one of the mess commenced telling a long yarn that was not interesting to the balance it was the privilege of any member to say 'Buffalo,' and that ended the yarn. Now, my old friend, I say to you 'Buffalo.' "

The shouts of laughter that came spontaneous and uncontrollable from the five hundred delighted men who witnessed this scene can better be imagined than described.

The ovation to Mr. Clay upon his arrival at the Monongahela House was grand and imposing. It is estimated that at least thirty thousand persons were present, filling the space in front on Water and Smithfield streets. The reception speech of Mr. Loomis, on that occasion was, as you well remark, "one of the finest oratorical efforts of his life."

In the evening of that day a brilliant party made by Mr. Loomis for Mr. Clay at his residence on Cliff Street, to which nearly all the prominent men in Pittsburgh were invited, embracing judges, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, professors, bankers, editors, &c. Col. Robinson, of course, was included in the party. After Mr. Clay, Colonel (afterwards Judge) McCandless, seemed to be the lion of the evening. He felt particularly happy and took special delight in telling the "Buffalo" story to ladies and gentlemen in all parts of the assembly, especially if Col. Robinson was near by. This became exceedingly annoying to Mr. Robinson, and in order to turn the laugh on Col. McCandless he went up to Mr. Clay, where he was surrounded by a large company of admirers, whom he was amusing with his "little stories," and said:

"Mr. Clay, did you ever read the Clarion Letter, written by my friend, Col. McCandless?"

"Oh, yes," said Mr. Clay, "that is a very familiar document to me. I quoted it in one of my speeches in the Senate."

Failing to get up a laugh at the first effort, Col. Robinson undertook to convince Mr. Clay that he might be mistaken and endeavored to explain the contents of the Clarion letter, which argued that Polk was a better tariff man than Clay. But this only made matters worse and Mr. McCandless readily taking advantage of the situation, called out "Buffalo." Col. Robinson still persisted in his efforts to tell all about the Clarion letter, to the great annoyance of Mr. Clay and the friends who were around him, making a slight pause between each word, so as to give greater emphasis to his utterance, said: "Now, my old friend, I again say to you 'Buffalo.' "

The shouts of laughter and the clapping of hands that followed him in which the ladies participated, surpassed anything I have ever witnessed in any place of amusement.

LECKEY HARPER.

Mt. Vernon, Ohio, Feb. 28, 1878.

COLONEL JOHN GIBSON.

Colonel John Gibson who is buried in Allegheny Cemetery, is best known as a soldier in General Forbes' campaign against the French at Fort Duquesne, as an Indian trader at Fort Pitt, as the commander of the place in the Revolution and as the secretary of the territory of Indiana, and at one time its acting governor. Although a native of Pennsylvania, Colonel Gibson was an adherent of Virginia in the claims set up by it to the territory now included in Western Pennsylvania, and was colonel of a Virginia regiment in the Revolution. But it is not related by any of his biographers, that he was in Virginia in 1781 helping General von Steuben collect and organize troops for General Greene's army. The following roll of officers which so far as the editor knows, has never before been published, shows that at this time he was at Chesterfield, in Virginia, engaged in that service.

A List of the Officers that have attended at Chesterfield agreeable to the Honble. Major Genl. Steuben's Proclamation.

Colonels	John Gibson	
	George Mathews	Not Exchanged
	William Davies	
Lieut. Cols.	William Darks	Assigned to Winchester for Recruits
	Oliver Toles	Assigned to Fredericksburg for Recruits
	Thomas Gaskins	
Majors	Thomas Posey	Assigned to Staunton for Recruits
	John Willis	
	Smith Snead	
Captains	Samuel Finley	
	Nathan Ried	Assigned to New London
	John Marks	
	Thomas Edmunds	1st detachment
	John Marshall	
	Nathl. Pendleton	Volunteer Aid to Genl. Green
	Willm. George	
	Thomas Theweat	
	Joseph Scott, Sr.	Prisoner
	Wm. Kirkpatrick	
	John Overton	
	Robert Gamble	

	Thomas Parker	
	Nathan Lambe	1st Detachment
	Robert Woodson	Not Exchanged
	James Bulbertson	1st detachment
	Chs. Snead	Not certain of being exchanged
	Levin Teach	do do
	Archd. Denholm	1st detachment
	Joseph Scott, Jun'r	Adjt. Chesterfield
	Tarpley White	Assigned
	Wm. L. Lovely	
	Samuel Jones	Asigned
	James Crane	1st Detachment
	John Clark	Not certain of being Exchanged
Captains Lieut.		
	Philip Sansom	
	Reuben Fields	Not certain of being Exchanged and Asigned to Fredericksburg
	Thomas Warman	
	John Crittendar	Retired on half pay
	Thomas Pains	
	Arthur Lind	do do
	William Epps.	do do
Lieutenants		
	Abraham Maurey	Resigned
	Thomas Burfoot	A. D. Q. M. G. at Chesterfield
	John Crawford	
	Henry Bedinger	Asigned to Winchester for Recruits
	Robert Foster	Assigned to New London for Recruits
	Charles Erskin	Comr. Military stores Chestf'd.
	Thomas Martin	Assigned to Staunton do
	Charles Stockley	
	Natha. Darbey	
	Mathew Clay	
	Thomas Coverley	
	John Robins	Sick at Richmond
	William Robertson	Assigned to Staunton for Recruits
	John Scarborough	
	Robert White	Gone Home
	Robert Touitt	do do to get ready to March with 1st Division
Ensigns		
	John Carr	Gone home
	John Scott	Assigned to New London for Recruits
	John Justice	1st detachment
	Richd. Archer	Gone home to prepare for marching 1st Division
	—— Spitzfadden	Sick present
	John Leigh	Resigned
	William Ball	1st detachment
	Daniel Ball	1st detachment
	Daniel Green	1st do
	John Foster	1st

By order of the Board
Jno. Gibson Col. presd.

REMARKABLE CAREER OF REV. RICHARD LEA, S. T. D.*

When the Presbyterian Ministerial Associations of Western Pennsylvania, and Pittsburgh in particular, meet, there is one grand patriarch to whom they listen with great deference. He is not only a noted theologian, but he has spent over sixty-one years in the ministry. To have preached the gospel for over three-score years covers a field of labor performed by less than five per centum of the ministry, and yet, stranger still, this preacher has remained the pastor of one congregation and one church which he organized and preached in regularly for over half a century. Pittsburgh, so far as is known, is the only city in the world which has such a record and the venerable Rev. Richard Lea, S. T. D., now pastor emeritus of the Forty-third Street Presbyterian church, is the honored minister who has made such a record.

No man of his years has watched the religious as well as the educational and industrial growth of the great metropolis of the upper Ohio, be he clergy or layman, with keener interest than Rev. Dr. Lea. Born in Old Coventry, England, on April 23, 1810, at the age of ten he emigrated to Pittsburgh with his parents in 1821. His father was a noted ship carpenter, and helped to build the fleet which withstood several of Napoleon's fierce battles on the Mediterranean. He died while Richard was yet a boy, as did his two brothers and sister. His mother, Dr. Lea says, was a very pious woman, and desired to see her son enter the ministry. She died within a year after coming to Pittsburgh and left her son a poor, sickly boy. Forming the acquaintance of Rev. Doctors Herron and Patterson, he attended the First Presbyterian church of which he soon became an active member. Never absent from prayer meeting or Sunday school, he was elected assistant superintendent of the Pipetown Sabbath school. Rev. Joseph Stockton taught a high school in "Alleghenytown." Young Lea accepted an offer to join the Latin

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*From the *Pittsburgh Leader* of July 18, 1897.

class. Failing health necessitated a temporary abandonment of his scholastic work. A few years later Samuel Campbell, a merchant, offered to educate the boy and leave it to his own option what creed he should accept and preach. The generous offer was declined, but the thought awakened within young Lea anew his ministerial ambition. "I felt that someone had faith in me; somebody was interested in my welfare" he said. Dr. Agnew, a noted physician, was consulted by the young man. After a thorough examination of Lea had been made the Doctor strongly advised against such a course, saying with strong emphasis, "You must not attempt to study; if you do it will kill you in a few years." After a deep silence young Lea replied: "I would as soon die as be anything else than a preacher, and if God has anything for me to do in the pulpit He will keep me alive." "Ah," Dr. Agnew replied, "that's your Calvinism, and that creed will help you, if nothing else will."

Young Lea's health was restored. He took a classical course at the Western University and entered the Allegheny Theological seminary graduating early in April, 1836. Thirty-six young ministers graduated in the same class, all of whom have since ended their ministerial labors. Dr. Lea is the oldest living graduate, and the only member of his class living, from both the university and seminary.

On April 15, 1836, immediately following his graduation, the young minister organized the Lawrenceville, now the Forty-third Street Presbyterian church. He was installed as its pastor on June 15th by the Presbytery of Ohio. Rev. Dr. Herron presided, Prof. Halsey, of the seminary, preached the sermon and the Rev. Dr. Swift delivered the charge. Such names as Malcolm Leech, the merchant; General Whitley, Mrs. Ewalt, daughter of John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg; Mrs. Thompson, Dr. Agnew and about thirty other families whose names are known to all old Pittsburgh residents composed the membership of the new church.

For many years Dr. Lea was the sole pastor. His salary at the beginning of his pastorate was four hundred dollars per annum. Gradually as the congregation grew larger the salary increased. Four additional Presbyterian churches have been organized and erected under Dr. Lea's pastoral supervision, though the founder retained his connection with the old congregation. One by one the old members who entered his church in his early ministry have answered the final roll call until he alone is left to tell the story.

Dr. Lea preached the funeral sermon of all his original members. He has buried over twelve hundred persons who united with the church during his sixty-one years of ministerial work.

Dr. Lea served several years as agent for the seminary. This, he says, was an invaluable aid to him. It compelled him to travel over the country and he formed an acquaintance with the leading ministers of the western part of the state and eastern Ohio. He used frequently to visit his friend Dr. McFerran of Congruity, and he often exchanged pulpits with Dr. Leroy Seanor, for many years pastor of the New Alexandria Presbyterian church. This brought him to staid old Alexandria, the typical home of Puritanism, in Western Pennsylvania, and it resulted in his selecting it for his home in old age.

A week after organizing his church Dr. Lea and Miss Mary Cameron, a lineal descendant of the great exponent of the Covenantor church, were married. She has been his constant companion these sixty-one years. "She is the best woman in America," Dr. Lea said yesterday as he chatted with a *Leader* man. One son was born of the union. He resides with his parents and teaches music in the neighborhood.

Born in April, graduated from college and seminary in April, married in April, in fact, every extraordinary event in Dr. Lea's life happened in April. Dr. Lea has often said he feels a premonition that when death comes to him it will be during the month of April.

Eight years ago, weighted down by the labors of fifty-three years' active ministerial work, Dr. Lea asked his congregation to accept his resignation. They could not think of such a step, and he was made pastor emeritus. He preaches the communion sermons once every three months. Besides he frequently preaches at New Alexandria and occasionally in some of the churches near his home. The congregation makes him donations on every birthday anniversary, on Christmas and July Fourth. The presents are shipped by express to Crabtree station and are accompanied by resolutions handsomely embossed, showing the esteem in which the flock hold their beloved pastor.

It is not to be wondered that Dr. Lea's services have been so much appreciated when it is known that he never conducted a church session or was compelled to try a single member during his long pastorate. His motto has always been: "Keep out of other people's business, keep out of debt and keep out of law and you'll never have much trouble." He who lives up to that proposition, Dr. Lea says, will never get into serious trouble.

When he first came to Pittsburgh, in 1821, the town had less than ten thousand inhabitants. There were several churches in old Pittsburgh, a Presbyterian, Episcopal and Methodist being among the most prominent. Old Squire Darrah was mayor of the city. The town did not extend beyond where the Pittsburgh court house now stands.

When the writer called at Dr. Lea's residence at New Alexandria he found the aged pastor in a cheerful mood. In speaking of his residence and labors in Pittsburgh, Dr. Lea told several amusing anecdotes of early Pittsburgh life, one of which will be given.

Old "Father" Taylor, the first rector of Trinity Episcopal church, published almanacs. Dr. Lea said of him: "He usually allowed himself three or four days grace in his prophecies concerning changes in the weather, and in that way frequently hit it. In his latter days he dictated his work to his daughter. She or the printer made a glaring mistake, scheduling a snowstorm for the month of June. Of course his prophecy was seriously doubted. On the date, however, a cold, drizzling rain fell, followed by frost. Next day when the stage coach rolled into town the roof was covered with snow and sleet and the passengers were chilled to the marrow. Dr. Taylor was twitted by Pittsburghers about his prognostication and the snowstorm in the mountains. He replied that he did not expect a snowstorm in Pittsburgh, and that inasmuch as his almanac covered the entire country the snow in the mountains was exactly what he had anticipated. Taylor's fame spread through that little error. Extra editions were run off, and the people for years accepted his weather prophecies as sure to come true."

By living a simple, democratic life Dr. Lea and his wife have preserved the vigor and health of earlier days. The doctor's voice is clear, his eyesight fairly good, but his hearing is becoming slightly impaired.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

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93—Photographic Copy of Letter
written by General Forbes to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, announcing the capture of Fort Duquesne from the French, dated "Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, 26th November 1758." The original of this letter belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. It was resurrected by Robert Bruce, of the National Highways Association, while searching for information regarding the Old Forbes Road. (This is the first photographic copy).
Presented by Mr. Sumner Boyer Ely.

94—Photograph
Six-Horse Team and Conestoga Wagon.
The principal transportation factor on the National Road and and the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh Pike before the opening of the railways across the Alleghany Mountains.
Presented by Mr. Robert Bruce, Clinton, New York.

95—Three Minute Books
and Constitution of the "Neptune Fire Engine and Hose Company of the City of Pittsburgh."
Book One—Adopted January 1st, 1833-1836.
Book Two—Adopted January 1st, 1845-1854.
Book Three—Adopted November 4th, 1854-1869.
Presented by Mr. Charles A. Clinch.

96—Photograph
Old St. Paul's Cathedral
Fifth Avenue and Grant Street, taken in 1860.
Presented by Miss Sarah E. Miles.

97—Cane
made from a piece of the Cedar of Lebanon.
Presented by Miss Sarah E. Miles.

98—Civil-War Envelopes
one set of Seventy-five.
Presented by Mr. Albert M. Long.

99—Photographs
Civil-War Officers, one set of Ninety-three.
Presented by Mr. Albert M. Long.

100—Letter
written by Mids. Edward Franklin Howell, of the U. S. Frigate United States, to his uncle, General Franklin Davenport, Woodbery, West, New Jersey. Dated Boston Harbor, September 1st, 1812.
Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.

101—Prayer Book
and Book of Psalms, printed by Susanna Collins for the Company of Stationers, London, England. 1724.
Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.

102—Ambrotype
of General Joseph B. Kiddoo, Professor in the Wilkinsburg Academy, Lawyer in Pittsburgh, wounded in the Civil War. General Kiddoo was the first officer to command colored troops when it was sure and certain death if he was captured.
Presented by Miss Martha Graham.

103—Picture
photographed on leather of Professor F. W. Hastings, of the Wilkinsburg Academy, 1857-1859 (taken in 1854).
Presented by Miss Martha Graham.

104—Spike
from Old Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Penn'a.
Presented by Mr. A. J. Kelly, Jr.

105—List of Names
of voters who voted at an Election held on the 2nd Tuesday of October A. D. 1836 at the Court-House West Ward.
Presented by Mr. Thomas J. Hawkins.

106—Piece of wood
taken from Old Lafayette Hall.
Presented by Mr. Ernest Frey.

107—Cigar
taken from the cars of Pennsylvania Railroad Company, during the riot July 22nd 1877.
Presented by Mr. Omar S. Decker.

108—Gold Watch
A relic of the fire of 1845, owned by Mr. John Thaw.
Presented by his grand-son, Mr. Benjamin Thaw.

109—Book
giving a full account of "The Great Fire" at Pittsburgh on the Tenth day of April, 1845 with the individual losses, and contributions for relief.
Presented by Mr. Benjamin Thaw.

110—Gettysburg 25x39
"Repulse of Longstreet's Assault" Painted by James Walker, engraved by H. B. Hall, Jr. Historically arranged by John B. Batchelder.
Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

111—Pittsburgh and Allegheny 28x48
From Coal Hill, 1849. Painted by B. F. Smith, Jr., engraved by G. Warren Smith.
Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance

112—Picture 17x21
Pioneer Fast Line, by Rail Cars and Canal Packets, From Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, through in 3½ days; And by Steam Boats carrying the United States Mail. From Pittsburgh to Louisville: Printed by Young, Black Horse Alley, Philadelphia, 1837.
Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

113—Lithograph 13x16

The Great Conflagration at Pittsburgh, Pa. April 10th 1845. Nearly 1200 houses destroyed, estimated loss of property $9.000.000 (by Turner and Fisher, Phila. Pa. 1845).

Presented by Mr. William P. Wilkins, Danvers, Mass.

114—German Helmet

Presented by the Woman's Central Committee to Mrs. William H. Stevenson, Chairman of the Woman's Victory Loan Committee of the Fourth Ward Pittsburgh, in recognition of the ward buying double its quota of VICTORY BONDS.

Presented by Mrs. William H. Stevenson.

115—Picture

John 4th Earl of Dunmore, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from the original picture in possession of the Earl of Dunmore.

Presented by Miss Marie Truby.

116—Picture

General Arthur St. Clair, (engraved by C. B. Hall, New York.)

Presented by Miss Marie Truby.

117—Lithograph 20x25

View of the City of Pittsburgh in 1817. Taken from a sketch drawn by Mrs. E. C. Gibson, wife of James Gibson, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar, while on her wedding tour in 1817.

Loaned by The Misses McMillen.

118—Volume

The *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Saturday, February 23, 1867-Saturday, February 15th 1868.

Presented by Mr. William A. Golden.

List of Newspapers Presented by the Misses Isabelle and Anna Browne.

THE PITTSBURGH EVENING CHRONICLE

Saturday, April 12, 1862.
Saturday, July 5, 1862.
Monday, July 7, 1862.
Saturday, Sept. 26, 1863.
Tuesday, May 10, 1864.
Wednesday, May 11, 1864.
Thursday, May 12, 1864.
Friday, May 13, 1864.
Monday, May 16, 1864.
Thursday, May 19, 1864.
Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1864.
Friday, Sept. 29, 1864.
Friday, April 7, 1865.
Monday, April 10, 1865.
Saturday, April 15, 1865.

PITTSBURGH WEEKLY GAZETTE

Wednesday, Dec. 16, 1863.
Thursday, May 5, 1864.

THE PITTSBURGH COMMERCIAL

Monday, April 3, 1865.
Monday, April 10, 1865.
Monday, April 17, 1865.

THE PRESBYTERIAN BANNER, PITTSBURGH

Saturday, July 19, 1862.

THE NEW CASTLE COURANT

Friday, June 30, 1865.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN, PITTSBURGH, PA.

Sept. 14th, 1864—May 17th, 1865.

THE NEW YORK WEEKLY TIMES

September 20, 1862.
May 11, 1864—December 31, 1864.
May 27, 1865—December 30, 1865.
January 6, 1866.

THE NEW YORK WEEKLY TRIBUNE

January 4, 1862—December 27, 1862.
January 3, 1863—December 26, 1863.
January 2, 1864—December 31, 1864.
January 7, 1865—June 17, 1865.

THE NEW YORK DAILY TRIBUNE

January 1, 1861.
January 19, 1861.

FORNEY'S WAR PRESS, PHILA., PA.

August 30, 1862.
Sept. 6, 1862.
Sept. 13, 1862.
Sept. 20, 1862.

NEW YORK WEEKLY HERALD

July 4, 1863.
Dec. 12, 1863 (Triple-sheet).
July 1, 1865.

BROWNLOW'S KNOXVILLE WHIG, TENNESSEE

January 9, 1864.

WASHINGTON DAILY MORNING CHRONICLE

April 20, 1865.

Members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania who died in 1919.

Mrs. Edith Darlington Ammon (Life Member)
Mr. Daniel Ashworth.
Mrs. Frank S. Bissell
Mr. Stephen Collins
Mr. Andrew Carnegie (Life Member)
Mr. Edward T. Dravo
Mr. Robert S. Davis
Mr. Henry Clay Frick (Life Member)
Mr. H. J. Heinz
Mr. John E. Kane
Rt. Rev. Mgr. Andrew Arnold Lambing, LL.D. (Life Member)
Mrs. James R. Mellon
Mr. Earle R. Marvin
Hon. S. S. Mehard
Hon. George T. Oliver
Mr. S. S. Pinkerton
Hon. Edward E. Robbins
Dr. A. M. Reid
Mr. Enoch Rauh
Mr. Charles O. Smith
Mr. James G. Sample
Mr. Francis J. Torrance
Mr. John W. Thomas
Mr. Robert W. Wilson
Dr. James H. Wright
Rev. J. S. Wrightnour

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MINUTE ON THE DEATH OF HENRY CLAY FRICK

The following minute was adopted at the January, 1920, meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania:

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania hereby records its sincere regret because of the death of Henry Clay Frick, who for many years was a life member of the Society.

Mr. Frick has rendered great service in building up vast industries in Western Pennsylvania and in promoting the prosperity of this section; he had shown a keen interest in the progress of Pittsburgh and the improvement of its transportation facilities, his benefactions for educational, philanthropic and public purposes were great and generous and entitle his memory to be cherished by our people and the record of his good works to be preserved in the annals of our history.

Resolved, That copy of these resolutions be sent to his family and entered upon the minutes of the Society.

INVITATION TO AN OLD TIME PICNIC

GRAND SELECT PIC-NIC

A GRAND SELECT PICNIC WILL TAKE PLACE
AT SWISSVALE,
ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1853,
AT WHICH YOUR COMPANY IS RESPECTFULLY SOLICITED

Trains of cars will start from the station of the Penn'a Rail Road, on Liberty street, at 3 o'clock A. M. and 2 o'clock P. M. Returning will leave Swissvale at 7 o'clock P. M. Excursion tickets, 15 cents.

MANAGERS

Hon. R. N. Riddle,
Geo. W. Larimer, Jr.
Col. S. W. Black,
E. M. Stanton, Esq.
Robert Anderson, Esq.
H. B. Wilkins, Esq.
Capt. D. Campbell,
James Robinson,
James Blackmore,
Thomas M'Masters,
D. E. M'Kinley,
J. W. Cree,
Hon. Charles Shaler,
Hon. W. M'Candless,
T. L. M'Millan,
W. H. M'Calla,
Dr. A. Gross,
F. Van Gorder,
Maj. John Willock,
R. B. Roberts, Esq.
Morrison Foster, Esq.
J. Herron Foster, Esq.
Th. Umbstaetter, Esq.
James P. Barr, Esq.,
Hon. P. C. Shannon,
Mrs. J. G. Swisshelm
Joseph Snively,
A. Negley,
Charles Benney,
L. M'Intosh,
J. B. Dunlevy,
W. J. Howard, Jr.
W. H. Markle,
John Gilmore,
John Torrence,
J. D. Glass,

Refreshments will be provided by M. F. Kunz

Music by Byerly's full Brass and String Band.

NOTICE OF A THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE GIVEN IN PITTSBURGH IN 1827

THEATRE

THE THESPIAN SOCIETY HAVE THE HONOR OF INFORMING THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF PITTSBURGH, THAT MRS. TATNALL, FROM THE PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK THEATRES, HAS ARRIVED IN THIS CITY, ON HER WAY TO NEW ORLEANS, AND THAT THEY HAVE ENGAGED HER, WITH MISS CARPENTER, FOR A FEW NIGHTS.

MRS. TATNALL'S FIRST NIGHT

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE SUDDEN AND EXTREME INDISPOSITION OF MRS. TATNALL ON WEDNESDAY LAST, THE PERFORMANCE WILL TAKE PLACE THIS EVENING, (FRIDAY).

ON FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 12, 1827,
WILL BE PRESENTED, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THIS CITY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MR. HARTWIG, BALL'S CELEBRATED MELO DRAMA OF THE

FLOATING BEACON:
OR, THE
NORWEGIAN WRECKER.

MARIETTE, (woman of the Beacon,) ----------MRS. TATNALL.
Angerstoff, (Captain of the Beacon,) -----L. Peters. An Amateur.
Maurice } his companions --------------------------—————
Ormoloff }
Weignstadt, (an old Fisherman)----------------------—————
Frederick, (a supposed orphan)----------Dr. Jams. R. McClintock
Jack Junk, (a Sailor,) Wilkins Peters----------------—————
Sailors, Marines, &c.--------------------------------—————
Christine, (Weignstadt's daughter), ---------------Miss Carpenter

AFTER THE DRAMA

A Fancy Dance, by ------------------------------Miss Carpenter
A Pas Seul, by----------------------------------Mrs. Tatnall
The evening's entertainment to conclude with the laughable Farce

of the

SPOILED CHILD

Little Pickle (with all the original Songs and Sailor's Hornpipe), --Mrs. Tatnall
Old Pickle, (with a Hornpipe,) W. Peters ---------AN AMATEUR
Tag, (an Author)-------------------------Wm. Mountain—————
John, ---—————
Servants, -------------------------------------—————
Miss Pickle, John C. Mowry --------------------—————
Maria, ----------------------------------- Miss Carpenter.

TWO ADDITIONAL STOVES HAVE BEEN PLACED IN THE LOBBY

Doors open at 6, and the curtain to rise at 7

BOX AND PIT, 75 CENTS—GALLERY, 50 CENTS

Tickets to be had at Messrs. Denniston's, Ramsey's and Stewart's
Hotels, and at the Box Office of the Theatre.
on the evening of performance.

N. B.—NO SMOKING ALLOWED IN THE THEATRE. NO MONEY TAKEN AT THE DOOR

PROPER OFFICERS ARE EMPLOYED TO KEEP THE PEACE.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 3, No. 2 APRIL, 1920 Price 75 Cents

THE MORAVIANS AND THEIR MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

BY

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER*

One of the corner stones of the Christian religion is Christ's injunction: "Go yet into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." And from Rome Christianity was carried over Europe and into Asia and Africa, and when America was discovered it was brought across the Atlantic Ocean to this continent. Among the Protestant North American pioneers of English extraction, struggling in the wilderness for their very existence, the teaching of the Gospel to those who were unfamiliar with its consolation was of far less moment than the stern battle in which they were engaged. Prior to the French and Indian War there was only a thin line of settlements along the Atlantic coast, and few attempts were made to proselyte among the aborigines. In New England in early colonial days John Elliot made his noble, but almost valueless effort to convert the Indians to Christianity. In New Jersey David Brainerd made a gallant attempt in this direction from 1743 to 1747, but dying in the latter year at the early age of thirty, the work bore no substantial fruit. Other attempts ended still more completely in failure.

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*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on June 30, 1914.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

In contradistinction to the English colonies, farther north in Canada, where Roman Catholic France was dominant, a different atmosphere prevailed. When the French came to Canada they carried the sword of conquest in one hand and the cross of salvation in the other. Connected with every expedition that landed on the Canadian shores were priests who had ever before their eyes the glory of God and the extension of French dominion. The majority of the priests were members of the Society of Jesus, an organization founded by a former soldier, on military lines with a general at its head and composed of the most able, zealous, cultured and affable priests in the world. In addition to the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, they had promised to go as missionaries to any part of the world to which the Pope might send them. Dressed in the ordinary garb of the people with whom they mingled, they went forth in winter snows and summer heats, through forests and plains, over lakes and rivers, carrying the cross of the Saviour to the benighted heathen. They endured hardships, and met torture and death with the enthusiasm of martyrs. As the French extended their territory, their priests went with them bringing the solace of the Christian religion not only to the French soldiers and settlers, but to the Indians as well.

The French discovered the Ohio River and by virtue of this discovery claimed all the contiguous territory. Robert Chevalier de la Salle was the discoverer and was the first white man to descend the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers which occurred either in 1669 or 1670, the exact year not being known. He had once been a Jesuit. For the next eighty years the French priests were the only men of God to bear the altar and the cross to the wondering savages of the Ohio Valley; and ever and anon there appeared in the wilderness baptized Indians, distinguished by their beads and crucifixes who babbled of Christianity to their heathen brethern. In 1749 Captain Louis Bienville deCeleron took possession of the Ohio Valley in the name of the French King, by erecting wooden crosses and burying leaden plates along the Ohio river. The *Te Deum* was chanted, the hills and valleys rang with the cries of *Vive le Roi,* and the country became French territory. Father Piérre Joseph deBonnecamp, a Jesuit priest, was the chaplain of the expedition. Five years later Captain Pièrre Claude deContrecoeur erected Fort

Duquesne. The coarse brown habit, the cowl and the girdle from which a cross depended, of the Recollet friars, were as familiar in the French Canadian forts as were the uniforms of the soldiers. Fort Duquesne was no exception, and when Contrecoeur descended the Allegheny he brought with him as chaplain, Friar Denys Baron who remained until December, 1756. Other priests also wandered into Fort Duquesne during its existence of four years. The year after Friar Denys Baron left the Ohio country, a French Jesuit priest, Father Claude P. Virot, planted his mission cross at the mouth of the Big Beaver River, and was joined the same year by another Jesuit priest, Father Piérre Joseph Antonie Rouboud. The mission remained during the continuance of the French occupation of Fort Duquesne; after its abandonment Packanke, the head chief of the Monseys, one of the three principal tribes of the Delaware nation, which was also known as the Wolf tribe, and had the wolf as its totem, drove the priests away.

The Protestant missionaries came into the Ohio Valley at a much later date. During the fifty years that succeeded the taking of Fort Duquesne by General John Forbes, many English missionaries, representing most of the Protestant divisions of the Christian church, arrived in the valley. Some of them came for the purpose of evangelizing the Indians, but the majority were intent only on bringing Christianity back home to the settlers whose religion had begun to sit lightly on their shoulders. The attempts to Christianize the savages failed utterly, the Indians refusing even to give the missionaries permission to remain in their country. Generally the missionaries were unfamiliar with Indian life and customs, and not speaking the Indian tongue, addressed the Indians through interpreters; also they had little sympathy with Indian aspirations and weaknesses. Besides the English-speaking settlers had a supreme contempt for the Indians which no doubt created at least an unconscious prejudice in the minds of the missionaries. Speaking of the failure of the English attempts to Christianize the Indians and comparing them with the efforts of the French, Parkman wrote: "English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

The Protestant missionaries who braved the fatigues and dangers of the Indian country were the Rev. Charles Beatty, who has been on the Ohio River before, having been chaplain in the army of General Forbes, and the Rev. George Duffield, both Presbyterians, who were sent out in 1766, by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. In 1772 and again in 1773 the Rev. David Jones, a Baptist clergyman from New Jersey, went among the Ohio Indians. In 1772 a New England Congregational clergyman, Rev. David McClure, was sent out by the Board of Correspondence of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Finally the Moravians appeared, whose communion had been Protestant since the days of John Huss, and who believed themselves to be called upon to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen nations in all the world. They accomplished that in which all the others failed.

They were a sect of Germans descended from German immigrants who had settled in Moravia, a crown land of Austria. They were known as the *Unitas Fratrum,* or the Unity of the Brethren, but were commonly called Moravians after the country where they originated. They were the revival of the ancient sect, originating in Bohemia, which had survived the martyrdom of John Huss. To avoid persecution they had fled from Moravia into Saxony in 1722, where they were established by Count Nickolaus Ludwig vonZinzendorf and Pottendorf on his estate. Count Zinzendorf was a pious young Lutheran who subsequently joined the Moravian church and became one of its bishops, and was its patron and guide. On his estate was founded the town of Herrnhut which became the center of Moravian activity.

Small in numbers and poor, but full of zeal, the Moravians set about evangelizing the world, receiving financial assistance from Count Zinzendorf and from Protestant sympathizers in England. In 1732 they sent missionaries to the negroes of the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indias, and in the following year to the natives of Greenland. In 1735 their missionaries were in Georgia. In the same ship that carried to Georgia the second contingent of Moravians, was John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, who went as a missionary to the Indians, and his brother, Charles Wesley, who was on his way to assume the duties of secretary to Governor James Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia. John Wesley was deeply impressed with the meekness, humility and courage of the Moravians. He acquired a high opinion of the Moravian religion, and on his return to London he sought the companionship of the leaders of that church, a number of whom were in the city. Here he met Peter Böhler, a young Moravian, who later became a bishop in the Moravian Church. He was a man of culture, educated at the Universities of Jena and Leipsic, and had just come from Germany and been ordained by Count Zinzendorf as a missionary to the Indians of Georgia and the negroes of South Carolina. The zealous Moravian, convinced Wesley that he "lacked that faith whereby alone we are saved;" and the result of this conviction, historians agree, was the true source of English and American Methodism.

A higher power than the General Board at Herrnhut, decreed that the northern colonies presented a more important field for missionary labors than Georgia. In 1740 Christian Henry Rauch began his labors among the Indians of New York. The next year Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, situated about sixty miles north of Philadelphia, was founded and soon became the headquarters of the Moravian Church in America. Almost insurmountable difficulties beset the Moravians. In Georgia the settlers became involved in trouble with the Spaniards settled in Florida, which was expected to terminate in war, and they demanded that the Moravians join the forces that were being levied to invade Florida. This the Moravians stoutly refused to do, as it was contrary to their principles to bear arms, and Parliament had relieved them of that duty on payment of additional rates. The Georgians became so enraged that it was deemed advisable for the Moravians to leave Georgia, and accordingly in 1738, most of them abandoned their plantations and came north to Pennsylvania where the Quakers, who were most influential in governmental affairs, were in sympathy with the religious beliefs of the Moravians. The next year when England declared war against Spain, the remainder of the Moravians also left for Pennsylvania, arriving there in April, 1740, and the mission in Georgia was abandoned.

The backwoodsmen of New York and Pennsylvania early exhibited hostility toward the Moravians. Their intercourse with the Indians was far from friendly; they were occupying lands which had been taken from the Indians in a questionable manner, and they were casting covetous eyes on the remaining lands of the Indians. The Moravians were teaching the Indians religion and sobriety, and the arts of civilization as well, which the settlers feared would make it more difficult to deal with them. In New York this sentiment caused a law to be enacted prohibiting the Moravians from instructing the Indians; and they were expelled from the colony, on the senseless pretext of being in league with the French, whose traders were already encroaching on territory which until then had been held sacred to the English traders. The Moravians had not only to combat the hatred of the settlers toward the Indians, but the envy of the other German Protestants as well, and the ill will of the English-speaking dissenters, who were jealous of the prestige which the Moravians had gained through the law which Parliament enacted in 1749, acknowledging them as "An ancient Protestant Episcopal Church," while they were despised non-conformists.

Nevertheless the work of the Moravians prospered; their converts grew in numbers; additional missionaries were sent into the field, who traversed the country to the north and west of Bethlehem, carrying the propaganda of Christ to the Indians. Some of the more venturesome even penetrated close to the debatable land tributary to the Ohio River, which was claimed by both the French and the English. The song which their ancient Bohemian Brethern sang when fleeing from the persecution which all but exterminated them, was as applicable to the missionaries as to the older followers of John Huss.

"The rugged rocks, the dreary wilderness,
  Mountains and woods, are our appointed place.
Midst storms and waves, on heathen shores unknown,
  We have our temple, and serve God alone."

In Pennsylvania the Delaware nation was the largest and most influential of the divisions of the aboriginal race, and the work of the Moravians was to a great extent among them. A number of Indian missions were established from the time of the settlement of Bethlehem to within a few years prior to the Revolutionary War. Also itinerent missionaries were holding services at many distant points. Owing to the turbulent condition of the country it was necessary to frequently change the location of the missions, and to establish new missions. There was a temporary mission at Bethlehem which was called Friedenshütten or Tents of Peace. Another Christian Indian hamlet was situated beyond the Blue Mountains on the north bank of Mahoning Creek near its junction with the Lehigh River on the site of the village of Lehighton in Carbon County. It was called Gnadenhütten or Tents of Grace. This village was later removed to the eastern bank of the Lehigh River where the town of Weissport is now situated. A third mission was at Shamokin on the Susquehanna River near the location of the town of Sunbury in Northumberland County. Shamokin was the principle Indian town in Pennsylvania, where the King of the Delawares had his seat, and where resided the representative of the Six Nations of which the Delawares were dependants. Another Christian Indian town was later established about two miles from Bethlehem in Hanover Township, Lehigh County, which was called Nain, after the village in Galilee, near the gate of which Jesus performed the miracle of raising the widow's son from the dead. A less important mission was Wechquetauk, situated on the north side of the Blue Mountains between Wechquetuk Creek and Heads Creek in Polk Township, Monroe County.

Pontiac's Conspiracy caused much distress in Pennsylvania, and the settlers in retaliation intended to attack the Christian Indian towns. In anticipation of trouble the Indians were taken to Philadelphia, and later were sent to New York, but were obliged by the authorities of that Province to return to Philadelphia, where they were imprisoned in the barracks. Here a new danger threatened, and a movement was inaugurated for their extermination. It has been called the Paxton Rebellion, because a majority of the men engaged in it belonged to Paxton Township in Lancaster County. Gordon, in his *History of Pennsylvania,* commenting on the partisans of the Paxtons, said they were found principally among the Presbyterians, "to whom according to the belief of their opponents, the use of the sword in civil and religious warfare was not objectionable; and who believed it wiser to exterminate them to convert the heathen." The Paxtons had just murdered twenty defenceless Indians and their appetite for blood being whetted they were now marching to Philadelphia intent on killing the Moravian Indians. Not until Germantown was reached did they pause in their march. On every hand they saw ominous signs of the resistence that would be made to their farther progress by the Quakers and Germans of Philadelphia, and a small force of soldiers; and their project was abandoned and they returned to their homes. In 1765 the Indians returned to Nain and were then taken to Machiwihlusing on the Susquehanna River at the mouth of Wyalusing Creek in Bradford county. Machiwihlusing was an Indian village which had been formerly occupied by Monseys.

As early as the French and Indian War, which involved all the North American colonies, the value of the services of the Moravians had been appreciated in Pennsylvania. When the expedition, under General Forbes was about to be sent against the French, the Moravians were called upon for assistance. Forbes realized the advantage of detaching from the French interest the Indians on the Ohio River, or at least keeping them neutral, and made his wishes known to the colonial authorities. The work required a man of discretion and courage, well known and popular with the Indians. No one could be found until the Quakers, who always desirous of maintaining peace, suggested the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post. Post accepted the appointment and went forth to almost certain death, accompanied by only two Indians who served as guides, and penetrated the hostile country to the very gates of Fort Duquesne. Across the river from the fort, under the eyes of French officers he held a conference with the Indians. So convincing were his arguments that the object of the journey was attained. The Delawares proclaimed that they were for peace, the Mingoes agreed with them; the Shawanese promised to send the peace belts to all the Indians and in twelve days to meet again. The apostle of peace had won a great victory; not an Indian whom he reached, raised an arm against the English.

On his return home Post was accompanied by one of the Delaware chiefs, Pisquetumen, who was delegated by his tribe to attend the conference to be held at Easton between the Indians, and the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and George Croghan, the Deputy Indian Commissioner. The conference ended successfully, the result being a declaration of peace between the Indians and the whites; and Post was directed to return to the West and report the successful outcome of the gathering and bear a message of peace from the eastern to the western Indians.

The knowledge that he gained of the Indians on the two journeys determined Post to undertake their Christianization. Accordingly in 1761 before formal peace had been declared between England and France by the treaty of Paris which was signed in 1763, whereby all of Canada was ceded to England, he made a journey westward, traveling about a hundred miles beyond Pittsburgh to the Indians living on the Tuscarawas River in what is now the state of Ohio. On the bank of this stream near the present town of Bolivar, across the river from an Indian village he built a log house. Returning to Bethlehem for assistance, the society gave him as helper John Heckewelder, then nineteen years old, who, after a life spent in the mission field, was to publish his *Narrative,* and other writings in which are preserved much that is of interest in regard to the Indians and the Moravian missions. Together the two missionaries went back the next year to the Indian country. Hardly had Post marked off the land where he intended to raise his provisions, when trouble arose. The Indians seemed to be imbued with French sympathies, and demanded that the land intended for cultivation should not be larger in area than that occupied by the French priests at Detroit for their gardens. Post was compelled to do as directed. Having been requested by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania to come to Lancaster, where a treaty was to be made with the Indians, and to bring with him as many of the western Delawares as possible, Post left for the East accompanied by a number of Delaware chiefs. Heckewelder remained in charge and scarcely six weeks elapsed before it became evident that the Indians were contemplating a war against the English. The situation of Heckewelder became so precarious that he also returned home; and the war of Pontiac's Conspiracy opened in the spring of the following year.

At the conclusion of Pontiac's War the missionary labors of the Moravians, which had been greatly disorganized by both this and the French and Indian War, were resumed with redoubled vigor. The tide of civilization was forcing the Indians farther westward, and many Indians from eastern Pennsylvania had gone to the Ohio Valley since the Moravian missions were first established. Also the reports that Post brought from the Ohio country indicated that in this region lay a rich field for their endeavors, and they decided to extend their labors across the Allegany Mountains. David Zeisberger was the instrument to whom was entrusted the task of carrying the cross of the Reformation to the savages on the Ohio River. He was born in Moravia in 1721, and five years later his parents fled with him to Saxony, where they left him, and with other Moravians proceeded to Georgia. Attracting the attention of Count Zinzendorf, he was taken by him to Holland. But he was not happy and having heard that Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia was in London, he determined to run away to England with the intention of asking the assistance of that redoubtable colonizer in procuring passage to Georgia. Securing an interview with Governor Oglethorpe he had no difficulty in obtaining the desired help, and rejoining his parents. In 1740, with the remnant of the Moravians, settled in Georgia, he arrived in Pennsylvania.

While in the South Zeisberger sat at the feet of Peter Böhler, who had come to America in 1738, and continued the education that was begun in Europe, developing both in culture and in religion under the instructions of this learned and devout clergyman. In Bethlehem the Moravians had established a class for the instruction of persons intending to enter the Indian mission fields under the direction of Bishop Spangenberg, who had been a professor at the University of Halle. Zeisberger now joined this class. His teacher in the Indian languages was John Christopher Prylaeus who had become an adept in those tongues. In 1745 Zeisberger began his career as a missionary and accompanied Christian Frederick Post to the Mohawk Valley in New York. Here they were both thrown into prison and finally expelled by the authorities as French spies.

His enforced leisure during the unsettled state of the country, afforded Zeisberger the opportunity to write an Iroquois grammar, and complete the Iroquois-German Dictionary which he had begun in 1748, and on which he had been laboring for a number of years. Part of the task was performed at Onondago, the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy, where he was assisted by one of the sachems. So highly was he regarded by this tribe that he was adopted into it in the family of the Turtle, the most noble family of the whole Iroquois League, and received the name of Ganousseracheri, or On The Pumpkin. Zeisberger was occupied mostly in Pennsylvania, where in 1749 he was ordained to the ministry by Bishop John vonWatteville, the son-in-law of Count Zinzendorf, and the same year was sent to Shamokin; but he also made journeys to New England, and North Carolina.

In 1767 he projected the establishment of a mission in the Ohio Country. He was in the prime of life, forty-six years of age and unmarried. He had been too busily engaged in an occupation which hardly permitted the companionship of a wife. Accompanied only by two Christian Indians he set out on foot from Friedenshütten on the Susquehanna River, with one pack-horse, on what he termed an exploratory tour. His destination was an Indian village called Goschgschünk, situated on the left bank of the Allegheny River near the mouth of Tionesta Creek in Venango County, built two years before by Monseys—one of the three principal tribes of the Delaware nation—who had come from Machiwihilusing; and Ziesberger relates of them: "Intelligence has reached us although in a very unreliable form of their desire to hear the Gospel."

It was a painful journey of seventeen days. The only human beings they encountered were Indians; the only human habitations they saw were Indian villages. Part of the way lay over miry ground; the underwood was dense, a swamp that crossed the path was dark and treacherous, a great spruce forest through which they traveled was well nigh impenetrable. The Indians looked with suspicion on the travelers. "I am Ganousseracheri!" proclaimed Zeisberger at one of the Seneca villages and the demeanor of the Indians changed. The Indian chief grasped the missionary's hand and said he had heard of him, and called him brother. At another Seneca village he met two Onondagos with whom he was acquainted, and his reception was equally cordial.

At Goschgschünk Zeisberger was to preach in the Council House. It became known that he was the great teacher who had preached at the village where the Indians hailed from, and as several of them had witnessed the religious services of the Moravians, they arranged the Council House to look as much like the interior of a church as possible. Around the indispensible fire which burned in the center of the structure, the Indians were seated, the men on one side, the women on the other. In strange contrast with the inhabitants of the woods, in their blankets of red, and black, with their beads and their painted faces, was Zeisberger. He was dressed in the simple garb of his sect, wearing a close-fitting unlapelled black coat, knee-buckled small clothes, and broad round-toed shoes; his low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat was laid aside. He was small of stature but full of fire. The house rang with his words. He had studied Indian oratory and employed it on this occasion. He was dignified, calm, simple, forcible; he was bold and frank, and spoke in a loud voice. He gesticulated often, his address abounded in metaphor. He was clearly making an impression. But the Indians also had had their preacher among them, a man named Wangomen. This man announced that he also would preach, and when he spoke he opposed the establishment of the mission. He was soon silenced by the little missionary, and stated that he too was willing for the mission to be established.

Zeisberger returned home, and the next spring came back accompanied by another missionary named Gottlieb Senseman and by three families of Christian Indians who were to form the nucleus of a church on the Allegheny River. Soon a house was built, and the mission began. The Monseys were divided, one faction being in favor of the missionaries, the other opposed to them, and two plots against their lives were discovered and frustrated. The troubles increased, the converts became discouraged and the mission was in 1769 removed to Lawunakhannek on the eastern bank of the Allegheny River, three miles above Goschgschünk.

Famine breaking out Zeisberger and Senseman went to Pittsburgh for supplies. Here Zeisberger found an opportunity of doing the inhabitants of Pittsburgh and its vicinity a valuable service, as well as protecting the Indians against an unwarranted attack from Pittsburgh. The place was in uproar. Bands of roving Senecas on their way south had stolen horses, shot cattle, and murdered settlers. The farms about the village were deserted, as the people were fearful of another Indian uprising. Being fresh from his labors among the Indians, Zeisberger knew their sentiments better than the governor and the officers at Pittsburgh, and calmed their fears. Instead of levying war on the Indians, delegates were sent to those Indians with whom the whites were friendly, complaining of the conduct of the Senecas and asking their assistance in bringing the Senecas to justice, which assistance was promptly given.

The heathen Indians at Goschgschünk still caused trouble at the mission, and it was determined to accept the invitation received from Packanke to settle on his lands on the Big Beaver River. The removal was effected in April, 1770, the Christian Indians leaving the mission in fifteen canoes. The party attracted much attention at Pittsburgh. While this village bore the name of Fort Duquesne, French priests had been as active in the cause of their religion, as the French soldiers in repelling the English, and had made numerous converts. Now for the first time there appeared a company of Protestant converts, and the traders and the garrison thronged the camp which Zeisberger had set up outside of the fort, around which the village clustered.

The exact location of the town that Zeisberger built in Packanke's country is uncertain, but it must have been in Lawrence County, between the Shenango River and Slippery Rock Creek. It was given the name of Friedenstadt, or City of Peace, in contra-distinction to the turbulent places which had just been abandoned. In July, 1770, Friedenstadt was removed across the Beaver River to a point a short distance above its mouth, near the present town of Moravia. The next year John Heckewelder came to Friedenstadt and became an assistant to Zeisberger. While at this place Zeisberger was adopted by the Monseys into their tribe which made his position among the Indians stronger than ever.

Two years later the Moravian missions on the Susquehanna River were also removed to the Ohio River country. The settlements were fast reaching out to the Indian lands, Indians and settlers were both becoming restive, and it was believed that the locality was no longer safe for the missions. Also the Grand Council of the Delawares at Gekelemukpechünk, the capital of the Delaware nation, which was situated about eighty-five miles west of Pittsburgh in the Tuscarawas Valley a short distance east of Newcomers Town in Oxford Township, Tuscarawas county, had invited the Moravians to settle on their lands. On their migration from eastern Pennsylvania about 1742, the Delawares had been granted territory by the Wyandots which comprised nearly one-half of the present state of Ohio. A portion of this domain was now set apart for the Christian Indians. They belonged to the Delaware nation the same as the Delawares on the Tuscarawas River, and Zeisberger himself stood high in the favor of the heathen Indians, who deemed it desirable that he and his Christian Indians should dwell among them. They were promised the same rights and privileges as the owners of the soil. Their removal to the Tuscarawas Valley was decided upon, and to the number of two hundred and four, the Christian Indians were settled on the lands of their cousins. On a wooded plain beside a large spring about two miles southeast of New Philadelphia in Goshen Township, Tuscarawas County, a village was built which was named Schönbrunn, or Beautiful Spring, and was laid out in the form of a cross. Later a second settlement was made called Gnadenhütten, or Cabins of Grace, after the mission of the same name in Pennsylvania which had been destroyed in 1756 by Indians allied with the French. It was situated in the southeastern extremity of the present town of Gnadenhütten in Clay Township, Tuscarawas County. The scope of Zeisberger's plans was comprehensive. He was a statesman as well as a missionary. He had visions of a Christian-Indian state which he intended to create in the midst of the aboriginal domain. He would gather together the tribes of the South and those of the Northwest and the League of Iroquois, and have them living in a state of civilization, and their government was to be powerful enough to compel recognition by the whites.

All was not tranquil at Friedenstadt. Intoxicated Indians from the neighboring Indian village frequently overran Friedenstadt, and Zeisberger concluded that this mission also must be removed to the Tuscarawas Valley. Accordingly in 1773 the sanctuary was laid low in order that it might not be desecrated by the heathen; and the converts were removed, some to Gnadenhütten and the others to Schönbrunn. The Muskingum River is formed by the junction of the Tuscarawas River with the Walhonding River where the city of Coshocton now stands. To this point the Delaware capital had just been removed. Two and a half miles below this spot on the left bank of the Muskingum River, a third mission was established in 1776, which was called Lichtenau, or Pasture of Light.

The missions caused widespread interest among the Indians, Christian and heathen alike. It was the policy of the missionaries to encourage the sports of the Indians. They often accompanied them on their hunting excursions; they paddled in their canoes and went fishing with them; at the same time they encouraged them to adopt the usuages of civilization. At every mission there were substantial log houses built by the Indians with the assistance of the missionaries. Each town had its chapel; plantations were laid out, fences built, a spirit of thrift was inculcated in the minds of the converts, and they acquired horses, cattle, hogs and poultry and took pride in their prosperity. The missionaries were adepts in the language of the Indians, and conducted schools where the Indians were taught the rudiments of reading and writing. From the missionaries the Indians learned to farm, to do carpenter work, and such blacksmithing as their simple needs required.

Drunkeness was the curse of the Indians. The missionaries not only preached against the evils of intemperance, but they forbade the introduction of liquor into the missions. The religion of the Moravians was better adapted to the Indian mind than a religion that was most austere. The Moravian Church had a liturgy, composed like that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of sentences from the Bible, of psalms, and hymns, and prayers. Portions of the liturgy the missionaries were at great pains to translate into the Indian tongue, and were at still greater pains to teach them to the Indians. The Indians were always anxious to take part in the services. They made the responses with vigor, and sang with fervor. The Church holidays appealed to them; they loved the granduer of the Christmas and Easter services, as well as the feasting afterward. The missionaries being of German nationality, music with them was a passion almost equal to their love of religion. When connected with their religion, their love for it became doubly strong; and their very souls went into their work when they taught the Indians to sing psalms and hymns. Zeisberger made a translation into Delaware of the Easter Morning Litany and taught it to the Indians. The first time that he stood in the church in the early morning, preliminary to proceeding to the burial ground where the Litany was to be said, and chanted the Easter greeting of the primitive Christians, "The Lord is risen!" and the congregation answered with a burst of song, "The Lord is risen indeed!" he was looked upon as being but little lower than the Saviour whom they were worshipping. Also the missionaries understood and respected Indian customs. Wampum was used diligently. No visit was made to any tribe unless the missionary carried his string or belt of white wampum, white being the color of peace. The wampum was presented as a confirmation of that which had been spoken. As a further indication of their respect for this Indian practice, the missionaries designed for the Christian Indians belts of wampum, half a fathom long, without devices, except a band through the middle and a white cross at one end.

During the Revolutionary War the Moravian missions reached their zenith, and had their fall. In the early years of the war, the British made desperate efforts to enlist the Indians in the war against the Americans. William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham, after whom Pittsburgh was named, was the most influential of the English politicians who spoke against the employment of Indians. His speech on the subject vibrates with feeling. The address was once on the lips of every school boy, but since oratory is less cultivated than of old, the ringing words are not as familiar as formerly. "Who is the man," the fiery speaker asked—"that has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and unhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war against our brethern?" The ministry was deaf to his extreaties, and the consequent outrages committed by the savages, have been the occasion during more than a hundred years succeeding the war, for the feeling of resentment entertained by the Americans toward the English.

Pittsburgh was the western outpost of American influence, as Detroit was of the English, and it was from these points that the American or English sentiments irradicated among the Western Indians. The collapse of the original project of aligning the Delawares on the English side was mainly the result of the treaty made in October, 1775, in Pittsburgh, at which the Moravian Indians participated together with the other Delawares. The neutrality of the Delawares being secured, all the Indian tribes who acknowledged the Delawares as grandfathers also remained neutral.

War broke out on the Western border in the spring of 1777. At Detroit Henry Hamilton was the English governor and he was constantly urging the Indians to declare war against the Americans. At his instigation a hatchet wrapped in a belt of red and white beads, the invitation to go to war, was sent from Detroit and accepted by the Shawanese, Wyandots and Mingoes. It was declined by the Delawares. But the action tended to demoralize the Indians. A spirit of discord appeared even among the Christian Indians. The Monsey Indians living on the Walhonding River secretly incited their tribesmen among the converts at Schönbrunn, to rise against the Delaware Council, and against the mission. The plot succeeded and most of the Monseys at the mission renounced Christianity and defied the authority of the missionaries. Zeisberger determined to remove the mission to Lichtenau. A last service was held in the chapel, which, like the chapel at Friedenstadt, was razed to the ground, and with those Indians who still remained faithful, the missionaries went to Lichtenau; and Schönbrunn was deserted.

The entire western border of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia was now ravaged with fire and tomahawk. The Indian war came ever nearer the missions. While maintaining their friendly relations with the authorities at Pittsburgh, the missionaries themselves became nervous, and all left the missions for eastern Pennsylvania except Zeisberger, and an Englishman named Edwards who had joined the Moravians the previous autumn. War party succeeded war party. Now it was the haughty Half King of the Wyandots with two hundred warriors from Upper Sandusky; then an army of Mingoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Shawanese, Wampanoags, Pottawattommies, and French Canadians. Through the efforts of Zeisberger the missions remained unmolested, and when the appostate Monseys returned, and with painted faces and nodding plumes filled the chapel at Lichtenau, and confessed their sins and asked to be taken back, his heart was again filled with joy. But owing to the continued disturbances all the converts including those from Schönbrunn were concentrated at Lichtenau.

In March, 1778, Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simen Girty fled from Pittsburgh and went over to the English. In their endeavor to win the Delawares to the English cause, they spread false reports among the Indians concerning the Americans. They said the American armies had been totally defeated in the Atlantic states; and that their forces were then on the march westward where they intended to wage an indiscriminate warfare against the Indians. The Indians became wild with excitement and fear; the capital of the Delawares rang with the war song; rifles were cleaned, tomahawks sharpened; the warriors painted their faces and selected their plumes. They proposed to defend their homes, and called upon their countrymen to take up the hatchet, but agreed to postpone the declaration of war for ten days in order to ascertain the truth or falsity of the report of the three renegades. Heckewelder and Schebosh, another of the missionaries, were sent to Pittsburgh to learn the facts. On their return they rode three days and two nights stopping barely long enough on the way to eat, and to refresh their horses, and only reached Gnadenhütten an hour before midnight of the ninth day. Although scarcely able longer to sit on his horse, Heckewelder rode on to the Delaware capital and arrived there at ten o'clock the next morning. From his horse he addressed the Indians and told them that they had been deceived, that instead of the Americans having been defeated, they had won a great victory and had forced General Burgoyne and his entire army to surrender; and that the Americans were friends and not enemies of the Delawares. A quick change in the sentiments of the Delawares took place, and war was averted. In September a second treaty was concluded at Pittsburgh with the Delawares in which they entered into a perpetual alliance with the Americans. But all the good results obtained were rendered nugatory when the American Commissioners secretly gave the Indians the war-belt, encouraging them to levy war on the English and their Indian allies, a proceeding that was a repudiation of the entire former policy of the new republic, and which finally was a dominating factor in the secession of the Delawares from the American interests.

At Lichtenau the missionaries and their converts remained for a year, and in 1779 it was deemed advisable to again divide the Christian Indians into three colonies. Edwards with a part of the converts reoccupied Gnadenhütten, Zeisberger with another division proceeded to Schönbrunn.

Here amid the ruins of the town, they remained encamped for a few months, when they built a new town on the western bank of the Tuscarawas River, nearly opposite the old mission, which was called New Schönbrunn. The rest of the Indians remained at Lichtenau. The hostile conduct of the Wyandots and Mingoes, and the open declaration in 1780 of the larger part of the Delawares in favor of the English crown, rendered it necessary to leave Lichtenau and remove the mission farther up the valley a few miles from Gnadenhütten; and the new town was given the name of Salem, signifying Habitation of Peace. It was another mode of giving utterance to the ever present desire for peace, which had already found expression in the names of Friedenshütten and Friedenstadt. Salem was situated in Salem Township, Tuscarawas County, one and a half miles southwest of Port Washington.

In the spring of 1781 Zeisberger visited Bethlehem. He was now sixty years of age and had spent thirty years among the Indians. His whole being had been engrossed in his work, and he had never thought seriously of marriage. His friends reminded him of the advisability of getting married, recalling to him the dreariness of the single state in old age. He allowed himself to be pursuaded and went in search of a wife. He found the lady at Litiz. His biographer fails to relate that there was any romance in the courtship, but it was successful, and Zeisberger was married and on his return West took his wife with him. At Pittsburgh an escort of twenty Indians awaited him, and under their protection he proceeded to New Schönbrunn. During his absence Lichtenau had been destroyed by Colonel Brodhead, who commanded an expedition sent out from Pittsburgh against the capital of the Delawares for the purpose of punishing them for their breach of faith in going over to the English. The capital of the Delawares was captured and a number of the Indians killed and taken prisoner, including the capture of five Christian Indians, who, however, were released.

Now the sun of the missions began to sink, and in the following year it was to set on a scene of desolation. The smiling missions were again to become a wilderness; and the wolves were to howl among the deserted fields and ruined cabins, as they had howled before the missions were established. The Moravian Church had maintained a neutral attitude in the Revolutionary War. Its members were noncombatants from principle and fought on neither the English nor American side. They never took the test oath prescribed by the American Congress, as they were opposed to all forms of swearing. Their sympathies were, however, always with their American neighbors; they desired the success of the American arms, and maintained friendly relations with the leading Americans engaged on the patriot side. Their town of Bethlehem was more than once filled with American wounded, who were cared for by the Moravians. After the defeat of the Americans on Long Island in 1776, the Continental authorities showed their faith in the Moravians by taking eight hundred of their wounded to Bethlehem, and the graves of one hundred and ten American soldiers who died of their wounds and were buried in the town, still testify to the confidence reposed by the Americans in the Moravians. The next year, after the battle of Brandywine, seven hundred wounded Americans were crowded into the Ladies Seminary at Bethlehem. LaFayette, who was wounded in the battle, was also taken to Bethlehem, remaining for about two months and being nursed back to health by the Moravians. Here Pulaski visited Lafayette, and the gallant Pole so endeared himself to the Moravians, that when he organized a corps of cavalry for service on the American side, the patriotic young unmarried women of Bethlehem prepared a crimson banner, worked with their own hands, and made a gift of it to him. The sentiment expressed by Longfellow in his hymn, commemorative of the presentation of this banner is indicative of the faith of the American public in the loyalty of the Moravians during the Revolutionary War:

> "Take thy banner! and beneath
> The battle-cloud's encircling wreath,
> Guard it till our homes are free!
> Guard it! God will prosper thee!"

In the Ohio Valley the missionaries frequently persuaded war parties stopping in their towns while on their way to attack the American settlers to forego their purpose. On a number of occasions they notified the commander at Pittsburgh of the movement of war parties. This angered the British, and they held the missionaries to be abettors of the

American cause, and determined to stop their activities. The three deserters from Pittsburgh, McKee, Elliott and Girty, had been persistent plotters against the missionaries, and in 1781 their opportunity arrived. On the afternoon of August 10th, the first party of Indians who had been deputed to act for the English, rode into Salem. Matthew Elliott, holding the commission of an English captain, was in command. With him was Alexander McCormick, a trader who had formerly befriended the missions, serving as ensign and bearing an English flag. With the exception of five other white men, the force consisted of Indians. The Half King of the Wyandots was there with his men, also Wyandots from Lower Sandusky, Wyandots from Detroit, Mingoes, Shawanese, Monseys and other Delawares. The secret instructions that they carried were either to convey the Christian Indians together with their teachers, as prisoners to Detroit, or to put them to death and bring back their scalps.

But the Indians had received too many kindnesses at the missions, and listened attentively to the pleas of the missionaries for a reconsideration of their designs; the missionaries asked for time to harvest their crops. The Indians wavered for days, then quarrelled with Elliott and even fired on the English flag, but were finally forced by Elliott to agree to do his bidding. The invading force was constantly augmented by new arrivals drawn thither by the expectation of spoils until it numbered more than three hundred warriors. For a full month they tarried, holding the missionaries and their converts prisoners, in the meantime plundering the houses, and robbing the missionaries of their possessions. On September 11th the prisoners to the number of almost four hundred, were started on the march to the Sandusky River. Everything was left behind, crops, stores, cattle, hogs, household effects. In the heart of a wilderness they were deserted by their captors. Near this spot a village of small log houses was built in which to pass the winter. The village stood on the North bank of the Sandusky River, a mile above its junction with Broken Sword Creek. In the middle of October the missionaries were ordered to Detroit. Here they were tried for being American spies but were acquitted and given permission to return to the Sandusky River.

Provisions had been scare from the beginning and were becoming scarcer. At the time when the missionaries set out for Detroit, a party of the converts had returned to the Tuscarawas Valley to gather corn. They were made prisoners by Pennsylvania militia under command of Colonel David Williamson, a settler in Buffalo Township, Washington County, who, ignorant of the removal of the converts by the English, had come to the Valley to take them to Pittsburgh. General William Irvine, the commander at Pittsburgh who had succeeded Colonel Brodhead, set the converts free and they returned to the Sandusky River. By February of the next year, the distress on the Sandusky River became so acute that about one hundred and fifty converts were sent to the Tuscarawas Valley to gather more corn.

Now came the most appalling tragedy of all the frontier warfare in American history. An intense hatred prevailed along the American border against the Indians and by common consent they were outlawed. The Revolutionary War increased the outrages committed by the Indians. There was scarcely a pioneer family which had not lost some member by maurauding bands of Indians, scarcely a family that had not lost cattle and horses. In the spring, a band of Indians attacked the farm of Robert Wallace, situated one mile west of the village of Florence in Washington County, and murdered his wife and five children, impaling one of the children face downward. The whole border flamed with indignation and horror. The opinion gained ground that the Christian Indians had either themselves been engaged in the terrible deed, or that the miscreants who had committed it had wintered in one of the mission towns. Militia to the number of from ninety to one hundred were hastily called out by Colonel James Marshall, the county lieutenant of Washington County, and again under command of Colonel Williamson, they repaired to the mission towns. The converts, all unsuspicious of impending danger, had reoccupied their former homes. They were warned of the danger by the maurauding Indians who had murdered Wallace's family, as they passed through the missions. The converts intended to leave again on the seventh of March. On the sixth, while busily at work in the fields, Williamson's party arrived at Gnadenhütten and although they had already killed and scalped one of the converts, greeted the others in the friendliest terms. Through guile of the most shameless character, they procured the surrender by the Indians of their arms; they induced those Indians who were at Salem to cross the Tuscarawas River and come to Gnadenhütten. The next day the eyes of the Indians were opened and they realized that they were facing death. They were charged with being responsible for the butchery at Wallace's farm. Their denials availed not. Their captors condemned them to death by the tomahawk. There was to be a repetition but on a larger scale, of the bloody work done by the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Poets and romancers have idealized the heroic behavior of the nobility of France, when imprisoned and awaiting death in the name of liberty, fraternity, and equality, during the Great Revolution. The prisoners are said to have played games, to have sung and danced and to have gone to their death with jests on their lips. The civilization of the Indians may have been only a very thin veneer, but death seemed to have for them no more terror than for the French nobles. Their religion had taught them resignation and the hope of a joyous life hereafter, and the scarcely subdued savagery of their nature rendered them incapable of fear. To the murderers who were impatient to begin their work, they replied calmly, "We are ready now," and they prayed together, and the strong comforted and consoled the weak, and their voices rose in exultant psalms and hymns and they waited calmly for the moment when the butchers would strike; and when the tomahawks found their victims, ninety-six defenceless human beings, men, women and children, twelve of whom were babes, went to their death; and as if to outdo the savages themselves, the Christian frontiersmen tore off ninety-six reeking human scalps. A funeral pyre was made of the mangled corpses, by setting fire to the two houses in which the butchery had been committed. Then the murderers spent the night in drunken revelry by the light of the burning buildings, and the next day proceeded back to the settlements, carrying their bloody booty with them in triumph. General Irvine called the deed "the only black spot in the whole of the Revolution, and brought on by a set of the basest scoundrels that could disgrace a country."

(*For bibliography see page* 96)

THE FUNERAL OF DR. ANDREW JACKSON, THE FAMOUS OLD NEGRO SERVANT OF THE DUQUESNE GREYS, VETERAN OF THE MEXICAN AND CIVIL WARS AND HERO OF INNUMERABLE PUBLIC PARADES, ON FEBRUARY 17, 1879.*

It is seldom that any event throngs our streets as did the funeral of Dr. Andrew Jackson yesterday. Except the ovation to Boyton a week ago, nothing else has for many a day attracted the people in the same degree. The respect entertained for the poor old servant by many citizens, and the curiosity inspiring a very much larger number, is indicated by the fact that persons of not an exaggerative turn of mind regarded 30,000 as a moderate estimate of the number of persons who visited the Duquesne Grey's Armory in Old City Hall on Market Street from Saturday afternoon until the funeral yesterday, during which time the body lay there in state.

The pomp with which the disposition of the dead body of the faithful servant and patriot was conducted, was in marked contrast with the forgetfulness and neglect that were his fortune in his later living days. Not often will this public witness the removal of a body from the almshouse to be placed in the most magnificent of burial caskets, bedecked with the choicest gems of the flora, guarded by the flower of our youth in the unsullied uniform of the Pennsylvania National Guard, the highly spectacular funeral procession parading the principal streets through dense crowds of the curious, and the burden being at last deposited in the most sacred plot of our most fashionable cemetery.

As we have said, the body lay in state all afternoon Saturday and yesterday morning. The remains were enclosed in a rosewood casket of the richest description, with chaste and beautiful silver mountings, the handles being unusually massive and the inscribed plates of neat design. There were two of the latter—one bearing the inscription, "Dr. Andrew Jackson. Died February 13, 1879, aged 79 years;" the other,

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*A contemporary account published the day after the funeral.

"General Andrew Jackson. Rest in Peace." Festoons of black cloth along the sides of the hall, a draped chandelier and other evidences of mourning were there. There were flags in various parts of the room while stacked arms at proper distances from the bier described the limits upon which the crowd might press and the points between which the sentries paced. The arrangements were perfect, and creditable both to the Greys, and to the undertaker, Mr. James L. Williams.

The coffin in which the General lay, attired in a full suit of regimentals, and natural in death, was opened sufficiently to permit inspection of the cold features within. Upon the lid was the General's hat and sword and many beautiful boquets and other floral gifts. These were indeed rare and numerous. One elegant design was a floral pillow from the veteran corps. Each company gave a special floral gift—from A, a harp; from B, the company letter, and from E and H similar decorations; from C, a pedestal surmounted by a white dove with the letter C in its mounth; from D an anchor.

Of course the services yesterday afternoon could not be witnessed by all the crowd that assembled. The 18th Regiment, the Veteran Corps Duquesne Greys, many invited friends, and numerous colored people were among the throng present at City Hall. At half past one o'clock the band played a dirge. Then Rev. Mr. Thomas, of the Wylie Avenue Church, read a passage of Scripture, after which Rev. Smith, of the Arthur Street Church, prayed. The choir of the Wylie Avenue Church sang a hymn, and Mr. Thomas made a lengthy address, reviewing the history of the old doctor up until his death. The doxology was then sung and the benediction pronounced.

The funeral procession moved shortly after three. The pall-bearers were Gen. Sweitzer, Col. Robinson, Maj. Kreps, and Gen. Pearson. The members of the Veteran Corps, numbering 150, marched at the head of the procession—following the band—then the regiment and the hearse and carriages. The route was over Market street, Fifth avenue, Grant street, Liberty, Eleventh, Penn and Butler to the Cemetery, where the remains were deposited.

OLD TOLL GATES ABOUT PITTSBURGH

Of all the picturesque, characteristic features of life in Pittsburgh in the days of long ago none solicit more interest than the old tollroads, with their quaint little houses, where round-bellied magnates advanced with imperious mien and gesture and demanded of the passing traveler coin of the realm for the privilege of passing over the road.

These tollroads are now a thing of the past. Seventy years ago railroads had not been built into Pittsburgh and all travel was either by stage or water, the stages running out of the city in every direction, using the old turnpikes or the plank roads. Thus such highways assumed an importance that they do not now possess, for the life of trade and commerce depended, in many instances, on their being kept up efficiently. Today the public roads are more or less a secondary means of communication except in back country districts, where the "iron horse" or trolley has not made an appearance.

Recall Romantic Days.

At the mere mention of the tollroads and turnpikes one can conjure up vivid panoramas of kaleidoscopic life and color, of stages rumbling over the corduroy, the mighty driver, perched high on his seat, cracking his long whip, with his assistant beside him, blowing like mad on a horn; of the passengers, holding on to their seats, the fair creatures inside trembling with terror as the big coach swerves around narrow curves or dashes downhill, while small boys throw up their hats and cheer, and chickens and ducks fly panic-stricken from off the road. Then the vision of the hospitable old inn, with its hanging sign, flashes across the mental mirror. Mine Host, rubicund, jolly and sleek-headed, issues from the door of his hostelry, the light of large candles illuminating the doorway and throwing a golden sheen on the snow; the stage pulls up with a stentorian "Whoa!" from the driver; the door is pushed open and out steps a young gallant. Then a well-gloved hand is put forward from within, the young man assists the fair creature to alight, and after them come an elderly, matronly woman and a bluff old man in a great ulster. All four repair to the living room of the inn, where a big, blazing fire illuminates the whole, and soon all are seated around the cheerful hearth, while Mine Host attends to their wants and passes the usual pleasantries about the weather.

Perhaps the most famous tollroad in the county was the Perrysville road on the Northside, laid out by Colonel James Gibson, son of Thomas Gibson, who lived on the same highway. The traveler on this road had always wondered why it had so many curves, and why, instead of making a short cut by going over a hill, it wound in interminable fashion through ravines and lowlands.

Marshall and the Corporation.

There was a reason for this peculiar construction—and a good one, at that, in the eyes of the stockholders of the old plank road. At first these gentlemen wished the latter as short as possible, but when Gibson explained that the tolls could be levied in proportion to the distance, they told him to go ahead and string it out as long as he could.

Colonel Gibson was a friend of Thomas M. Marshall, "Glorious Old Tom," as he was popularly called, who cleared more men of murder, or saved them from the gallows, than any other lawyer in the history of Pittsburgh. A good story is told anent the Perrysville road and "Old Tom," and how the latter got the best of the corporation. The time was 1868, when Marshall purchased a place out the road and made his home there. The road was in a wretched condition, planks being two and three feet apart, and the interstices paved with mud two or three feet deep, generally three feet. It made the lawyer's blood boil to see the condition in which the road was kept, and how his buggy bumped up and down and his favorite horse had to do a hop, skip and jump to avoid breaking his legs. So he determined to teach the road owners a lesson.

One fine wintry day, when there was a tremendous thaw, Mr. Marshall came along in his buggy, his horse making tremendous efforts to pull himself and the wheels out of the sea of mud and at the same time prevent breaking his bones on upturned planks. Just as the horse and driver were about to pass through the gate the latter was slammed with a bang. Then a man came out and asked for toll.

"What!" said Mr. Marshall, assuming an air of great astonishment. "You want toll? For what?" and despite his air of indignation his eyes twinkled, for none enjoyed a situation like this more than Mr. Marshall.

Advice in Lieu of Toll.

"For driving on the road, of course," said the toll-keeper, getting angry; "you have been passing here long enough without paying toll, so shell out."

"Look here," replied the lawyer in that determined manner that carried so much force in the court room, "I will come along here tomorrow with my horse and if you shut this gate I will chop it down with an ax. I will now go to town and buy that ax."

Sure enough, the next day Mr. Marshall and his horse appeared and again the gate was slammed in his face. Then he pulled off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, and, grasping an ax from his buggy, quickly proceeded to demolish the toll gate, while the keeper stood agape with amazement as the chips flew. "I need a little exercise anyway," remarked the attorney. With a last herculean blow the gate tottered and fell and Mr. Marshall in his buggy passed through.

The road company now deemed it high time to bring the fearless barrister to time, so they sent him bills for two years' toll. Mr. Marshall always bowed profoundly when these little bits of paper were presented, but it was noticed that he never sent a check. Finally the directors presented an ultimatum informing him that he must either pay or they would enter suit at once.

"You may enter suit any time you see fit," said the lawyer; "then I will go into court and have your charter revoked for not complying with its provisions." This threw the road owners into great perturbation for they knew they had not been living up to their charter. So they "took water." The upshot of it all was that they compromised with "Old Tom" by cancelling the bill for two years' toll in lieu of his giving them legal advice now and then.

Positions of the Toll Gates.

The first toll gate was at the head of Federal Street, there was another half a mile east at Charles Street, a third was just beyond Jake Born's tavern at East Street. At West View was the famous Keating tavern, where Joe Keating held forth years ago and where sleighing parties from the city stopped for chicken and waffle dinners. The ride by moonlight out this road was one of the finest in the state, the scenery abounding in the beautiful and inspiring.

Colonel Gibson laid out the old Butler plank road, leading into Etna borough, where there was a picturesque toll gate and house. Besides these two roads Gibson also laid out the Allegheny and Franklin road, which was the predecessor of the Perrysville plank. In 1849 the Allegheny and Butler plank road was built. The following year the Pittsburgh and Braddock's Field plank road was started, and about the same time the Temperanceville and Noblesville and the Allegheny and Manchester plank roads were constructed. Then came the East Liberty and Penn township, the Lawrenceville and Sharpsville and others. During the "fifties" the building of plank roads reached its highest development, but the movement was arrested by the advent of the railroad.

County's Last Toll Road.

When the river road through Esplen to McKees Rocks was declared free the last toll pike in this county west of the Monongahela and south of the Ohio was made open to traffic without toll. A half century ago practically all the pikes and public roads were of the toll variety. Forty years ago the old pike running from the Southside to Washington, Pennsylvania, was of this kind, as was the Brighton road through Allegheny, where there was a picturesque toll house at the upper end of Uniondale Cemetery, and another a short distance beyond Benton Avenue. This formerly had an arched way.

Fifth avenue beyond the Courthouse was formerly a toll road, called the Farmers' and Mechanics' turnpike, the toll house being removed successively from Stevenson Street and other streets to Soho, where it was abolished. Another toll road ran out Center Avenue, and on the Second Avenue road at Brady Street there was a toll gate. The present Penn Avenue, at one time the Greensburg turnpike, was a toll highway, a gate standing at Thirty-third Street. One of the best known toll roads was the Brownsville pike, now South Eighteenth Street, Southside.

In 1833 a turnpike convention was held in this city to consider the question of securing a uniform rate of tolls. Six years later a second convention was held, at which delegates from nearly all the western counties of the state were present. The object was to petition Congress on the advisability of building a national road from Pittsburgh to Erie via Meadville, and to connect with the Cumberland road. The road was to unite the United States arsenals of Pittsburgh and Meadville.

HOW CASPAR REEL, REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER, PUSHED HIS WAY ACROSS THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.

By ISABEL NAYSMITH NEWMYER*

How many people passing through West View know that within the sight of the car track stands the old Reel homestead, built in 1792 by Caspar Reel, a young soldier of the Revolution.

It is to be regretted that the old log house has passed into the hands of strangers, also that it has been covered with weather boards, thereby losing its identity and much of its charm. The shrubbery, vines and trees have all been removed, but the old house stands after the lapse of a hundred and eighteen years as firmly as when Caspar Reel, in the flush of early manhood, built it with his own hands. Here he lived and reared his family; and here, after a long and well spent life, beneath the old roof tree, he passed to his reward.

In the Government grant the place was called Reel Hall, and to this day the name remains, though now associated with another house built on the same farm about seventy years ago by Casper Reel, a son of the pioneer, which is replete with treasured belongings of the original Reel Hall.

Original Home in Lancaster.

We do not know when the Reels came to Pennsylvania, but we find them a thrifty and well-known people, with well stocked farms in and about Lancaster, at the beginning of the Revolution. Caspar Reel, then a mere boy, enlisted with his father, both being among the first to respond to the call of our beloved country, theirs by adoption then, but later by right of service rendered. And today at Reel Hall you can see the watch carried by Caspar Reel through the conflict and looking none the worse for wear, even after the lapse of all these years.

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*The *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, April 24, 1910.

The war having passed and peace once more having settled over the land, he, like many other young men, was filled with a desire for conquest. His father was glad to resume the peaceful life of the farm, but Caspar, the son, filled with ambition by the wonderful stories of the wealth abounding in the valleys of the Allegheny, Ohio and Beaver rivers, resolved to seek his fortune in the far west, so called at that time.

Accordingly we find in the year 1787 the little borough on the Conestogo much wrought up over the news that Caspar Reel was about to cross the Allegany's in search of fortune.

Like Nimrod of old he was a mighty hunter, and the village was proud of her son, never doubting that he would uphold her honor wherever he might go.

In the midst of the gay round of pleasure, tendered him before his departure, there was one gentle heart that was breaking at thought of losing her stalwart lover—beautiful Elizabeth Wise, to whom he had declared his love.

"I could live in the woods with thee in sight,
Where never should human foot intrude,
Or with thee find light in the darkest night,
And a social crowd in solitude."

In vain he assured her that soon he would return a rich man to claim his bride and carry her back to the home he would build with his own strong hands. Her cheeks paled at the thought of the dangers in store for him—for who had not heard the awful stories of torture and death at the hands of the terrible red men in the forests surrounding Fort Pitt. But at last came the day of departure, and standing in the doorway of the home he loved, he parted from his mother with tear-dimmed eyes, her blessing ringing in his ears and the high resolve in his heart never to depart from the straight paths in which her sweet teaching had taught him to walk.

Last night in her rose garden he had said goodby to Elizabeth; what was said is not for us to know; 'twas for her ears alone. It was their last goodby, for he would not see her in the crowd that gathered at the entrance of the lane to escort him from the town.

Departure for the Wilderness.

Very handsome he looked as he mounted his horse and rode away with gun over his shoulder and ax strapped across his back.

Laughing and shouting the party galloped along the road past the home of Elizabeth, and there, amid the roses, she waved him a last adieu and gave him a picture to treasure in his wanderings. On they rode, following the windings of the placid river, till they came to the National Pike, where, with ringing cheers and many wishes for good luck on his journey, the party turned back, all save his father, who wished to have his son for a little while to himself. They rode slowly now, his father admonishing him to live peaceably with all men, and deal kindly with the Indians, so as not to incur their enmity. At last came the parting, and the following words of his father he never forgot: "My son, remember always that you came of a family with never a blemish on the name, and I want you to so order your life that when you pass it on to your sons it shall be as clean and honorable as it came to you." With a brief hand clasp and a fervent "God bless and keep you my son," they parted, the father's horse turning homeward, the son's going deeper into the forest.

Caspar had not gone far when he overtook a party going in the same direction, for which he was truly thankful, as his sad thoughts were poor companions. Never had home seemed so dear to him, but the spirit of adventure was strong within him and he had no thought of turning back. At last, after an uneventful journey, we find him catching his first glimpse of the fort at the Point with something of the joy Columbus experienced when he first sighted the land he was seeking. Looking over the forests and rivers, his heart thrilled at the thought of what it might hold for him. He found a place to stay, and after a refreshing meal walked down to the Allegheny River—its rippling waters arousing many tender memories of that other river, so far across the mountains, and the sweet maid who lived within the sound of its laughing waters.

He spent several days in looking around the village and its outskirts, and learned that many people were settling in different sections near the fort. Picketing his horse and gathering some wood, he soon had a roaring fire, and shortly a savory dish of squirrel, the woods abounding in all sorts of game.

As he sat smoking contentedly after the first meal ever cooked by a white man in this place, with his faithful dog lying at his feet, he felt that here was what he wanted—beside this spring he would build his home, and here in this vast grove he and Elizabeth would set up a family altar that future generations should be proud of!

At last night drew her mantel over the hills and rolling himself in his blanket he lay down to "pleasant dreams," lulled by the songs of the night birds, and the medley of other sweet sounds, always heard in the forest.

He was astir early in the morning, and when the sun rose majestically over the tree tops, flooding the earth with warmth and beauty, he felt that he was very close to his Creator, and that these green spreading branches formed indeed a tabernacle.

As one in a dream he prepared his breakfast, picturing Elizabeth and himself in the little home which had already begun to assume proportions in his active brain.

Breakfast over he returned to the village, passing several friendly Indians on the way. Arriving there he spent the remainder of the day writing letters home, to be sent by the stage early in the morning, a postal service having been recently established. He then purchased a *Gazette*, and, perusing its pages, he learned much regarding affairs in this section.

Later on he filed his claim, took out the necessary papers, and after paying for his land with the gold he had carefully concealed in a belt worn under his hunting shirt he found himself the proud possessor of a grant for a thousand acres of land on the north side of the Allegheny River in what was then known as Perrysville, some of which remains in the family to this day. Impatient to commence work he hired a stout woodchopper, purchased supplies and once more wended his way to his land.

Indians Attack Him.

He learned much about the Indians from his companion, who feared an attack when the red men should discover he was settling on what they felt was their land. Nothing daunted him, however; sunrise found the two men busy and night at last fell upon them with a goodly pile of logs ready for the cabin.

The work went forward merrily, as it always will where love and youth go hand in hand, and soon there was a small cabin in the clearing. It was a rude affair, but substantial, made to withstand the attacks of the savages should the need of defense arise. The young woodchopper returned to Pittsburgh after the cabin was finished, leaving Caspar once more alone. He worked industriously, burning out the stumps and clearing and laying out the grounds. Then he planted with great care rows of apple, pear, peach, plum, cherry and quince seeds his mother had placed in his saddlebags, also some hollyhock, sunflower and other seeds given him by Elizabeth, so that when she came there would be something to remind her of home.

These things accomplished, he devoted his time to hunting and many pelts hung in the rafters of the lonely cabin. Returning one evening from a day's hunting he discovered tracks of Indians, and fearing an attack he brought his horse into the cabin and while returning from the spring he narrowly escaped an arrow which flew past him and lodged in the cabin door. Darting into the house he barred the heavy door, not a moment too soon, for peering through the port holes he saw a sight to make the stoutest heart quail.

The clearing was full of red skins, evidently on the war path. Resolved to sell his life dearly, he loaded his gun and firing through the port hole had the satisfaction of seeing his shot take effect on one of the young braves, who was carried into the grove. Then the warfare was resumed. Caspar reloaded again and again, but despair was beginning to enter his heart for his ammunition was running low. Suddenly he heard a commotion west of the cabin. The Indians immediately turned their attention in that direction, and soon our pioneer learned that his life had been saved by the timely arrival of a squad of soldiers who were returning from a scouting expedition through the country in search of that notorious renegade Simon Girty—outlaw and hater of his own race. They camped that night at Reel Cabin, and in the morning Caspar returned with them to Pittsburgh, deciding, as the Indians gave evidence of antagonism, to abandon his land for a while, and devote his time to hunting and trapping.

He now looked about for a companion and soon found an old trapper who was glad to go out with him. Together they procured a boat and other supplies and floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Beaver River. Here they stayed till their boat was heavily loaded with skins, and then, highly elated over the success of the trip, they started up the river. While rowing past the place now known as Avalon they were hailed by Indians on shore, who asked for food. Knowing the treacherous nature of the red men they paid no attention to their calls, but continued to ply their oars vigorously. Suddenly they heard a ringing English voice give the command, Fire! Ducking their heads the bullets flew harmlessly over them, hissing as they struck the water. Looking back the old scout recognized Simon Girty standing on shore, but discovered that the Indians had no boats at that point and they were therefore safe. They kept a watchful eye for Indians all the way up the river, and only felt safe when they pulled their boat ashore at the Point.

His Return Home.

They at once disposed of their boat, traps, etc., and divided their spoils. Caspar made some further arrangements regarding his property, secured a strong pack horse to carry the pelts and early the following morning started for Lancaster and Elizabeth. He reached home without adventure, and never was a traveller given a warmer welcome. He soon converted the furs into money and found that he had made far more than he had ever expected. He had also surprised his sweetheart at her wheel. They again walked by the river as of yore.

When they came back the date for the wedding was set, and preparations went forward for that happy event, which took place one beautiful autumn day in the quaint old village church.

After much festivity at the Wise mansion the young couple left for a wedding trip to Philadelphia and New York. Returning, they lived for three years at the Reel homestead, waiting for the Indians to quiet down at Pittsburgh. Then, as reports came that hostilities had ceased in that section, they decided, in 1792, to take possession of their little home in Perrysville. So gathering all their belongings together, they packed them in a heavy wagon—precious bits of china and rare old pewter, the fine old four-poster and dresser, the carved parlor table and chairs, the spinning wheel and reel—for Elizabeth spun all her linen—all these things were securely packed for the long journey. Last of all, tucked in Elizabeth's saddlebags were two brass candle sticks and some roots of her loved roses and peonies, to be planted in the home in the wilderness.

So they rode across the mountains together, each with a child in their arms—for two little ones had come to brighten their home—and after many weary days of travel they arrived in Pittsburgh, where the mother and little ones stayed while Caspar proceeded to make ready for the reception of his little flock. What a sight met his gaze—the tiny seeds he had planted were now finely growing young trees, waiting to be set out, and hollyhocks, sunflowers and morning glories ran riot.

It did not take him long to get the cabin ready, when he returned to Pittsburgh and brought the little family home. Elizabeth was charmed with the place; with loving care they selected the spot whereon Reel Hall—the name chosen for their home—should stand.

Old Reel Homestead.

Men were hired at once, and soon the forest rang with the sound of ax and hammer, Caspar himself working and directing with untiring zeal. At last the house was finished and the family installed; then a huge barn was built, cattle purchased and the Reel homestead was a dream realized.

Very soon another little one came to swell their number, Caspar Reel, the first white child born on the Northside. Time rolled on and other children came. The older ones were now large enough to assist on the farm, and soon the Reel place was known as one of the finest in this section. Then came the War of 1812. The two oldest sons marched away to answer the call of their country. One returned when the war was over, but the other marched on to that land from which no traveler ever returns.

Time sped on and Caspar Reel, pioneer, soldier of the Revolution and soldier of fortune, felt the hand of time pressing heavily upon him, "Till, like a clock worn out with beating time, the weary wheels of life stood still," and he passed to his reward. To his son Caspar came the old home place, and he, following in his father's footsteps, also went a-wooing, his love being Elizabeth Nesmith Miller, a descendant of one of the first families of Maine. When he had won her he built for her reception the fine old mansion among the apple trees. Hither he brought her, and here, within a stone's throw of the parent home, where lived his mother, surrounded by all that life held dear to her, were again enacted the same scenes as in the old house. Little ones came and the house rang with the prattle of their childish voices. They grew to manhood and womanhood, and the fame of the hospitality of Reel Hall was known far and wide, and many of the older generation of Pittsburghers recall with pleasure delightful days spent at Reel Hall.

A FEW SELECTIONS OF WAR POETRY.

The late war, as has been the case with most modern wars, was responsible for producing a large amount of poetry. Some of it was good, much of it was passable, and more was indifferent in quality. It is too early to publish a complete collection of the best poetry, but until that time arrives, it may not be amiss to reprint a few of the selections that appeared in the newspapers and magazines, and which possess more than a passing popularity or are of historic value. Among the poems printed below is also a translation of Lissauer's "A Chant of Hate Against England."

A CHANT OF HATE AGAINST ENGLAND.

By ERNST LISSAUER.

French and Russian, they matter not,
A blow for a blow and a shot for a shot;
We love them not, we hate them not,
We hold the Weichsel and Vosges-gate,
We have but one and only hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone.

He is known to you all, he is known to you all,
He crouches behind the dark-gray flood,

Full of envy, of rage, of craft, of gall,
Cut off by waves that are thicker than blood.
Come, let us stand at the Judgment place,
An oath to swear, face to face,
An oath of bronze no wind can shake,
An oath for our sons and their sons to take.

Come, hear the word, repeat the word,
Throughout the Fatherland make it heard.
We will never forego our hate,
We have all but a single hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!

In the captain's mess, in the banquet-hall,
Sat feasting the officers, one and all,
Like a saber blow, like the swing of a sail,
One seized his glass held high to hail;
Sharp-snapped like the stroke of a rudder's play,
Spoke three words only: "To the Day!"

Whose glass this fate?
They had all but a single hate.
Who was thus known?
They had one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!

Take you the folk of the earth in pay,
With bars of gold your ramparts lay,
Bedeck the ocean with bow on bow,
Ye reckon well, but not well enough now.
French and Russian, they matter not,
A blow for a blow, a shot for a shot,
We fight the battle with bronze and steel,
And the time that is coming Peace will seal.
You will we hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forego our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the head and hate of the hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown,
Hate of seventy millions, choking down.
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!

THE DAY

By HENRY CHAPPELL

You boasted the Day, and you toasted the Day,
And now the Day has come;
Blasphemer, braggart, and coward all,
Little you reck of the numbing ball,
The blasting shell, or the "White arm's" fall,
As they speed poor humans home.

You spied for the Day, you lied for the Day,
And woke the Day's red spleen;
Monster, who asked God's aid divine,
Then strewed His seas with the ghastly mine—
Not all the waters of all the Rhine
Can wash thy foul hands clean.

You dreamed for the Day, you schemed for the Day,
Watch how the Day will go;
Slayer of age and youth and prime
(Defenseless slain for never a crime),
Thou art steeped in blood as a hog in slime—
False friend and cowardly foe.

You have sown for the Day, you have grown for the Day,
Yours is the Harvest red;
Can you hear the groans and the awful cries?
Can you see the heap of the slain that lies,
And sightless turned to the flame-split skies
The glassy eyes of the dead?

You have longed for the Day, you have wronged for the Day
That lit the awful flame.
'Tis nothing to you that hill and plain
Yield sheaves of dead men amid the grain;
That widows mourn for their loved ones slain,
And mothers curse thy name!

But after the Day there's a price to pay
For the sleepers under the sod;
And He you have mocked for many a day—
Listen, and hear what He has to say:

"Vengeance is mine, I will repay"
What can you say to God?

I HAVE A RENDEZVOUS WITH DEATH.

By ALAN SEEGER.

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes back with rustling shade
And apple-blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow-flowers appear.

God know'st were better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
Where hushed awakenings are dear * * *
But I've a rendezvous with Death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When Spring trips north again this year,
And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

HE KEPT HIS RENDEZVOUS WITH DEATH.

By GRACE D. VANAMEE.

He kept his rendezvous with Death
At fateful Belloy-en-Santerre,
Though Spring had passed all unaware
And Summer scents were in the air
He kept his rendezvous with Death,
He whose young life had been a prayer.

We strain our eyes the way he went,
Our soldier-singer, Heaven-sent,
We strain our eyes and catch our breath
But he has slipped from out of sight;
He kept his rendezvous with Death
And then emerged into the light
Of that fair day that yet may be
For those who conquer as did he.

God knows 'twas hard for him to go
From all he loved—to make that choice,
And leave for them such bitter woe!
But his high courage was his breath
And with his greatest work undone
He kept his rendezvous with Death.
Brave Hero-Poet, we rejoice
That Life and Art to you were one,
That you to your own songs were true;
You did not fail that rendezvous!

IN FLANDERS FIELD

By COLONEL JOHN McCRAE.

In Flanders fields the poppies grow,
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; while in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Unheard amid the guns.
We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunsets glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe.
To you from falling hands we throw
The torch. Be yours to bear it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields.

AT REST

By ROBERT BELL.

Now sleeps within that hallowed soil,
Amid those crosses, row on row.
The author of those pregnant lines,
"In Flanders Fields the poppies blow."
Those bravely singing larks still fly,
Those cannon flash and roar below,
Those poppies, nodding, vigil keep,
Resplendent in their crimson glow.
Ah! blessed rest, now sweet, now deep,
The pledge received—true faith to keep.

No boastful words, no idle jest,
When spake that giant of the west:
"Fear not that ye have died for naught,
The torch ye threw to us is caught
Ten million hands will hold it high,
And Freedom's light shall never die."
Such sweet assurance—might revealed,
And all eyes closed in Flanders Field.

THE DEAD FOREST.

(*Foret de la Montaigue.*)

By WILLIAM L. GRUNDISH.

Death lingers in this haunted wood—
    The stark trees, bowed
And torn beneath a blood-red moon
    And wisps of cloud,
Each broken trunk a crucifix
    To mark a dismal shroud.

To every blackened crucifix
    A soul is bound,—
Or is it the ghostly mist
    Above the ground,
That twists and swirls in specter forms
    About each sodden mound?

Is this the moan of tortured souls,—
    This wailing dirge?
Or is it but the distant keen
    Of winds that surge
Through endless, formless worlds beyond
    The dim horizon's verge?

All day the yellow sun was blurred
    With battle smoke,
And green leaves fell, confetti-like,
    Where shrapnel broke
With sudden cracks among the boughs
    Of walnut, beech or oak.

All day resounded through the wood
    The whine of shell,
Like straws before that grim barrage
    Tree monarchs fell,
While drifting waves of poison gas
    Drenched every grassy dell.

Wan figures huddled close beneath
    That iron rain,
Doomed men in that Gethsemane
    Of awful pain,
Some meeting death with fearful heart,
    Some with a fine disdain.

Brave men went out with smiling lips
    And knightly song,
And some repeated childish prayers
    Forgotten long,—
Where now, beneath a blood-red moon
    Grim crucifixes throng.

The broken trees like crosses throng
    The misty height,
A sudden wailing pulses through
    The somber night—
The distant keen of mighty winds
    Beyond the verge of sight

THREE HILLS.

By EVERARD OWEN.

There is a hill in England,
Green fields and a school I know,
Where the balls fly fast in summer,
And the whispering elm-trees grow,
A little hill, a dear hill,
And the playing fields below.

There is a hill in Flanders,
Heaped with a thousand slain,
Where the shells fly night and noontide
And the ghosts that died in vain,—
A little hill, a hard hill
To the souls that died in pain.

There is a hill in Jewry,
Three crosses pierce the sky,
On the midmost He is dying
To save all those who die—
A little hill, a kind hill
To souls in jeopardy.

THE SPIRES OF OXFORD.

By WINIFRED M. LETTS.

I saw the spires of Oxford
As I was passing by,
The gray spires of Oxford
Against the pearl-gray sky.
My heart was with the Oxford men
Who went abroad to die.

The years go fast in Oxford,
The golden years and gay,
The hoary Colleges look down
On careless boys at play.
But when the bugles sounded war
They put their games away.

They left the peaceful river,
The cricket-field, the quad.
The shaven lawns of Oxford,
To seek a bloody sod—
They gave their merry youth away
For country and for God.

God rest you, happy gentlemen,
Who laid your good lives down,
Who took the khaki and the gun
Instead of cap and gown.
God bring you to a fairer place
Than even Oxford town.

TO GERMANY.

By CAPTAIN CHARLES HAMILTON SORLEY.

You are blind like us. Your hurt no man designed,
And no man claimed the conquest of your land,
But, gropers both through fields of thought confined,
We stumble and we do not understand.
You only saw your future bigly planned,
And we, the tapering paths of our own mind,
And in each other's dearest ways we stand,
And hiss and hate. And the blind fight the blind.

When it is peace, then may we view again
With new-won eyes each other's truer form,
And wonder. Grown more loving-kind and warm,
We'll grasp firm hands and laugh at the old pain,
When it is peace. But, until peace, the storm,
The darkness, and the thunder and the rain.

NOTES AND QUERIES

HE HAD HIS WAY.

In 1798 the first United States troops that came down the Mississippi were quartered at Fort Adams. General Wilkinson, Colonel Hamtramck, Major Butler, Captain Green and other officers were merry over their punch one night, and the general, by some accident, got his queue burned off. Angry at the laugh which followed his mishap, he next day issued an order forbidding any officer to appear with a queue. Obedient to orders, all the officers but Major Butler cut off their queues.

"The vain old prig!" said the major, "I'll see him hanged before I cut off my queue to gratify him!" and he boldly appeared without changing the style of his hair-dressing.

The major was put under arrest, but he declared obstinately that he would spend the rest of his life in prison before he would comply with such a silly command. Soon afterward he was taken very ill, and realizing that he was at the point of death, he gave instructions for his burial, which he knew would be witnessed by the whole command.

"Bore a hole," said he, "through the bottom of my coffin, right under my head, and let my queue come through it, that the old general may see that even when dead I refuse to obey his order."

And these directions were literally carried out.

HISTORY OF THE FORT PITT CANNON FOUNDRY*

The recent death of William Wade reminds me that I am the only one left of all the proprietors of the once famous Fort Pitt Cannon Foundry, and that perhaps it becomes my duty to inform my fellow citizens of what I know personally of its history.

The original firm was McClurg, Wade & Co., of which my father was the practical partner. It failed during the panic of 1838. I very well remember as a small boy seeing cannon being turned on old wooden lathes in the primitive establishment.

The business was revived about 1841 by my father, who obtained a contract for cannon through the good offices of Judge Wilkins, after whom Wilkinsburg was named, who was Secretary of War. He took as a partner to attend to the finances Mr. Charles Knap, who had been in the employ of the former firm of McClurg, Wade & Co., under the firm name of Knap & Totten, which continued until the death of my father, April 3, 1850.

My connection with the establishment began in 1848, two years before the death of my father, and continued until the establishment

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***Written by the late Robert C. Totten in 1912.**

was destroyed by fire in the spring of 1858 when I was a member of the firm of Knap, Wade & Co. I mention these rather personal facts as a warrant for writing this history.

Orders for cannon in those days were divided between the South Boston Foundry, West Penn Foundry, Richmond (Va.) Foundry and the Fort Pitt. There was no competition. A fair price was fixed and each establishment received exactly the same number of cannon on each order.

As a Government foundry the proprietors were in constant communication with the Secretaries of War and Navy, while the inspection of the cannon brought many prominent officers from both these branches of the service. It is among my earliest impressions that these men were always gentlemen, and above the average in ability, and a standing witness to the exceptional training they received at West Point and Annapolis. The only inspector we dreaded was a navy officer afflicted with a very severe case of dyspepsia. If there was any fault in a cannon, he was sure to discover it.

Of course these officers were treated on "proving days," that is, when the cannon were taken out to the banks of the Allegheny River, beyond where the Lucy Furnaces now stand, and subjected to single and double service charges of gunpowder to "prove" that they were all right, with distinguished consideration. Mr. Knap being a "bon vivant" and at that time a bachelor, always provided the luncheon, which was, of course, the best that the "Monongahela House," our world renowned hostelry in those days, could produce, and contained not a few bottles of "Mum" or something more pronounced.

On one occasion Mr. Knap was absent and the task of providing luncheon devolved on my father. He was a temperance man, a Washington temperance man of the forties, and of course would not think of having anything like rum. An adjacent farm, for there were many genuine farms then in that locality, was called on, and furnished readily some first class buttermilk. Alas; Several cannon were rejected on that "Proving day," which Mr. Knap at once attributed to the buttermilk. At least I never learned that any buttermilk was served at proving luncheons after that.

Any one who has traveled in the neighborhood of the year 1850, even on wedding trips, were almost confined when visiting any city, to visiting the cemetery. Greenwood in New York, Laurel Hill in Philadelphia, Mount Auburn in Boston and the Allegheny Cemetery here. But Pittsburgh had the advantage of having a cannon foundry and all distinguished as well as undistinguished people came to visit us. I remember two especially, Horace Greeley in his white hat, and General Taylor after his election to the Presidency.

The two most celebrated makes of cannon, the "Dahlgren" of the navy and the "Rodman" of the army, were practically developed and perfected at the Fort Pitt. Indeed both Major Wade, the father of

Mr. William Wade of Oakmont, and General Rodman of the army were at times practically partners in the firms that succeeded Knap & Totten.

It may not be generally known that before 1850 iron vessels were made at the Fort Pitt Foundry for revenue service on the lakes and launched in the Allegheny River just above the present railroad bridge. I remember participating in such a launching when my aunt, Miss Julia Christy, one of the belles of Pittsburgh, broke the bottle of wine and named the ship. I also remember a strange dream told by my father with reference to getting the contract for these vessels. There were four required, and my father had sent in his bid to the Government. Before receiving the contract he dreamed that he went down to the office and found the floor covered with water and four whales spouting about in it. He rapidly closed the door to keep them in but only succeeded in capturing two. The next day the order came for two of the four vessels.

In the early '40s I remember seeing hanging up in the office a chart resembling an Aeolian harp, small at the top and bottom and larger in the middle, marked off with longitudinal lines showing the time of sunrise and sunset during the year. This settled the number of hours for work, shorter in the winter, longer in the summer, varying from March 21st, when it was twelve hours work, until in June, when it was longest, and then shorter until March again. Even in those days, however, to show the spirit of the man towards his workmen, my father predicted and hoped for a day when only eight hours' work would be required. I remember my father often going to the foundry before breakfast and returning for breakfast.

The office work of those early days was strikingly different from the present. All business letters were opened by hand and some of the partners put off writing them until late in the afternoon, and then wrote at interminable length. You can imagine the feelings of the copyist who was handed these letters at a late hour, involving a late dinner. Then, too, if there was any discrepancy between the original and the copy it was always an even question as to whose fault it was, the writer's or the copyist.

The foundations for the City of Pittsburgh were being laid in those far off days, and it would be hard to estimate how much of the influence for good that still remains is to be placed to the credit of the iron men of Pittsburgh, among whom the Fort Pitt Cannon Foundry was very prominent.

The part it played during the Civil War is well known, and its closing career under the firm of Knap, Rudd & Co. and the management of Mr. William Metcalf only served to emphasize the achievements of its earlier history. I trust I will not be considered as too much of an egoist in laying this small tribute as to that sterling company of men before your readers.

FATHER VIROT A FORGOTTEN MISSIONARY*

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has more or less complete records of the doings of the various religious denominations, and I may be pardoned for saying that I have contributed my mite to the investigation and preservation of those of the Catholic Church. But there is one person who has not received fitting recognition.

It will be remembered that a few years ago a petrified cross was found near Rochester, in this state, which it was attempted to connect with some early and forgotten missionary's labors in that region, but geologists soon pronounced it merely a freak of nature. I have seen the cross, which is now in the Carnegie Library, Allegheny. I have also seen and conversed with the person who found it and have been at the place where it was dug up, and I cannot but agree with the decision of geologists regarding it. But what a field would it not have opened to some lively imagination for speculating had the facts then been known which I am to relate concerning an early Jesuit missionary who visited that region! These facts, I think, are worthy of preservation, and of being made known to the people of this part of the state, many of whom are at length awakening to the importance of cultivating the rich historic field in which fortune or choice has placed them. I shall prefer to give the exact words, as far as possible, of the authors whom I quote. The whole must be regarded as a forgotten episode in our early religious history.

But Briefly Mentioned in History.

The late Dr. John G. Shea, the best Catholic historian that America has yet seen, says in his *Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. i., p. 614: "The Jesuit Father Claude Francis Virot, who had labored in the Abnaki missions" (in the present state of Maine) "was sent to found a mission among the Delawares, who had settled near the French. He planted his mission cross at Sakunk, as the Indians styled the mouth of the Big Beaver. Here he persevered in his good work till Pakanke, chief of the Wolf tribe, drove him off. Claude F. Virot was born February 16, 1721, entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Toulouse, October 10, 1738, and was sent to Canada in 1750. After his Delaware mission he acted as chaplain to Aubrey's force, and was killed in the attempt made to relieve Fort Niagara in July, 1759."

According to the Moravian, or United Brethren, missionary, David Zeisberger, the word Sakunk means, "Where a small stream empties into a larger, hence its place of outlet; from Sa-ku-wit, the mouth of a creek or river." The outlet of the Big Beaver into the Ohio was the best known of the many Sakunks in the Indian country. The Aubrey here mentioned was Captain de Aubrey, Knight of St. Louis, who commanded a part of the French forces in the Western part of our state, and who defeated Major Grant on Grant's Hill, Pittsburgh, September 14, 1758.

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*Written by Rt. Rev. A. A. Lambing in 1900.

Efforts to Found a Mission.

Dr. Shea's notice of Father Virot is the first we have, and for that reason it is not surprising that it is slightly erroneous, as we learn from *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* vol. lxx., where we read (p. 85) in the catalogue of the Jesuit Fathers then on the missions in North America: "Father Louis Virot, born February 15, 1722, entered the Society of Jesus October 10, 1738." On page 91 Father Peter Joseph Antoine Roubaud states in a letter, dated October 21, 1757: "I set out on the 12th of July from St. Francis—the principal village of the Abnaki's mission—to go to Montreal; the purpose of my journey was simply to bring to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil" (then Governor General of New France or Canada) "a deputation of twenty Abnakis appointed to accompany Father Virot, who has gone to try to found a mission among the Loups (Wolves) of the Oyo, or Beautiful River. The share that I was allowed to have in that glorious enterprise, the events which caused it, and the difficulties that it was necessary to overcome, may furnish hereafter interesting material for another letter." It is impossible to say whether this second letter was ever written or not.

Pakanke Hated the Missionaries.

It is not known how long Father Virot labored in his attempt to found a mission on the Ohio, but it is probable that it was not very long, owing to the hatred which Pakanke had for Christian missionaries. A word about this noted chief. George H. Loskiel, in his *Missions of the United Brethren,* followed by Samuel G. Drake, in his *Indians of North America,* says that Pakanke was a powerful chief of the Delawares, who lived at Kaskaskunk, an important Indian village that stood near the mouth of Mahoning creek, a short distance below the present New Castle. Pakanke had as counsellor and speaker Glikhikan, an eminent captain and warrior, of whom Drake gives this questionable piece of information: "It is said that he disputed with the French Catholic priests in Canada, and confounded them, and now (1769) made his appearance among the United Brethren for the purpose of achieving a like victory; but, as the Brethren's account has it his heart failed him and he became a convert to their doctrines."

This so exasperated Pakanke that he upbraided him in no gentle terms, telling him: "And even you have gone over from this council to them. I suppose you mean to get a white skin. But I tell you not even one of your feet will turn white, much less your whole body," and much more in the same strain. A person of such a disposition was not likely to permit a missionary to labor long in territory over which he held sway, yet before his death he is said to have become a convert to the United Brethren denomination.

Grand Pioneer Killed by Indians.

We have seen that Father Virot, after his unsuccessful attempt to found a mission on the upper Ohio, was appointed chaplain to the French forces. It is well known that when the French evacuated Fort Duquesne, November 24, 1758, before the advancing army of General Forbes, a part of them retired to Fort Machault, at the mouth of French creek, where the town of Franklin now stands, and there spent the winter in making preparations to undertake the recapture of Fort Duquesne in the spring. But the English were closing in on them from all sides and the overthrow of their power in North America was already in sight. When Fort Niagara, on the river of the same name, was besieged, all the forces within reach were summoned to its aid, and among them those at Fort Machault. The fall of Fort Niagara was to witness the closing scenes of the life labors and sufferings of Father Virot, the only Jesuit who ever attempted to found a mission on the headwater of the Ohio. His death is thus briefly told in *The Jesuit Relations*, in the volume from which I have already quoted (p. 251): "In the month of July, 1759, when the Fort of Niagara was closely pressed by the English army which was besieging it, 1,200 French were sent to the help of this post, so important for the preservation of Canada. Father Virot was chaplain of the French army. It was put to rout, and the missionary, having fallen into the hands of the Iroquois, was cut to pieces."

I cannot but think it fitting that the life, labors and death of this zealous and intrepid, though unknown, missionary should be laid before our people, so far as they are known, and placed on record.

APOCRYPHAL JOKES ABOUT YOUNG GEORGE WASHINGTON

His Mother—"When that little boy threw stones at you, why did you not come to me?"

Little George Washington—"Well, I guess I can throw them back better'n you can."

Teacher—"The first thing the Puritans did after landing on Plymouth Rock was to fall upon their knees. What was the next thing they did?"

Little George Washington—"They fell upon the aborigines."

Grocer—"Here, my little man; here's your pitcher of molasses. Now, where's the payment therefor?"

Little George Washington—"Mother told me to put it in the pitcher so I wouldn't lose it."—*American Cultivator.*

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List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

119—Colored Lithograph, 21x25

"Old Pittsburgh Market & Court House," from a sketch by J. B. Robitzer.

Presented by Mr. W. H. Stevenson

120— Engraving, 30x37

Representing the beginning, progress, and completion of an extraordinary undertaking to prove the possibility of wool being manufactured into cloth and made into a coat between the hours of sun-rise and sun-set, which was successfully accomplished on June 25, 1811, at the Greenham Mills, near Newbury, England.

Presented by Mrs. Francis J. Torrance.

121—Frame, 26x37

Containing the "Washington Fire Company Roll," a volunteer company organized in Pittsburgh, 1832.

Giving the names of members and officers for the year 1849.

Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.

122—Engraving, 24x37

George Washington and The Marquis De Lafayette, at Mount Vernon.

Loaned by Mr. T. M. Walker.

123—Frame, 16x20

Containing the photograph of Thomas Livingston Rodgers a former president of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

Presented by Mr. J. Franklin Rodgers.

List of Articles Belonging to the late Mrs. Eliza Horner Gordon, of Wilkinsburg, Pa.

Presented October 23rd, 1919 by Miss Ilka M. Stotler.

124—Revolutionary War Order Book

from Carlisle Barracks, which contains the record of the building of the barracks. They were kept by Colonel Benjamin Flower. Among other items in the Order Book was an order written and signed by George Washington. Col. Flower married Sarah McDowell, daughter of Doctor John McDowell, a Revolutionary Army surgeon residing on Troy Farm, Pitt Township. Dr. McDowell took a very active part in business affairs, being an elder in the church of Pitt Township, and signed the call for the pastor, Rev. James Graham, April 10, 1804. The name of the church was afterward changed to Beulah. Dr. McDowell lived near the Salt Works on the Monongahela River. The Order Book was used for keeping medical accounts, numbering among his patients Colonel Dunning McNair and others of local historic fame. Dr. McDowell evidently gave his accounts to Squire James Horner, (grandfather of Mrs. Gordon,) for collection, as the Order Book has been in the Horner family since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

125—Old Hair Trunk

brought from Ireland in 1766 by George W. McGunnegle, who later located in Pittsburgh, and was one of the first vestrymen of Trinity Church. "Length of Trunk 15½ inches, width 9 inches and heighth 6½ inches."

126—Memento of the Civil War

Fragment of cannon-ball from battle of "Port Royal" found lying beside remains of dead gunner inside Fort-Walker the morning after evacuation. Found by Thomas M. Carnegie and presented to Mrs. Gordon Dec. 23, 1861. Exhibited at "Sanitary Fair" held in June 21, 1864.

127—Part of lining and trimming

of the carriage in which Colonel John Morgan was riding when captured during his raid into Ohio, by Pennsylvania militia—1863. Given to Elizabeth Horner Gordon by her brother George Kennedy Horner, a member of Captain Frederick Huidekooper's Company F. 58th Pennsylvania Militia.

128—Memento of the Battle of "Port Royal"

Pine-cone taken from a tree under which sleep "our heroes who gave their lives for liberty and union:" presented to Mrs. Gordon by Thomas M. Carnegie, and exhibited at the "Sanitary Fair" held in Pittsburgh, June 16, 1864.

129—Memento of the Civil War

Sea-shell dislodged by a chance shot from one of our guns at Port Royal December 23, 1861. Presented to Mrs. Gordon by Thomas M. Carnegie, and exhibited at the "Sanitary Fair" held in Pittsburgh June 16, 1864.

130—Mementoes of the Civil War

Chips cut from stairway of the Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia, where Colonel Elmer Ellsworth fell, the first martyr of the Civil War. Cut by Albert G. Miller, of Port Perry, and Henry R. Chalfant, February 18, 1862.

131—Ebony Frame

Containing silhouette of John Kennedy McGunnegle (1769) son of George W. and Margaret Kennedy McGunnegle.

132—Brass Candle-stick—Revolutionary War Period

This candle-stick was used in camp by Colonel Robert Dunning of Lancaster, Penn'a. who was an officer in the Indian Wars and the Revolution.

133—Silver Buttons (10) Revolutionary War Period

These buttons were worn by Colonel Robert Dunning of Lancaster, Penn'a. an officer in the Indian and Revolutionary Wars.

134—Silver Spoon—Revolutionary War Period

This spoon was made during the Revolution by melting silver dollars, such was the scarcity of good table-ware.

The monogram J. D. stands for "John Davis," the spoon having descended to Mrs. Gordon on her mothers side.

135—Old Deed

This Indenture made the eleventh day of November in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty-five Between The Honorable John Penn, Junior and John Penn of the City of Philadelphia, and John Horner and James Horner both of Warminster Township in the County of Bucks in Penn'a. A lot or piece of ground situated in the Town of Pittsburgh in the County of Westmoreland in Penn'a. marked in Colonel Wood's general plan of the said Town No 277. Containing in breadth sixty-feet and in length one hundred & sixty-feet, bounded Northwestward by Third Street, Southwestward by Second Street and Northwestward by Market Street. Signed by John Penn, Junior.

John Penn, Esq.
November 16th, 1785. Edward E. Shippen, Esq.

136—Shell Comb

Worn by Mrs. Gordon's mother, at the ball given in Pittsburgh in 1825 to "Our Nations Guest," General De Lafayette, during his visit to the United States, 1824-1825.

137—Sash

Worn by Mrs. Gordon's mother, at the ball given in Pittsburgh in 1825 to "Our Nations Guest," General Marquis De Lafayette, during his visit to the United States, 1824-1825.

138—Souvenir

Handkerchief from the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, Pa., 1876.

139—Newspaper

dated January 4, 1800. Published at Kingston, Ulster County New York, giving a description of George Washington's funeral; eulogy of the deceased "Father of His Country" by the Senate and reply thereto by his successor, President John Adams, December 22, 1799.

140—Combination Pocket

and Note Book dated 1778. Property of James Horner, Soldier of the Revolution, buried at Beulah Cemetery.

141—Bill-Fold

used by Mrs. Gordon's family, 1800—1825.

142—Silk-Badge

Worn at the time of President Lincoln's death.

143—Paper-notes

three and five cents.

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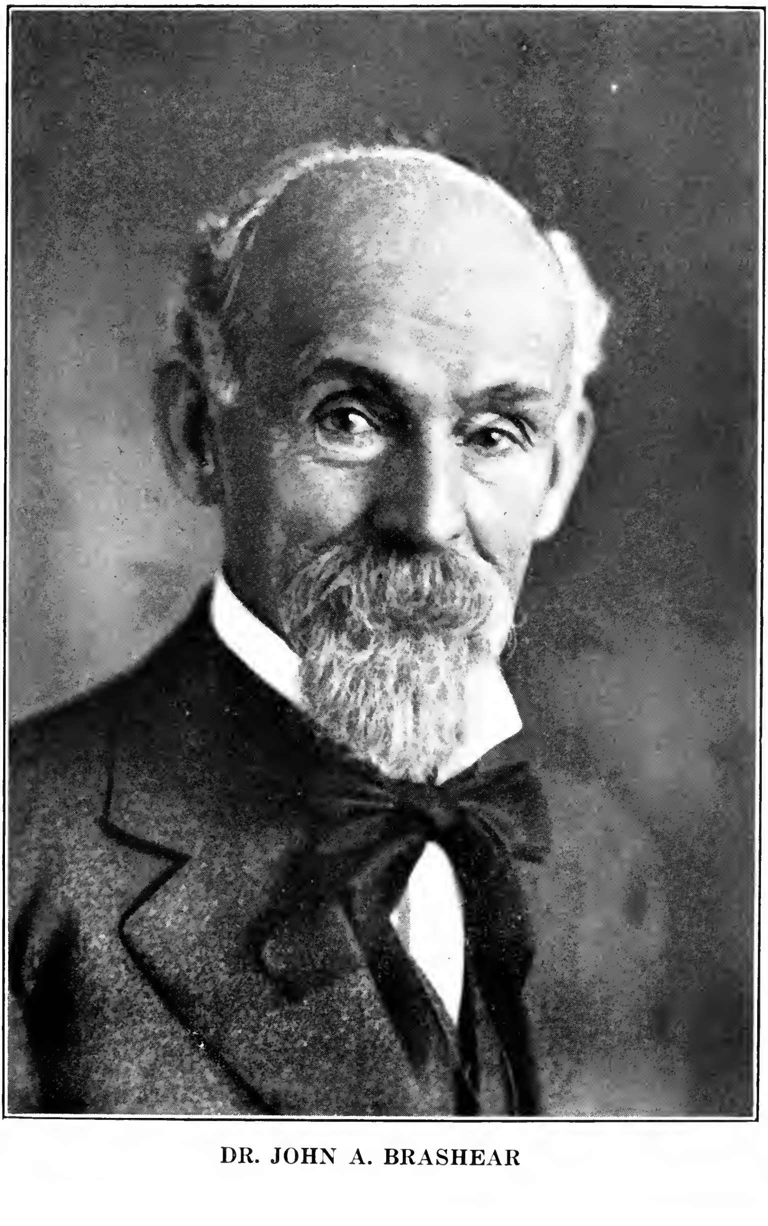

DR. JOHN A. BRASHEAR

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 3, No. 3 JUNE, 1920 Price 75 Cents

DR. JOHN A. BRASHEAR.

On the ninth of last April Dr. John A. Brashear, a member of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, died. He had been in failing health for several months and the end came as peacefully as he had lived. He was by far the most distinguished scientist in Pittsburgh, as is indicated by the large number of learned bodies of which he was an honored member, and from the numerous degrees conferred upon him by universities and colleges all over the land. What was, however, of more moment was the fact that he was the best beloved citizen of the community in which he lived. But the knowledge of his amiable qualities was not confined to Pittsburgh. A few years ago, when Martin G. Brumbaugh was governor of Pennsylvania, he was asked by the officers of the Panama-Pacific Exposition to indicate the most popular citizen of Pennsylvania. After consulting leading men of the state, Governor Brumbaugh unhesitatingly named John A. Brashear.

His life fully illustrates the fact that no matter how humble a man's origin may be, yet by energy and perseverance he can achieve the highest position in life. Beginning as a machinist, John A. Brashear studied at night and gained an education. Drifting into astronomy and making its study his lifework he went into the manufacture of astronomical instruments, and gained an international reputation. The autobiography which Dr. Brashear was writ-

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

ing during the last few months of his life, if published, should be an inspiration to every aspiring young man and woman in the land. The secret of his popularity is indicated in the letter which he wrote to his old friend, Mr. David F. Henry, when he gave as his creed the following verse:

> " 'Tis the human touch in this world that counts,
> The touch of your hand and mine—
> That means far more to the sinking heart
> Than shelter or bread or wine.
> For shelter is gone when the night is o'er,
> And bread lasts only a day,
> But the touch of the hand and the sound of the voice
> Live on in the soul always."

REMINISCENCES OF HON. JAMES ROSS.

BY

HON. THOMAS MELLON.*.

My personal knowledge of the Hon. James Ross commenced in 1834, when I entered as a student at the Western University of Pennsylvania, then located in the large stone building at the corner of Third and Smithfield streets. It was erected by the state for the purpose, and was destroyed by the great fire of 1845.

Mr. Ross' private residence was an impretentious frame building which stood in an orchard on a lot of six or seven acres, situated between Grant and Ross streets, and extended from Fourth Street up over Grant's Hill to near High Street. Fifth Avenue and Diamond Street have since been located across the upper end of these grounds, and the Court House and jail are built on part of it. The distributing reservoir of the city water works was then immediately opposite the Court House.

Mr. Ross' dwelling was but a short distance from the University, and he was a conspicuous figure while on his way to and from the Court House, which was then located on the west side of the Diamond on Market Street. I should judge that Mr. Ross was some inches over six feet in height, well proportioned and of imposing presence, although the infirmities of age had already begun to manifest themselves when I first knew him.

He was rightly regarded among the students as one of the greatest men of the country, and more especially on account of his high reputation for scholarly attainments.

When a young man, before he studied law, he had filled the position of Latin and Greek professor in the Canonsburg Academy, in Washington County, which afterwards became Jefferson College, the *alma mater* of great numbers of professional men scattered throughout the United States. Jefferson and Washington Colleges have since been consolidated into Washington and Jefferson College, located at Washington, Pennsylvania.

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*Written in 1896.

But my opportunities of seeing and knowing Mr. Ross and his character and reputation were increased after I had entered the law office of ex-Judge Shaler as a student in 1837. Mr. Ross and Judge Shaler were intimate friends. Mr. Ross had then retired from the practice of the law, but was often personally interested in law questions and cases, as he possessed considerable wealth in mortgages and real estate.

One of his peculiarities was that in any case in which he was interested he acted as his own lawyer, not so much to avoid expense, as that it saved him the trouble of stating and explaining the case to others as fully as he understood it himself.

I happened into the District Court one day when he was arguing an important question regarding the lien of a mortgage before Judge Grier, who was afterwards elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and is still regarded here as one of the most eminent judges whom Allegheny County has ever had. I was interested to hear Mr. Ross' argument on account of his great reputation and the importance of the question involved. He then seldom appeared in Court. I expected quite a formal argument, but was disappointed in that respect. He stood carelessly with one hand resting on the railing in front of the judge and in a quiet way talked the matter over, as it were. But the close attention with which Judge Grier listened indicated that Mr. Ross was making an able argument, and although he spoke in a conversational way, he presented a chain of strong links logically connected.

His reputation among the lawyers was of the highest order. At the time I speak of he was considered the nestor of the bar, and the regard and esteem for him approached veneration. In his prime, which was before I knew him, his influence over a jury was considered invincible, not so much from any display of eloquence, for he always avoided this both in private and professional life, but his power was said to result from his peculiar method and his persuasiveness and keen knowledge of human nature.

His practice had always been confined to important cases, mostly questions of land titles or where large sums of money were involved. His clients were of the wealthier class of business men and manufacturers and real estate owners of the city and throughout the western end of the state. Several years after the time referred to some of the law business of the heirs and the legal representatives of his former clients fell into my hands, and I occasionally came across Mr. Ross' bills for legal services, invariably in his own hand writing, and I was surprised at the moderation of his fees and charges.

Although in those days no extortionate fees were obtained by the lawyers, yet Mr. Ross' charges were made on a scale even lower than ordinary, while his clients were of the wealthiest class, and the matters in which the services were rendered were always important. It led me to wonder how he had accumulated so large an estate because he was quite rich, although not among the wealthiest citizens, and he never speculated. He lived in a plain economical way without ostentation. What surplus he could spare from his professional income, he invested in farm lands or unimproved property in the suburbs of the city, which was worth but little at the time but increased rapidly in value as time went on and the city increased in size and wealth. Such was the secret of his leaving a very considerable estate.

I knew of but three of his children, but he may have had others. One son, the most promising in ability and energy, was drowned while crossing a creek on horseback about twelve miles from the city. He was only twenty years of age. The creek was in flood, and the horse floundered and young Ross became entangled in the stirrups. The father took his loss greatly to heart. Another son, James, was highly educated, and a polished gentleman, but lacked energy and never attended to business of any kind. He survived his father many years.

Mrs. Aspinwall was the only one of his daughters whom I remember. Her husband was the well-known ship owner in the Aspinwall lines whose route was between New York and Liverpool. I think she was without children, and after her husband's death she returned to Pittsburgh, and had a quaint-shaped house built in a secluded piece of woodland, part of her father's estate, where she resided as a recluse for the remainder of her life.

Besides Mr. Ross' professional fame, he possessed other qualities of heart and mind which endeared him to his clients and the general public. He was reputed never to have accepted a retainer in a case unless he was reasonably well satisfied of the honesty of both the case and the client, and from that time on he became the personal friend and faithful adviser of his client in all matters of importance, personal as well as legal.

One instance, among many others of his noble character, happened to fall within my own knowledge.

In 1820, Jacob Negley, who had long been a favorite client of his, was one of the wealthiest land owners in the vicinity of the city. He owned 1700 acres of land situated five miles east of the city limits, now the chief residence section of the city, and known as the East End. Mr. Negley was an enterprising man and one of the commissioners appointed to locate and macadamize the turnpike road running eastward from the city to Greensburg and Stoyestown on the way to Philadelphia, within the city now known as Penn Avenue. As soon as this road was located and opened through his lands, Mr. Negley built the first steam flouring mill in the western end of the state and laid out the town of East Liberty, since absorbed in the East End district. As the machinery for the mill was unfamiliar to the machinists of the time, the cost of its construction was very great and ran him into debt beyond his expectation and his ability to pay. He would have had no difficulty in meeting all demands, however, had it not been for the memorable panic of 1818, which set in just after the mill was in running order. Several memorable panics have occurred since that time, but history shows this one to have been the most disastrous to property values and to have caused the greatest stringency in money which ever happened in this section. The panic found Mr. Negley some thirty thousand dollars in debt, being half the cost of the mill, and it crushed him, not only financially, but in health and spirits. Money was not obtainable at any sacrifice, and his extensive estate in lands as well as the mill and numerous other buildings were seized by the sheriff, but the owner did not survive to see them sold under the executions. He died during the year of his worst financial difficulties, leaving a widow and eight children, the oldest of the boys not having reached his majority. Mr. Ross had been Mr. Negley's friend and legal advisor throughout his business career and during his financial difficulties, but neither Mr. Ross nor any other friend was in condition financially to stem the tide. Most of the wealthy business men of the city went down at the same time. The wealthiest among those who succumbed was James O'Hara, who nevertheless survived the storm and left an immense estate to his family. It is said of Mr. Ross that he never forgot a client whom he respected, and although he could not at first avert the financial disaster which overwhelmed Mr. Negley, he did not forget the widow and children. Being in a better condition pecuniarily when the sheriff's sales of the properties came off, Mr. Ross purchased them as they were sold from time to time, including the mill, and became the sole owner without any pre-arrangement or consultation with the widow or children, who expected nothing less than to vacate the premises. And to make arrangements for this purpose the widow sent her eldest son to Mr. Ross, who appeared very friendly and more concerned to know how they were getting on than to obtain possession of the properties purchased by him.

After learning that the mother and the younger boys attended to the farm and that the two older boys were still running the mill and marketing the product, he advised them to keep on working as before and he would be better able to tell what might be done on his part after seeing what they could do for themselves. Affairs remained in this condition for a year or two, the mill was doing well, times were improving, and real estate values were rising again. Mr. Ross then directed that all the money they could spare beyond the expense of running the business should be deposited with him, and if times continued to improve until part of the lands could be sold without too much sacrifice, enough might be saved to compensate them for their labor and perhaps more, as he would be satisfied if he received his money back with six per cent. interest. No written contracts or obligations were entered into between him and the family at any time.

It required about ten years to refund the money that Mr. Ross had expended in the purchases with the interest. When that had been accomplished he called in James Hilands, at the time the land surveyor of the county, and directed him to make a careful survey of all the real estate that was left, and to divide it into eight shares of equal value, or as nearly that as he and such of the neighbors on whose judgment he could rely might agree upon. A fifteen-acre tract of the most valuable part of the land was in addition set aside for the two older sons as a reward for their extra services. When the land was plotted in this way Mr. Ross made a deed to each child for his or her share, declining any compensation for his services, declaring that his compensation lay in the success that their good management had achieved. The widow relinquished all claim in the estate, as she had ample property in her own right, received from her father's estate. When Mr. Ross' connection with the transaction ended land values had advanced to such an extent that the share which each child received was worth about one hundred thousand dollars; and this land has been increasing in value ever since.

In making this division the surveyor found it necessary to lay out a road or street through the main part of the property for common use, which still bears his name, Hiland Avenue. Mr. Ross had also come to the rescue of James O'Hara, another of his wealthy clients, whom the panic had driven to the wall. And by his aid and generosity and good advice the greater part of the vast O'Hara estate was saved to the O'Hara and Denny families.

I give the facts and particulars contained in the above narrative as I have heard them often from Mrs. Negley, the widow, who in 1843 became my mother-in-law. But I have never been made aware that Mr. Ross ever resided in Ohio, or that a county in that state was named for him.

Mr. Ross was not only an able and learned and exceedingly industrious lawyer, but a wise and able statesman, and although not of the then dominant political party, frequently had honors thrust upon him. He was one of the high-toned and honorable class of statesmen who were more numerous in his day than now.

AN OLD SONG BOOK.

The book was picked up in the early days of the Civil War in a passenger car, which had been occupied by soldiers, and which had just come from the road and been placed in the yard at the Outer Depot of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, in Allegheny. The man who found the book was an employee of the railroad company, who took it home and gave it to his children. It remained in the possession of the family all these years, and at present, with one of the covers half gone, and minus the title page and most of the instructions in singing in the first part of the book, is owned by the surviving child, a son, now grown into a middle-aged man. He prizes it as one of his choicest possessions; the songs within its covers recall to him many tender recollections of his childhood, and the book has about it the halo of the Civil War.

The book was probably dropped by some young soldier on his way to the seat of war, or perhaps journeying home on a furlough. It was evidently a school song book and must have been published before the war began, as it contains none of the war songs which appeared during the struggle and later became so popular. Inside of the front and back covers are several names written in blue ink in boyish or girlish hands. On the front cover, close together, are the names of Thomas Eden and Ida May, and on the back cover the same names appear again, the one under the other. Then there is the name of Frank May, and under this is a name that looks like Hinese O. Maley, but may be Heloise O. Maley. A rude representation of a soldier pointing a bayonet is beside the names of the two couples.

What a wealth of memories the names, and the picture of the soldier suggest! Who were Thomas Eden and Ida May? Where did they live? Were they boy and girl lovers? Was Frank May the lover of Hinese O. Maley? Were both of the boys soldiers? Did they fall in battle or die of disease in camp, and do they lie buried in unknown southern graves? And did the girls mourn for them the rest of their days? Or did the soldiers come home from the war and marry their early loves? Are any of those whose names are written in the book living today?

If the book has made such a lasting impression on the present possessor, what a wonderful delight it would be to the persons whose names appear there could they again see it! They would be old men and old women now, but the remembrance of the old songs would make them young again and bring back the happy days of their long lost youth.

When the book was published men and women were governed largely by sentiment; they were more intent on securing their happiness than in the pursuit of wealth. In the songs printed in this volume many of the best emotions are expressed, love, joy, hope, filial affection, mother love, sorrow, yearning, humor, ambition, patriotism. But through most of the love songs there runs a vein of sadness; they tell the story of loved ones who have died, and died young. This mournful tone may have been typical of the time. Abraham Lincoln and many other public men of that day were strongly imbued with the feeling.

Many persons of the older generation will remember the songs. Most of them were first sung seventy or seventy-five years ago, but continued to be in vogue for at least a decade after the close of the Civil War. Some of them are occasionally heard today. Who of that generation has forgotten "Gentle Annie," written and composed by Pittsburgh's own Stephen C. Foster, or "Nettie Moore?" In "Nettie Moore" there is even a larger measure of genuine poetry than in "Gentle Annie," and the lines will be read today with as much appreciation as fifty or sixty years ago. Romantic Indian legends are idealized in "The Light Canoe" and "The Blue Juniata."

"The Hazel Dell" and "Lillie Dale" are both dear to those who were children in the Civil War days; and who of that time or now has not loved to hear or to sing "Listen to the Mocking Bird?" A mother's love is beautifully exemplified in the charming song of "Nellie Gray." The lingering thoughts of childhood are tenderly expressed in "Home, Sweet Home" and "The Old House." The restless disposition of the pioneer in his westward movement that continued from the settlement of the country to recent years, and the yearning of the aboriginee for the home of his ancestors are vividly portrayed in "To the West" and "The Indian's Prayer." "Make Your Mark" is a spur to the ambition of youth, and might with profit be taught in the schools of today. There is real humor in the rollicking song called

"Johnny Sands" and in the still popular "Billy Boy." The book also contains the reverberating hymn "America," and the inspiring "The Star Spangled Banner" and "Hail Columbia." The first verse of a number of the songs together with the chorus, where there is one, follows:

Nettie Moore.

In a little white cottage,
Where the trees are ever green,
And the climbing roses blossom by the door,
I've often sat and listened
To the music of the birds,
And the gentle voice of charming Nettie Moore.

Oh! I miss you Nettie Moore,
And my happiness seems o'er,
While a spirit sad around my heart has come;
And the busy days are long,
And the nights are lonely now,
For you're gone from our little cottage home.

The Light Canoe.

They made her a grave too cold and damp
For a heart so warm and true,
And she's gone to the lake of the dismal swamp,
Where all night long by her fire-fly lamp
She paddles her light canoe;
Her fire-fly lamp I soon shall see,
Her paddle I soon shall hear;
Long and loving our life shall be,
And I'll hide the maid in a cyprus tree,
When the foot-steps of death draw near.

The Blue Juniata.

Wild roved an Indian girl, bright Alfarata,
Where sweeps the waters of the blue Juniata;
Swift as an antelope, through the forest going,
Loose were her jetty locks, in wavy tresses flowing.

The Hazel Dell.

In the Hazel Dell my Nelly's sleeping,
Nelly lov'd so long!
And my lonely, lonely watch I'm keeping,
Nelly lost and gone;
Here in the moonlight often we have wander'd,
Thro' the silent shade,
Now where leafy branches drooping downward,
Little Nelly's laid.

All alone my watch I'm keeping
In the Hazel Dell,
For my darling Nelly's near me sleeping,
Nelly dear, farewell.

Lilly Dale.

'Twas a calm still night,
And the moon's pale light,
Shone soft o'er hill and vale;
When friends mute with grief,
Stood around the death bed,
Of my poor lost Lilly Dale.
Oh! Lilly, Sweet Lilly, dear Lilly Dale,
Now the wild rose blossoms o'er her little green grave,
'Neath the trees in the flow'ry vale.

Listen to the Mocking Bird.

I'm dreaming now of Hally, sweet Hally, sweet Hally,
I'm dreaming now of Hally,
For the thought of her is one that never dies;
She's sleeping in the valley, the valley, the valley,
She's sleeping in the valley,
And the mocking bird was singing where she lies.

Listen to the mocking bird,
Listen to the mocking bird,
The mocking bird still singing o'er her grave,
Listen to the mocking bird,
Listen to the mocking bird,
Still singing where the weeping willows wave.

Nellie Gray.

Down in a pleasant valley,
A gentle streamlet flows,
Beside a cottage lovely
A weeping willow grows;
Within that cottage dwelling
A mother bless'd the day
That gave to her an angel,
In the form of Nellie Gray.

Merrily the birds are singing
At the dawning of each day,
Joyfully they greet the coming
Of charming Nellie Gray.

THE OLD HOUSE.

There's a spot that I love,
There's a home that I prize,
Far better than any on earth;
It is bound to my heart by the holiest ties;
And I prize, O how fondly its worth!
'Tis not beauty nor splendor endears it to me,
O, no! for its grandeur has flown;
But 'tis fondest affection that binds me to thee,
My old home, my dear happy home!
But 'tis fondest affection that binds me to thee,

My old home, my dear happy, happy home.
O, my old home, my dear happy home;
It is fondest affection that binds me to thee,
My old home, my dear happy home.

To the West.

To the west, to the west, to the land of the free,
Where mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea;
fruits of the soil;
Where children are blessings, and he who has most,
Has aid for his fortune and riches to boast;
Where the young may exult, and the aged may rest,
Away, far away, to the land of the west.

The Indian's Prayer.

Let me go to my home in the far distant land,
To the scenes of my childhood in innocence blest,
Where the tall cedars wave and the bright waters flow,
Where my fathers repose,
Let me go, let me go,
Where my fathers repose,
Let me go, let me go,

Make Your Mark.

In the quarries should you toil,
Make your mark;
In whatever path you go,
In whatever place you stand;
Make your mark; make your mark!
Do you delve upon the soil?
Make your mark;
Moving swift, or moving slow,
With a firm and steady hand;
Make your mark; make your mark!

Johnny Sands.

A man whose name was Johnny Sands,
Had married Betty Hague,
And tho' she brought him gold and lands,
She proved a terrible plague,
For, Oh! she was a scolding wife,
Full of caprice and whim,
He said that he was tired of life,
And she was tired of him,
And she was tired of him;
Says he, "Then I will drown myself,
The river runs below,"
Says she, "Pray do you silly elf;
I wished it long ago."
Says he, "Upon the brink I'll stand,
Do you run down the hill,
And push me in with all your might,"
Says she, "My love I will,"
Says she, "My love I will."

Billy Boy.

Oh where have you been, Billy boy, Billy boy,
Oh where have you been charming Billy?
    I have been to seek a wife,
    She's the joy of my life,
She's a young thing, and cannot leave her mother.

THE FLOOD OF 1884 IN THE ALLEGHENY RIVER AT PITTSBURGH.*

Allegheny, Pa., February 8, 1884.

On Tuesday, Wednesday and yesterday (Thursday) the big flood was on us. The signal service office had sent out telegrams of warning so that the people living in the low places or having stores or manufactories there, were in a measure, prepared. On Tuesday the rivers began swelling, and on Wednesday they reached their highest stage. Wednesday morning I had business in Pittsburgh and took an Ohio Street car to go there. When I got into the car I noticed that the floor was wet; I thought the car had just been scrubbed, and felt rather indignant that such a thing should be done just before starting on the trip. When we arrived at the Depots on Federal Street it dawned upon me how the car came to be wet. The street was crowded with curious people watching the advancing water. The Allegheny River was then about half a block from Lacock Street, and was steadily creeping up. Innumerable wagons were standing about waiting to take people across the flood. The drivers were reaping a rich harvest, and their shrill cries of "This way to the other side!" filled the air. Our car ploughed through the water, the passengers mounting on the seats until the dry cobble stones were reached near the bridge. After attending to my business I went back the way that I had come, having the same experience as before, with the water a few inches higher.

When Charlie, our messenger, returned from luncheon he told me that the water was coming into his father's house, and that his father had wanted him to stay at home. I told him to go home again as soon as John returned from his luncheon. When John came back I requested him to go to the Grant engine house and telephone to F______ to come down so that we would have two persons in the bank all the time.

In the afternoon I went to town again, more out of curiosity than from necessity. I proceeded to the Fort Wayne

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*The writer of this account at the time held an executive position in a bank on Ohio Street in Allegheny, and lived in the western end of the city.

Depot in a street car (that being as far as it went) and then pushed through the crowd to Lacock Street, which the water had reached. Only one wagon crossed the flood while I was waiting and this was considered so dangerous that the police on the other side would not allow it to return, as the water was almost up to the horses' heads at the lowest point on the street. I saw two teams stuck fast in the middle of the flood. Finally a number of men entered the water and unhitched the horses and rode them to dry land, the wagons being abandoned. Anxiously I waited for a craft to take me over. A skiff landed on the side of the street close to where I was standing, but before I could get near, it had been filled and started. I crossed to the east side of the street and a skiff came up and discharged its load and as I and many others were about to get in pushed off. At last a flatboat came up Robinson Street and landed in front of Studer & Frodey's jewelry store. I made a detour through several inches of water and just as I reached the flatboat, a skiff came along, so I changed my mind and jumped into this and soon we were being pushed and rowed across. As we were passing Robinson Street the skiff commenced whirling around and going down that street. As most of us were standing I felt nervous for a second, and then as we caught hold of a telegraph pole and pulled up, and were again on Federal Street, I was reassured. We encountered several huge cakes of ice and the two abandoned wagons. In Collonade Row the windows were lined with people, some anxious, others looking down, careless and happy. As we passed Renter's cigar store we saw the cigars and tobacco floating in the show windows and the storeroom. On landing on the bridge we were compelled to walk through the water as the people waiting to come to the North Side were already crowding on the planks leading from our skiff. After crossing the bridge to Sixth Street I was greeted with the sight of more wagons waiting for passengers. At first I thought the wagons were either to cross the bridge to Allegheny, or were for the purpose of taking people around to see the flooded district; and I was about proceeding up Sixth Street when on looking ahead I saw the water at Penn Avenue. I turned back and had barely time to jump into a wagon as it was about to start toward Liberty Street. Penn Avenue was covered with water and Horne's retail store had perhaps a foot of water on the first floor. On

Sixth Street all the buildings were under water for about half a square on either side of Penn Avenue. Returning I thought it best to avoid the risk of going by way of Sixth and Federal streets, so I crossed over the Railroad Bridge. Thousands of people were going that way. The narrow walk was so crowded with persons leaning over the railing watching the water, or going in both directions that it was no small matter to get along.

It was a sight long to be remembered. On the Pittsburgh side everything along the river was under water, and on the Allegheny side the only thing to be seen of the Pittsburgh & Western Railroad was the telegraph poles. In Seibert's lumber yard the water was almost as high as the fence around it. The water extended all the way to the West Penn Railroad.

After we were through for the day at the bank, I made a tour of part of the flooded district. On Madison Avenue the water extended nearly to South Canal Street. On Walnut Street it was within about thirty feet of South Canal Street. Here I spoke to Joseph Slapnick, a Bohemian customer of ours, who owns the property at this corner. He had just finished building a row of houses on Walnut Street. On Chestnut Street the flood had reached Main Street; and that street in both directions was a sheet of water. I walked down the West Penn Railroad track and at every opening or cross street the water could be seen. On Federal Street it was near the West Penn Depot. From Stockton Avenue at Sherman Avenue the water could be seen lapping the walls of the tunnel under the Fort Wayne Railroad. Craig Street looked like a canal with skiffs flitting to and fro. In the evening I went down to Beaver Avenue and called for S------, and together we proceeded to Squire Clark's office. The water was in the street at the office, but about an inch lower than the sidewalk. It was rising an inch an hour.

On Thursday morning I made another long tour of the flooded district. On Chartiers Street the water was near the Salt Works. Manhattan Street, lower Western Avenue and Rebecca Street looked like a vast lake. It reminded me forcibly of the pictures of inundations I had seen in illustrated papers in my early boyhood. There was one expanse of water with houses half submerged, standing out like dead trees in a swamp. The newspapers claim that this flood was worse than that of 1832, when the river measured thirty-five feet in depth.

The greatest inconvenience experienced by persons not residents of the flooded districts was on account of the stoppage of the gas supply. From Wednesday afternoon until Saturday there was no gas. Walking the streets in the evening was like being in a country town where gas was never used. The trip from home to the bank to attend the Friday evening meeting of our directors was a novel experience. On Fayette Street everything was dark, with only here and there a faint light glimmering in some window. On Western Avenue it was the same. Ohio and Federal streets presented a checkered appearance. Here were a few houses veiled in Egyptian darkness, and close by one or two illuminated by lamps or flickering candles, while the few interspersed electric lights cast strong shadows.

In the bank we used candles and an oil lamp. It was comical to see our one tin candlestick and a crockery ink bottle with a candle stuck in it. These were not only used at the board meeting but in the banking room for three dark days. At home we had a candle and an old oil lamp. Around this lamp we all clustered trying to read. It hurt my eyes so much that I did very little reading until we again had gas.

LIFE AND SERVICES OF COLONEL HENRY BOQUET

BY

HON. EDWARD E. ROBBINS.*

Among the distinguished men who acted a prominent part in the early history of that part of the United States lying west of the Alleghany Mountains and between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, between 1754 and the Revolution, none, except perhaps Washington and Forbes, rendered more inportant services than Colonel Henry Boquet. It is the purpose of this address to give a brief biography of Boquet and a description of the battle of Bushy Run, upon which his fame chiefly rests, with some comments upon its effect on the civilization of the pre-Revolutionary period of our country's history.

No extended biography of Boquet is in existence. Little is known of his life prior to his coming to America. From various sources the following can be stated as the authentic facts of his illustrious career so far as preserved.

Henry Boquet was born at Ralle', a small Swiss town on the northern shore of Lake Geneva in 1719. At the age of seventeen he entered the army of the Low Country and at nineteen was commissioned ensign. After that he served with distinction in the army of the King of Sardinia, in the war against France and Spain. In 1748 he entered the Dutch service, and was employed by the Prince of Orange in occupying the posts lately evacuated by the French in pursuance of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. After this he traveled extensively in Italy in company with Lord Middleton, studying English, and from him he acquired his surprising knowledge of that language. His letters and papers so far as they are preserved show a surprising familiarity with English for one who never had left the continent of Europe until he was approaching middle age. On his return from Italy, Boquet lived several years at The Hague, where he industriously studied his profession and cultivated the friendship of the learned men of that period.

The war between England and France, which had opened disastrously for England in 1755, made it necessary for the English government to send large reenforcements to America. To carry out this program the Royal American Regiment was raised for service in the colonies. This body consisted of four battalions of 1,000 men each. Fifty of the officers might be Protestants of foreign birth, while the enlisted men were to be raised largely among the German settlers in America. This plan was adopted, with the hope that it might stir up military enthusiasm among the settlers.

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*Address delivered before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on January 29, 1918.

Sir Joseph Yorke, the English Ambassador to The Hague, persuaded Boquet and his friend, Col. Frederick Haldimand, to enter this service. Boquet sailed for America in the summer of 1756. During that period the English officers were advanced generally by influence. Boquet, however, seems to have gained all his promotions by merit and hard service.

No information is available as to Boquet's family. His name was evidently not a distinguished one in Switzerland, nor was his family very prominent. He never married, and although his will disposed of a large landed estate, it does not mention his heirs or relatives.

Boquet with several other officers of the Royal Americans arrived in New York in June, 1756. On November 24, 1756, a battalion of the Royal Americans and two independent companies had arrived in Philadelphia, and over these Col. Boquet was placed in command, and he applied at once to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania for quarters for these troops, stating that they were suffering severely from the cold and had been "cruelly and barbarously treated." Boquet complained to the government of Pennsylvania, which passed an Act of Assembly, authorizing the troops to be billeted in the houses of Philadelphia. A controversy at once arose between the people, the Assembly and the troops, and the government was compelled to ask the Assembly to rescind its action. This early legislation, which was so invaluable at that time, created a lasting impression on Boquet against the colonies. He never used the power given by this law and held it only *in terrorem,* as appears in his subsequent letters. During the winter of 1756 and 1757 Boquet had no further difficulty with the civil authorities of Philadelphia, and to no point in his career does his good sense appear to greater advantage than in the manner in which he overcame the prejudice of the people of Philadelphia, who were forced to have foreign troops thrust upon them who were affected with smallpox and other diseases. As time passed on Boquet became a great figure in society in the Quaker City. He was the friend of Chief Justice Allen, Attorney General Chew and Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania and of Bartram, the botanist, and many others.

During the years of 1756 and 1757 little progress was made in America by the English arms, but in July, 1757, William Pitt became Prime Minister of Great Britain and all was changed. The discontent that had heretofore reigned in the colonists because they were in constant uncertainity as to the amount of military contributions they would be compelled to make and the object of the same, that were constantly being levied against them, ceased. Pitt understood the causes of America's discontent, and knew what to do.

It was now announced that while New England, New York and New Jersey were expected to assist in the northern portions of the country, Pennsylvania and the south would be looked to for aid in the conquest of the west. England would provide the arms, munitions, tents and equipment, and nothing would be required of the colonies, but to raise a portion of the troops, pay and clothe them, and that Parliament would be urged to reimburse those furnishing the funds. Relying on this promise, Pennsylvania went into the campaign of 1758 with great vigor, and raised 2700 men for the expedition against Fort Duquesne, the strongest French fort west of the Alleghany Mountains. This expedition was put in command of Brig. Gen. John Forbes, a Scotch officer of great merit. Col. Boquet, who had been sent south, was recalled with the Royal Americans and made second in command. The army consisted of 7,000 men, including 2,600 Virginians under Col. George Washington. By July 1, 1758, a large portion of these forces under Boquet had arrived at Fort Bedford. The Virginians under the command of Washington, then a colonel of the Virginia militia, were at Fort Cumberland, thirty miles south. Then arose the famous controversy between Boquet and Washington over the road that should be taken to Fort Duquesne. Washington urged the Braddock road, which had been constructed three years before and was followed by Braddock to the point of his disastrous defeat at Braddock's field, some ten miles from Fort Duquesne, while Boquet took a decided stand for the building of a new road westward from Bedford by way of Fort Ligonier and Hannastown. Boquet dreaded the old ill-fated road. The details of this controversy, which are of record, cannot be recounted here. Letters are in existence reflecting upon Washington, which subsequent facts prove were unfair. Boquet, however, won the approval of Forbes, and succeeded in carrying his point, and the new road was built, known in history as the "Forbes Road," about the exact location of which at certain points considerable difference of opinion exists to this day. The partisans of the different roads were very strong in their contentions as to the various locations of this now famous road.

It was during this march through the wilderness from Bedford to Fort Ligonier, that Boquet first displayed his genius as an Indian fighter. He was tireless in drilling his men. It was said of him "that every afternoon he exercised his men in the woods and bushes in a manner of his own invention, which would be of great service in an engagement with the Indians."

It was also stated that he dreaded the moral effect, that would be produced upon his men by their association with the Braddock road, and especially of his ill-fated battlefield, upon which lay the bones of the unfortunate dead, and he afterwards attributed the success of the Forbes expedition, in a great part, to his adoption of the new route.

Finally on September 9, 1758, Washington came up from Wills Creek, now Cumberland, and joined Boquet at Bedford and the march over the mountains to Ligonier began.

The laying out of the road and the construction of Fort Ligonier were under the immediate direction of Boquet, although the selection of the site of Fort Ligonier and its exact plan was adopted at the suggestion of Washington. On these two officers the burden of managing and planning the campaign rested because General Forbes was so ill that he had to be carried on a litter. It would be unfair, however, to detract anything from the military ability of General Forbes, as he was a man of iron will, unconquerable energy and determination, and of superior military genius. He was carried to the end of the journey to Fort Pitt, and afterward back to Philadelphia, where he died in December, 1758, and was buried in chancel of Christ Church.

From Ligonier the expedition advanced against Fort Duquesne, constructing the Forbes Road by way of Loyalhanna Creek, crossing the same near Beatty Station, thence by Hannastown, following Brush Creek and Turtle Creek and entering Fort Duquesne November 25, 1758, which had been blown up and set on fire the day before by the French, and was a smoldering ruin when the troops entered in the evening of that day.

In a letter written from Fort Duquesne by Boquet, on the 25th of November, 1758, to Miss Annie Willing, he related that the French had burned to the ground and destroyed the houses and magazines, leaving no covering for himself and the troops that accompanied him, and added "the glory of our success must after God be allowed to our General, who from the beginning took those wise measures which deprived the French of their chief strength * * * His prudence in all measures in the numerous difficulties he had to overcome deserves the highest praise."

General Forbes immediately changed the name of Fort Duquesne to Fort Pitt in honor of William Pitt.

Boquet was left in command of Fort Pitt and began the reconstruction of the fort.

This part of Boquet's life is only given for the purpose of throwing light upon his subsequent success at Bushy Run, and I pass over his career until the beginning of 1763, when we find him in Philadelphia.

By Boquet's expedition two well established ways were opened across the Alleghany Mountains, the Forbes Road and the Braddock Road. Along these two established routes settlers began to pour over the mountains and into the fertile valleys adjacent to the headwaters of the Ohio. These settlers felled the forests and built permanent improvements and began to cultivate the land. Their coming drove away the game, and their settlements were permanent. The Indians began to perceive that these settlements meant the complete expulsion of the Indians from all that territory; that they could not live where the white men had driven away the game. The settlements along the Great Lakes were springing up as far west as Detroit, and the same changed conditions were rapidly taking place there, to their great astonishment and fear. Pontiac, the most sagacious Indian of his day, succeeded in uniting the western tribes in an attempt to drive out the white men from all this vast region. His plan has been designated in history as "Pontiac's Conspiracy."

It was planned that the attack should be made on all the forts and settlers during the harvest season of 1763, when not only the settlers should be killed, but their crops destroyed, their houses burned, their forts captured, and the white race driven completely out of the country. It was even Pontiac's wish that they might be expelled from the continent. Pontiac was the principal chief of the Ottawas. He was the son of a chief. He possessed courage and eloquence in a preeminent degree. His commanding energy, and force of mind and craft, were superior to that of any savage of his time. He was to the Indians of his generation what Washington was to the Americans. At the time of the conspiracy he was about fifty years of age. He had commanded the Ottawas at the attack upon Braddock, and had gained thereby an enviable reputation for bravery, strategy and skill, that made him easily the foremost Indian of his day. He succeeded not only in inducing the Ojibwas and Pottawattomas, who were friendly to his tribe, by the Wyandots, Sanecas and Delawares and several other tribes, fourteen in all, to become parties to his common warfare against the white man. The attack upon the settlers was so well planned, and so perfectly executed that they were not prepared to defend against it. His principal assistant was Guyasutha, a chief of the Senecas. Pontiac had charge of the attack upon Detroit, the strongest English post in the west, and Guyasutha led the attack on Fort Pitt. Had not Pontiac's treachery been disclosed to Captain Gladwyn, the commander of the fort at Detroit, by a young Indian maid with whom he had an acquaintance, and who had acquired a warm attachment for him, Detroit doubtless would have been captured.

On the morning of May 9, 1763, Pontiac began his attack upon Fort Detroit. Every inhabitant found outside of the fort was murdered in cold blood, and at the same time all along the frontier of Pennsylvania, from the Great Lakes to the southern boundary of Virginia, the Indians laid siege to every fort and murdered every settler. Fully 600 Indians were under the command of Pontiac, in his attack upon Fort Detroit. He was aided in this attack by Canadians, who not only counselled and advised, but furnished the warriors under Pontiac with food and provisions.

On May 4, 1763, Simeon Ecuyer, a brave officer of the same nationality as Boquet, was in command of Fort Pitt. That day he sent a letter to Major Gladwyn, advising him that the fort was surrounded by Indians; and on the 27th the attack began on that fort. Ecuyer succeeded in writing a letter to Boquet the same day, in which he said: "My garrison consists of 330 men all counted, 104 women, 106 children, total 540 mouths, of whom 420 receive provisions from the king." He added: "We are so crowded in the fort that I fear disease and in spite of every care I cannot keep the place as clean as I should like. Besides the smallpox is among us; and I have therefore caused a hospital to be built under the drawbridge, out of range of musket shot. * * * I am determined to hold my post, spare my men, and never expose them without necessity. This, I think, is what you require of me."

Every fortified post established or held by the English, except Detroit, Fort Pitt and Ligonier, were captured by the Indians, and the troops with rare exceptions were murdered. Le Boeuf, Venango, Presque Isle, La Bay upon Lake Michigan, St. Josephs upon the river of that name, Miamis upon the Miamis River, Ouchtanon upon the Ouabache, Sandusky and Michilimackinac had all been captured, and Ligonier and Fort Pitt were entirely cut off from communication with the rest of the world. The settlers were driven from their homes as far east as Carlisle. Their houses were burned, their stock driven away and killed, their crops destroyed. It seemed as if all the white settlers were doomed to be driven back across the Susquehanna, if not ultimately across the Delaware. The success had so emboldened the Indians, and disheartened the settlers, that nothing appeared to stand between them and utter extermination. Some were murdered in cold blood, others were burned; the most cruel, relentless and revengeful punishment was visited upon all.

The cruelty of this campaign was carried to such an extent that some of the prisoners captured near Detroit were eaten by the Indians at a form of war feast as a superstitious rite, as they considered that this would increase their courage and hardihood. Such were the terrible conditions of the white settlers in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia when Col. Boquet was summoned by Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in

North America, to organize the expedition against the Indians and to rescue Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt. At that time the Commander-in-Chief was almost without an army. All the armed forces from Canada had been sent home. Nothing remained but to gather the scattered regiments together that had lately arrived from the West Indies and were sick and diseased from service in the tropics.

Boquet was at this time colonel of the First Battalion of Royal Americans, and had his headquarters in Philadelphia. He had a fine knowledge of Indian warfare. His experience with Forbes had made him easily the foremost Indian fighter of his day.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst possessed some of the traits of Braddock; stern, obstinate and phlegmatic, he refused to believe that the Indian uprising was worthy of notice.

On June 4th Boquet received a letter from Captain Ecuyer, which portrayed graphically the real conditions that existed at that post, and told of the widespread desolation wrought by the Indians. Amherst, on the other hand, wrote a characteristic letter, in which he said, among other things: "Fort Pitt could never be in any danger from such a wretched enemy."

Boquet understood the peril of the situation, and advised the abandonment of the outlying posts at Venango and Le Boeuf, and the concentration of the forces at Fort Pitt. This Amherst refused to consider, taking the position that it would induce the Indians to think they were more formidable than they really were. Finally on June 25th Amherst wrote to Boquet that he had ordered the 42nd and a portion of the 77th Highlanders, consisting of 214 men, with their officers, to accompany him on an expedition against the Indians for the relief of Fort Pitt, adding: "Should the whole race of Indians take arms against us I can do no more." Boquet had by this time proceeded as far as Lancaster, and on receiving this letter replied from his encampment near Carlisle on July 3rd, advising his commander of the loss of Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. The correspondence shows that Amherst proposed the same tactics with the same arrogance that had characterized Braddock in his Indian warfare. It was at about this time that Amherst apparently awoke to the gravity of the situation and wrote to Boquet, advising him to inoculate the Indians with smallpox, by the use of blankets. This seems to have brought the method of warfare within the range of the barbarous, cruel and outrageous methods used in the present war by the Germans. Boquet's reply to this suggestion of Amherst's seemed to discourage such cruel methods, but it is recorded that smallpox during the war did break out among the Indians who besieged Fort Pitt and decimated the Mingoes, Delawares and Shawanese to a frightful extent. When Boquet reached Carlisle he found every building and house in the little town crowded with families driven from their homes by the terror of the Indians; wives made widows, children made orphans, wailing in anguish and despair. On July 13th he reported to his commander that the list of people known to have been killed was increasing very fast, that the desolation of so many families reduced to the last extremity of want and misery, the despair of those who had lost their parents, relations and friends and children who filled the streets was indescribable. Boquet was full of anxiety for the safety of Fort Bedford, Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt. Capt. Louis Qurrey was in command at Bedford, Capt. Archibald Blaine at Ligonier and Capt. Simeon Ecuyer at Fort Pitt. Qurrey had no garrison worthy the name, and yet the inhabitants for many miles around had gathered at the fort for protection. No word could be obtained from any of these forts. The fate that awaited them can well be imagined by what occurred at Venango. This fort was besieged by the Indians. A large body of Senecas gained an entrance under the pretense of friendship, fell upon the garrison, murdered all of them except Lieut. Gordon, who was burned over a slow fire for several successive nights until he died in great agony. They then set fire to the fort, burned it to the ground and departed. Not a man remained alive to tell the fate of Venango. An Indian who took part in this treachery disclosed it afterward.

Boquet began his march from Carlisle on July 10, 1763, leaving behind him a miserable crowd of refugees quartered around the fort, who were then in a half-starved condition. His little army was composed of the remnant of the 22nd and 77th Highlanders who had been weakened by service and disease. Sixty of them were too weak to walk and had to be transported on wagons. He drove with him 200 head of cattle and a 100 sheep for food, with a train of 350 pack-horses and a number of wagons bearing supplies for the relief of Forts Ligonier and Pitt. His entire military force, however, did not include over 500 men counting those that were sick and those capable of service. To proceed meant new dangers for this little army of weary, worn and sick Highlanders unaccompanied by a single provincial soldier, marching away from the desolation that prevailed on the frontier at Carlisle and disappearing in the limitless forests to the west, uncertain as to whether they would ever reach their destination and rescue Forts Ligonier and Pitt.

Before them lay the great and unexplored forests infested with Indians. They knew that ahead of them was the battlefield on which Braddock and his soldiers had met defeat and where a greater number had been killed eight years before than their entire present force. They knew that every fort had either fallen or was besieged. They did not know that Ligonier and Fort Pitt were yet in the possession of the English. Furthermore they were unaccustomed to Indian warfare, and no man among them except their commander had the slightest conception of the stupendous task that confronted them. They arrived at Fort Bedford on the 25th of July and learned that 18 settlers had been murdered in the immediate neighborhood of the fort, and that all the settlers roundabout were gathered there for protection. Burned houses and desolation met them on every side. They discovered that Ligonier was besieged and that it was doubtful whether it could hold out until relief arrived.

Boquet also learned that no word had been received from Fort Pitt for weeks, other than that it was besieged. Here he secured thirty frontiersmen, who were driven in from their farms and who agreed to accompany his expedition as guides, the Highlanders being unable to penetrate the woods without becoming lost. This was the first colonial military aid furnished him on an expedition that was conspicuously for the relief of the settlers. Here he also learned that every messenger from Ligonier to Fort Pitt had either been murdered or driven back. He immediately selected thirty of the Highlanders, with guides, and ordered them to push forward with all speed, by unfrequented paths, to the relief of Ligonier. These men reached Ligonier the next day after running a gauntlet of Indian fire, much to the relief of Blaine, who was holding out against great odds. After several days' rest at Bedford, Boquet himself pushed on for the relief of Ligonier and Fort Pitt. The road over the mountains had been roughly built by Forbes eight years before. It was difficult to move the wagons on account of the rocks, roots and deep washings in the road, but Boquet had aided in its construction, and knew every foot thoroughly.

The July sun was exceedingly hot and oppressive. The animals could scarcely be urged forward, but marching on with all energy and enthusiasm, the expedition reached Ligonier on August 2, 1763, and raised the siege.

I wish to pause long enough here to say that Fort Ligonier had been built near the site of an Indian village by Washington, assisted by Col. John Armstrong and Col. Boquet in 1758, and that part of Forbes' expedition had wintered there. It was garrisoned until the close of the Whisky Insurrection in 1794. It was attacked vigorously by the French and Indians just after the disastrous defeat of Major Grant at Grant's Hill, near Fort Duquesne, in 1758. It was besieged by the Indians in 1763 most ferociously when relieved by Boquet. Washington asserts under his own hand, that it was in a battle with the Indians at this place that he was in the greatest personal jeopardy in all of his long military career; and although the fort was several times attacked, assaulted and besieged, it never surrendered. It was the home of Gen. Arthur St. Clair, and is still the home of a patriotic, stirring, liberty-loving people. The Sons of the American Revolution have marked with a fitting tablet, erected in the public square at Ligonier, the historic events that occurred there, and modern travelers passing over the Lincoln Highway may read if they wish about its historic importance.

Boquet arrived at Ligonier on August 2nd and rested three days. The report that he received warned him that he was in danger of being ambushed, and that the condition of Fort Pitt was such that he should go forward with all speed. Hence he left all his wagons and heavy baggage at Ligonier, together with his sick and disabled men, and such equipage as would impede a rapid march to Fort Pitt, and moved forward with his army, now reduced to 500 men, a few cattle, with 340 pack horses to carry the baggage and provisions that he proposed to take with him. He pressed forward with great rapidity, the first day covering a distance of seventeen miles.

Boquet's familiarity with the road led him to plan carefully about crossing over the defiles at Turtle Creek, where the high hills and steep valleys rendered it a point formidable for attack from the Indians. He resolved to pass through this narrow valley by night. He well knew, however, that he could not attempt to do this at the close of a day of toil and severe marching, so he endeavored to reach Turtle Creek in the afternoon and rest there until dark and move forward in the night. At about 1 o'clock in the afternoon he reached Bushy Run, a branch of Brush Creek, and a halt was ordered. Sentinels were posted at different points around the camp and the troops were allowed to rest under the trees, seeking shade from the scorching sun of the hot August afternoon.

Scarcely had they lain down when a sudden volley of musketry in front made every man spring to his feet and reach for his rifle. In a few moments the savage war whoop sounded, and the rattle of musketry at different points warned the men that they were attacked from all sides by Indians. The advance line was quickly hurled back but the Highlanders formed in companies, and found it an easy matter to drive the Indians away. As soon as they charged the Indians fired from behind trees bushes and rocks, and disappeared. Charging now on one side and now on the other, the troops easily chased the Indians away, but as soon as they retired they were followed by the Indians who poured their fire upon the troops, who were now being formed in companies around the horses, baggage and cattle, that had been driven to the center of the camp. Boquet observed that the savages invariably recoiled before the bayonet and ordered a charge wherever the fire was hottest. In sections they steadily advanced at different points, and were always successful in driving the Indians back, but the ring of fire was elastic, springing back to its place the moment the pressure was removed. Thus they fought on hour after hour, and although the Highlanders carried every point upon which they charged, not the slightest ground was gained. The Indians continued fighting from behind trees and in ambush, following up their assailants as soon as they retired. Their assaults became fiercer and bolder and their rifle fire more deadly. Had Boquet held his troops massed, as Braddock had done seven years before, the conflict would soon have ended in the massacre of his entire command, but he kept them constantly moving from point to point, and thus distracted the enemy, and suffered less loss than otherwise would have been the case. Still each charge was followed by the loss of some of those in his command, and as the commander looked around and saw how thickly the woods were strewn with his men, either dead or wounded, he grew more distressed, and longed, like Wellington at Waterloo, for the setting of the sun. He knew that his forces were rapidly melting away, and that by this method of warfare his defeat or utter annihilation was only a question of time. If he could hold on until dark he knew he would have a respite and time to form new plans. He was convinced that the Indians would not risk the charge of the bayonet in the night, which they held in even greater dread than in daylight. As the shadows began to fall and darkness came on, the girdle of hostile fire gradually slackened and finally ceased alltogether, and the silence was only broken by the moans and shrieks of the wounded. These were carefully gathered together and laid on blankets under the trees and surrounded by a barricade of bags of flour and baggage, while the dead were left unburied where they had fallen. The night that followed was a sad one for the weary troops and without fire to cheer their gloom they sank to rest upon their arms. The rapid march of seventeen miles, followed by seven hours of uninterrupted fighting had completely worn out the Highlanders, to whom all the scenes, as well as the fighting, were strange and new. Forming a circle around their convoy they stretched themselves on the ground, ready at the first alarm to spring to their feet and renew the conflict. Not a drop of water could be procured where they were compelled to encamp. This to those who were well was a terrible deprivation on that hot August night, but to the wounded, whose thirst was increased by their loss of blood, the torture was indescribable.

It was a night of anxious suspense and gloomy forebodings, and as Boquet sat and pondered on his prospects for the morrow, in the midst of the wounded, listening only to their shrieks and groans, thinking of the melancholy fate of Braddock near this spot seven years before, he was forced to the conclusion that his situation was perilous and perhaps hopeless. He could not advance, and clear the road in front at the point of the bayonet, without abandoning his convoy and the wounded, while to stay and defend them was certain destruction. Whichever way he turned, defeat or disaster seemed inevitable. Still nothing further could be done but wait and see what the morning might bring forth.

It was during this time that he wrote a letter to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, that was discovered long afterward, which shows the characters of the man. I quote it in part:

> "Whatever our fate may be I thought it necessary to give your Excellency this early information that you may at all events take such measures as you think proper with the Provinces, for their own safety, and the effectual relief of Fort Pitt, as in case of another engagement I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so much weakened by the losses of this day in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable.
>
> "I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the assistance I have received from Major Campbell during this long action nor express my admiration of the cool and steady behavior of the troops, who did not fire a shot without orders, and drove the enemy from their posts with fixed bayonets. The conduct of the officers is much above my praises."

The short summer night, though long enough to the beleaguered force at length passed, and the gray light of dawn appeared above the tree tops. But before the shadows below had wholly disappeared, the loud tap of the drum brought the weary troops to their feet and the next moment the forest rang with the war whoop of the savages, who still surrounded the camp a few hundred feet distant. Rapidly flitting from tree to tree, they closed in on every side, and began to renew their fire on the besieged army. The Highlanders charged as before and forced them back. They disappeared behind the trees only to reappear and press harder on the opposite side, and the scenes of the day before were repeated again and again, and the savage rush was repelled by the steady charge of the bayonet. The Indians however, by skulking behind the trees, defeated every attempt to bring them into close conflict. By this method they avoided serious disaster to themselves, while the troops furnished a conspicuous mark. The destructive fire of the savages was easier to bear than the burning thirst that consumed the men. The long struggle of the previous afternoon followed by the hot night, had made their thirst most excruciating, and the struggle of the morning intensified it to such a degree that they were driven to madness, and thought of victory only that they might obtain water.

Boquet stood in the midst of the field, keeping in touch with every movement. He surveyed the scene with a feeling of dread as he clearly saw that unless the nature of the conflict was changed, it could have but one termination. His little band was so decimated that soon the dead and wounded would outnumber the living. Each time that the companies returned from a successful charge their number was diminished, until their ranks began to assume the form of mere skeletons. The gloomy aspect of affairs was rendered still more hopeless by the apparent steady increase in numbers and boldness of the foes. After leaving the siege at Fort Pitt they had come here to the rescue of their savage friends, and furnished two strong warriors for every one that had been slain. The woods on every side was alive with shouting, yelling and screeching demons. Some of the Indians in broken English used insulting vulgarity and profanity, yelling from behind trees, taunting the troops and making the woods ring. Unable to move either backward or forward, on account of his convoy and his wounded, Boquet was perplexed and undecided as to what course he should take in his now desperate situation. The savages seeing his powerlessness grew bolder, pressed closer and closer until their bullets hit the horses, causing them to break away and run violently among the troops, and even out among the Indians. The drivers, unable to control them, sought shelter behind the trees and hid wherever they could. These signs of disorder Boquet knew, must sooner or later affect the morale of his troops and dishearten them. It was then that he rose to the situation, and displayed the ability, that distinguished him as a great military genius.

The ground occupied by the troops was a slight eminence heavily wooded on the top, where the convoy and wounded were collected. The Indians, attacking the camp on all sides at the same time, rendered this arrangement necessary. Two companies had been thrown out in the direction of Fort Pitt, where the struggle was fiercest. Boquet conceived the idea that if he could draw the Indians into a compact mass, and lead them to believe that they were charging to success, and then fall upon them with the bayonet, he could overwhelm and defeat them. To execute this military strategy he ordered two companies to fall back within the circle, and the companies that held either side to deploy as skirmishers as if to close the gap opened by the retreat. The movement thus made would, he believed, be considered by the savages as the retreat of his whole army. Two other companies withdrawing were directed to fall back until by the movement they got under cover of the hill, where concealed, they were to wheel and quickly make a circuit in the woods and then fall on the flank of the savages by a bayonet charge, if, as Boquet supposed, the Indians would rush forward to attack the camp through the line of skirmishers. In the meantime he had moved two other companies to the opposite side and placed them in ambush on the other flank. The ruse succeeded, the Indians who observed the retreating movement and the skirmish line giving way, pressed forward and seeing that they had a clear front, rushed forward in great numbers. The few left to hold the line had gradually retired, until they had drawn their pursuers opposite the two companies that had marched back around the hill to attack them on the flank. The companies to the left, under Maj. Campbell, moved forward at double quick and came down from behind the hill upon the savages with a fierce bayonet charge. The Indians were completely taken by surprise. They wheeled and met the charge firmly and actually for a time halted the Highlanders. The other two companies on the right fired from the bushes an enfilading volley and charged forward with fixed bayonets. The Indians were dumbfounded and thrown into consternation, by being attacked on both flanks. They became terror stricken and fled, leaving on the battlefield sixty warriors dead, besides a large number of wounded whom they carried away with them. The charge was followed up by the troops with great vigor, and in a few moments, not an Indian was to be seen on that side of the camp. The Indians on the other side of the circle, seeing the slaughter of their companies, fled in consternation from the battlefield.

Thus ended the Battle of Bushy Run, fought on the 5th and 6th of August, 1763, and the road to Fort Pitt was open. It is singular that the only two severe battles fought around the two forts, Pitt and Detroit, in this war, should have had names so similar—Bushy Run and Bloody Run. They were alike however in name only, for in the latter the Indians defeated the English and Americans with great slaughter. Bushy Run was the first great victory won by the white man over the Indian. Parkman, describing it, said: "The battle of Bushy Run was one of the best-contested actions ever fought between white men and Indians." How many dead and wounded Indians were carried off is unknown, but three chiefs lay dead at the point where the final charge occurred.

The victory did not come too soon, for Boquet found when he assembled his troops that out of less than 400 effective men who entered the battle, fifty had been killed outright, sixty wounded, many of whom died afterwards, being over one-fourth of his entire command. The camp on that August afternoon presented a sad appearance. Boquet surveyed the bloody and trampled field and felt that his little force had scarcely escaped a terrible doom. Over 100 of his brave Highlanders lay scattered around, some stretched in death, and others reclining against logs and trees, bleeding from their wounds. This loss prevented him from taking up his march and pressing forward to Fort Pitt. He was compelled to remain four days, during which time he dug graves under the trees for the dead, and constructed litters upon which to carry the wounded. The Indians he left to rot where they fell. On the fourth day he took up his march with the remnant of his little army, carrying the wounded with him, for the relief of Fort Pitt, where he arrived on August 9th. His arrival at Fort Pitt found the garrison on the verge of starvation. It is true that over the log enclosure the English flag was still flying, which was a welcome sight to the weary troops, and they in turn brought joy to the distressed garrison. It would have been impossible for Fort Pitt to hold out forty-eight hours longer, and had it fallen, dominion over the whole region from Bedford west would probably have been changed.

The importance of the battle of Bushy Run was far reaching. It established the dominion of England permanently throughout Western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. It cleared the forests of savage warfare and brought about a permanent peace. It completely disheartened the Indians, it broke up the coalition formed by Pontiac, and for the time being completely disheartened and discouraged the wily Guyasutha. In fact, it may be fairly stated, without exaggeration, judged by results, that it was the greatest victory ever won by white men over Indians.

As a result of this battle, Boquet, who always showed a fine grasp of every situation in which he was placed, followed up his success by marching the next year into the heart of the Indian Territory, as far as the Muskingum Valley in the present State of Ohio, and received from the Indians 206 white men, women and children who had been held in captivity, and made treaties with all the Indians that had been engaged in Pontiac's Conspiracy. This resulted in a permanent peace and established finally his reputation as not only a great soldier, but as the greatest diplomatic genius of our colonial period.

He returned to Fort Pitt, where he remained for some time, and then proceeded to Philadelphia, where he was signally honored by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, as is shown by the following written testimonial, and his reply thereto:

"IN ASSEMBLY, JANUARY 15, 1765, A. M.

To the Honorable HENRY BOQUET, Esq.,
Commander-in-Chief of His MAJESTY'S Forces in the Southern Department of AMERICA:

The Address of the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met:

SIR:

The representatives of the freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, being informed that you intend shortly to embark for England, and moved with a due sense of the important services you have rendered His Majesty, his northern colonies in general, and to this Province in particular, during our late wars with the French and barbarous Indians, in the remarkable victory over the savage enemy, united to oppose you, near Bushy Run, in August 1763, when on your march for the relief of Pittsburgh, owing, under God, to your intrepidy and superior skill in command, together with the bravery of your officers and little army; as also in your late march to the country of the savage nations, with the troops under your direction; thereby striking terror through the numerous Indian tribes around you; laying a foundation for a lasting as well as honourable peace with them, and rescuing, from savage captivity, upwards of two hundred of our Christian brethren, prisoners among them; these eminent services and your constant attention to the civil rights of His Majesty's subjects in this Province, demand, Sir, the grateful tribute of thanks from all good men; and therefore, we, the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, unanimously for ourselves, and in behalf of all the people of this Province, do return you most sincere and hearty thanks for these your great services, wishing you a safe and pleasant voyage to England, with a kind and gracious reception from His Majesty.

Signed, by order of the House,
'JOSEPH FOX, Speaker.'"

Colonel Boquet's answer was as follows:

"To the Honourable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met:

Gentlemen:

With a heart impressed with the most lively sense of gratitude, I return you my humble and sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in your polite address of the 15th of January, transmitted me to New York by your speaker.

Next to the approbation of His Sacred Majesty, and my superior officers, nothing could afford me higher pleasure than your favourable opinion of my conduct in the discharge of those military commands with which I have been intrusted.

Gratitude as well as justice demand of me to acknowledge that the aids granted by the legislature of this Province and the constant assistance and support afforded me by the honourable the Governor and Commissioners in the late expedition, have enabled me to recover so many of His Majesty's subjects from a cruel captivity, and be the happy instrument of restoring them to freedom and liberty. To you, therefore, gentlemen, is the greater share of that merit due, which you are generously pleased on this occasion to impute to my services.

Your kind testimony of my constant attention to the civil rights of His Majesty's subjects in this Province, does me singular honour, and calls for the return of my warmest acknowledgments.

Permit me to take this public opportunity of doing justice to the officers of the regular and provincial troops and the volunteers who have served with me, by declaring that under Divine Providence the repeated successes of His Majesty's arms against a savage enemy are principally to be ascribed to their courage and resolution and to their perseverance under the severest hardships and fatigue.

I sincerely wish prosperity and happiness to the Province, and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Gentlemen,

Your Most obedient and most humble servant
HENRY BOQUET.

February 4, 1765."

The Assembly recommended Boquet to the king for promotion, but there was great doubt whether, as an alien, he was capable by law of holding higher rank. It was probably for this reason, that on March 3, 1765, he was naturalized by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in accordance with a late act of Parliament. Still he hardly hoped for promotion, as appears from the following letter to Benjamin Chew, the Attorney General of Pennsylvania, which must have been written some time in March of that year: "My good friend must be the first to know the unexpected favor said to have been conferred upon me by His Majesty, in appointing me Brigadier-General, as I have it not from authority, but by private letters of my friends, dated Feb. 13th, I would not choose any one but you to be acquainted with it." The good news was confirmed to everybody's satisfaction.

Boquet expected to be called to England, but he was ordered to Pensacola instead, to take command of the king's forces in the Southern Department of America. He arrived at this most unhealthy post on August 23, 1765, the deadliest season of the year. He there contracted yellow fever and on September 2nd was dead, "lamented by his friends and regretted universally." He sleeps in an unknown and unmarked grave in the vicinity of Pensacola. The battlefield upon which was accomplished an event that had such a portentious bearing upon our future, is also unmarked. The traveler who views the two farms over which the battle was fought will look in vain for any mark or monument to show the place or disclose the events that occurred there. Publicity should be given to the character of Boquet by a proper monument, as he was not only a great military genius and Indian fighter, but he also possessed good sense and diplomatic accumen to a remarkable degree. Indeed he is worthy of a splendid monument at the hands of the people of Western Pennsylvania, and the battlefield of Bushy Run should no longer go unmarked and uncommemorated. The time has arrived when this long neglected service should be performed and a suitable monument erected on the battlefield of Bushy Run that would alike commemorate that event and perpetuate the name and fame of Brig. Gen. Henry Boquet.

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

144—Autograph-Album

used by the late Mrs. Eliza Horner Gordon in 1851.

Presented by Miss Ilka M. Stotler.

145—Toys

Two dolls, cradle, table and chairs brought from Harrisburg by the late Mrs. Eliza Horner Gordon in 1852.

Presented by Miss Ilka M. Stotler.

146—Frame

containing the original address delivered on October 10th, 1918 on the occasion of the American Soldiers' entrance into the Fortress of Vaux, France,

Signed by the commander, and stamped with the seal of Fort De Vaux.

Presented by Dr. Jane Craven.

147—List of Flags

in vaules at Pennsylvania State Arsenal, belonging to organizations of Pennsylvania National Guard.

Presented by Thomas M. Montgomery,
State Librarian, Harrisburg, Penna.

148—Ancient Spinning-Wheel

used by the Dewalt family of Westmoreland County in 1720 in "growing their own flax, from which they spun their linens, and also made their blankets and woolen garments."

Loaned by Miss Grace I. Irwin.

149—Frame

containing a photographic reproduction of a map of Pittsburgh in 1795.

Presented by Mr. Samuel Bailey, Jr.

150—Silk Tobacco Pouch

belonging to General Longstreet, taken from his trunk, after the capture of his baggage train on the morning of the 6th of April, 1865. Captured by the 140th Reg. 1st Div. 2nd Army Corps, Captain William A. F. Stockton commanding.

Presented by Miss Alice Lathrop.

151—Old English Meat Jack

By request of the late Mrs. Heppie Wilkins Hamilton, this old English Meat-Jack which was brought from England to Pittsburgh by her parents in 1846, was presented to The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, by

Miss Mary Wilkins.

152—Historic Cane
made from a piece of wood taken from old Lafayette Hall birthplace of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh.
Presented by Mr. H. P. Dilworth

153—Ancient Lantern
used at Fort MacIntosh, in 1778.
Presented by the Misses Louise and Mary Dippold.

154—Swift
for carding flax, used by pioneer settlers in the Sewickley Valley in 1780.
Presented by the Misses Louise and Mary Dippold.

155—Spinning Wheel
used by pioneer settlers in the Sewickley Valley in 1780.
Presented by the Misses Louise and Mary Dippold.

156—Cradle
used by pioneer settlers in the Sewickley Valley in 1780.
Presented by the Misses Louise and Mary Dippold.

157—Woolreeds
used by pioneer settlers in the Sewickley Valley in 1780.
Presented by the Misses Louise and Mary Dippold.

158—Old Wooden-Skates
used by pioneer settlers in the Sewickley Valley in 1780.
Presented by the Misses Louise and Mary Dippold.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CIVIL WAR LETTER

Miss Alice Lathrop has presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania the following very interesting letter of Captain William A. F. Stockton, written the day after Lincoln's assassination and six days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, from his camp near the place of surrender.

April 15th, 1865.
Hd. Qrs. 140th Reg.

Dear Cousin:

The 2nd Corps has just returned from Clover Hill, the scene of the surrender of the Confederate forces under Gen. Lee. We are now located at or near Burksville, Va., a small village at the junction of the Danville and Lynchburg R. R. We will refit and rest our wearied troops. The late campaign is characterized with many hardships and well earned conquests. The Soldiers of the rank and file have shown that they are equal to any force the Confederacy can bring to bear against them. I think I can safely and truly say, that we have seen the last ditch, in the old Dominion State. I cannot here, depict to you the great joy that was manifested, when it became known that the enemy was hemmed round, on all sides. We did not expect a surrender, but on the contrary, a bloody engagement. On the eventful morning of the 9th of April, as usual the 140th P. V. was ordered to deploy as skirmishers and advance upon the enemy. I had advanced my line almost two miles, when I found the Confederate pickets posted on the side of a sloping hill, not far distant from Fairfax Court-House, (Appomattox). The soldiers opened fire upon the enemy and drove them to their works. While advancing I met a flag of truce from the Confederates, which caused me to order a halt on my whole line. I immediately sent for General Miles, Commander of our Division, who sent for General Humphreys, who sent for General Meade, who sent for General Grant. General Grant in about one half hour from the time the flag of truce made its first appearance rode to the front, and met General R. E. Lee, about one hundred yards in front of my lines. I am proud to say that the 140th Reg. entertained the flag of truce that surrendered the long vaunted army of the Confederacy under General Lee. And again let me repeat to you here, that the last gun fired in front of the Old-Iron-Second Corps, was aimed by the 140th Reg. For two days and nights, by order of Gen. Humphreys, we occupied the post of honors as the last skirmishers, and then the great guard between the two armies. Being in Command of my Regiment this afforded me many privileges of visiting the Confederates in their camps and talking to them personally, conspicuous among whom were Generals Lee, Heth, Longstreet, Mahone, Perry and Pickett. And let me say that General Lee is one of the most commanding and fine looking General Officers that I have ever seen and I do not wonder at the Confederate troops loving and idolizing him; he is so very kind and just.

On the 6th of this month our Brigade captured Gen's Longstreet and Mahone's baggage-train, and as usual, our Regiment being on the skirmish line, had of course first chance to plunder the baggage. I jumped into Gen. Longstreet's wagon and took possession of his trunk, the effects of which I have in store for future curiosity. I have also his tobacco-pouch, presented to him by some lady in Richmond, this I would love very much to send to you.

There is a very queer rumor in the army this evening that President Lincoln is dead, and that he was assassinated in Ford's Theatre by some masked men, also that Secretary Seward was also killed and Vice President Johnson. We do not place any credence in the report and believe it to be one of the army hoaxes, so often floating in the air. The paper I write this letter to you on, is some of the paper I took out of General Longstreet's portfolio, and when you know I write this letter on the lid of a cracker box, placed on my knees, you will make all allowance for my penmanship. Oh yes before I close this letter I must tell you that I had my horse shot under me in the engagement of the 11th Inst, and I know you will not think me egotistical, when I say that General Miles and Staff have recommended me for a Brevet.

The loss of the 140th since the commencement of the campaign is one hundred and twenty-eight in killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

Be sure and remember me very kindly to Grandmother and Mrs. Schoonmaker's family.

Your cousin,
Wm. A. F. S.

EMERGENCY PASSPORT ISSUED DURING THE GREAT WAR.

Miss Ilka M. Stotler has sent the Society the following passport, formerly the property of Mrs. Eliza Horner Gordon.

"Embassy
of the
United States of America,
at No. 571
Vienna, Austria

I the undersigned, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America hereby request all whom it may concern to permit Mrs. Eliza Horner Gordon, a Citizen of the United States safely and freely to pass, and in case of need to give her all lawful Aid and Protection.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the Embassy of the United States at Vienna, Austria, the eleventh day of September, in the year of 1914, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-ninth

Signed
Frederic C. Penfield,
United States Ambassador."

Description and Signature of Bearer follows.

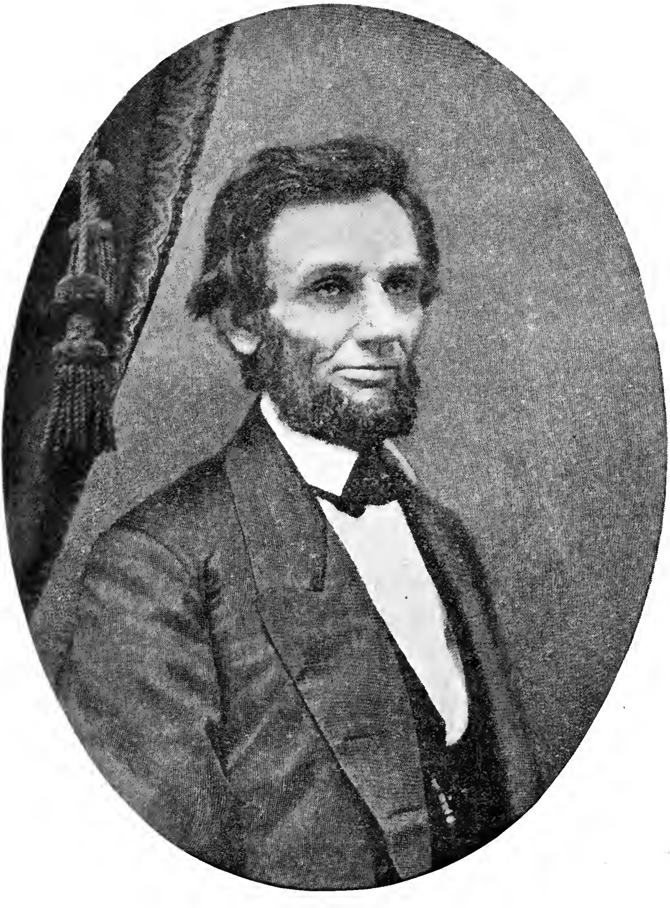
Obverse side of Passport

"No. 648
Vista buono par
il Regno d'Italia

Vienna, 22 Settembre, 1914

Italian seal and
coat of arms

K. Reggente la Cancellerio
Consolare della R.
Ambassiata e Italia"



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
At the time of his appearance in Pittsburgh

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 3, No. 4 OCTOBER, 1920 Price 75 Cents

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN PITTSBURGH AND THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

By CHARLES W. DAHLINGER.

CHAPTER I.

LINCOLN AND THE CAUSES LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

As Washington was the great overshadowing character in the early history of the United States, so Lincoln was the most prominent figure in its more recent years.

President Wilson is a word-painter of preeminent ability. His tribute to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, on the occasion of the presentation to the nation of the log-cabin birthplace of the first martyr-president, on September 4, 1916, is his masterpiece. He represents Lincoln as the ideal democrat of American civilization. He crystalizes in the most expressive phrases, the opinion of Lincoln entertained by the world. He calls him a genius and tells us that genius is no snob, and that genius "does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of so-

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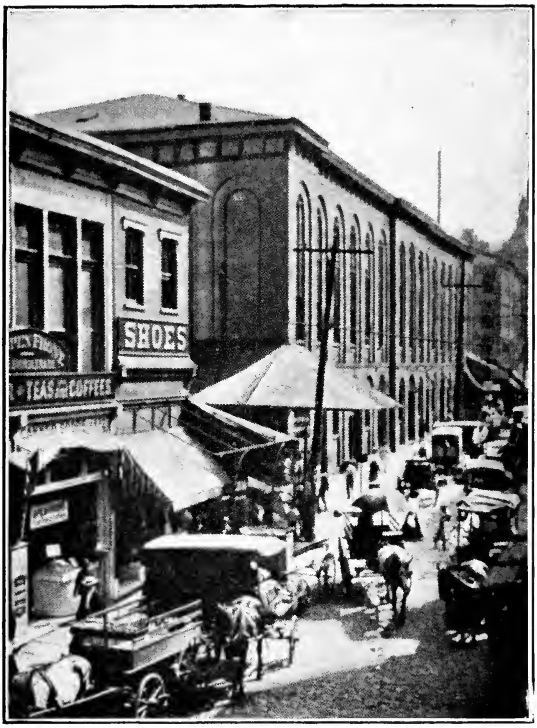
THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

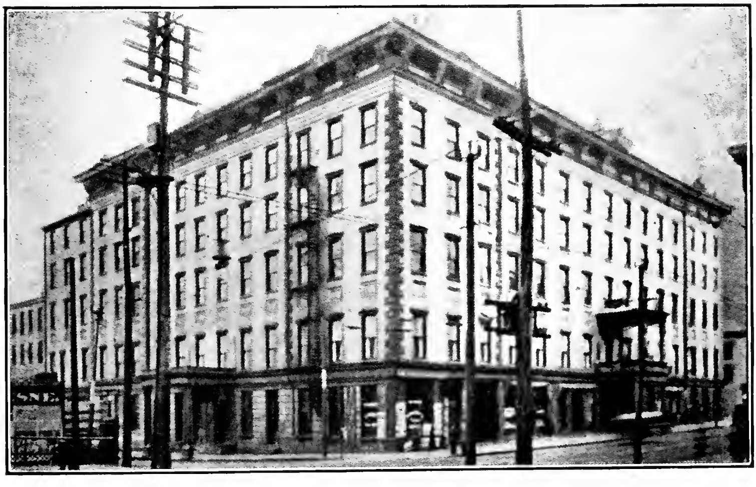
ciety;" that genius "affects humble company as well as great." Lincoln in President Wilson's opinion, was "one of the great sons of men;" he tells us that "he had a great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant sympathy;" that his "vision swept many horizons which those about him dreamed not of"—that his mind "comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease of one to the manner born;" that he had a "nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life" (1).

It is this exalted opinion of Lincoln that has influenced men to worship at his shrine, to keep innumerable writers and speakers employed in glorifying his greatness. It has caused the states through which his ancestors passed, or in which they tarried in their various migrations, to point to those facts. The sentiment has even produced a controversy as to the nationality of Abraham Lincoln's ancestral stock. Because his grandfather, who was also named Abraham, was born in the Pennsylvania-German county of Berks, and a land warrant was issued to him by the state of Virginia in the German-sounding name of Linkhorn, the survey to which he signed in the same way, a writer has claimed that the family is of German origin (2). This deduction induced certain persons interested in the history of the Lincoln family to investigate the question, the result being a volume in which the claim that Abraham Lincoln was of German origin is strongly refuted (3). This reverence for Lincoln has caused every city, town, village and rural community in which he once lived or visited, to point to the fact, and to enshrine the places where he sojourned. It is for this reason that Pittsburgh loves to recall, that Lincoln once honored the city by being its guest—twice it was believed for many years. The first visit said to have been made by Lincoln was in 1856. It is said that he was in Pittsburgh in attendance at the Republican convention held here in 1856, on Washington's birthday, February 22nd, and the day following. The belief was founded on a statement printed in the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* of February 22, 1856, announcing as one of the early arrivals, "Hon. A. Lincoln" and setting forth that he had

PITTSBURGH CITY HALL, WHERE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF PENNSYLVANIA WAS ORGANIZED.



It stood on the eastern half o the Diamond, an was torn down i the summer o 1914, to mak way for the market house now occupying the site.



MONONGAHELA HOUSE

attended the preliminary meeting held in the Monongahela House on the evening of February 21st. This account was followed in Erasmus Wilson's admirable "Standard History of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania," published in 1898.

Both accounts are clearly in error. It is true that Lincoln was expected to attend the convention (4), but affairs in his home state evidently kept him away. On February 22, 1856, Lincoln was in Decatur, Illinois, where certain newspaper editors were meeting to consolidate the Anti-Nebraska forces (5), and on whose recommendation a state convention was held at Bloomington on May 29th, following, which organized the Republican party in Illinois. There can be hardly any doubt that Lincoln had been communicated with and was invited to attend the Pittsburgh convention. The statement in the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* that he was in attendance would hardly have been printed had this not been the case. Then the Decatur conference was broached to him and he decided to remain in his own state, and watch events there. It is extremely probable also that the Decatur conference was suggested by the appearance of the call for the Pittsburgh convention. This contention is the more plausible when it is borne in mind that the *Chicago Tribune*, which was represented in the Decatur conference, had its editor, J. C. Vaughan, in attendance at the Pittsburgh convention. It may even be a fact that the originator of the Pittsburgh convention was in communication with the Illinois editors, and advised them to hold their conference for the purpose of organizing the Republican party in that state.

It was the opposition to the extension of negro slavery that brought about the Pittsburgh convention. Negro slavery had been introduced into the Colonies as early as the year 1619, two years after Jamestown was settled, when twenty negroes were brought there on a Dutch vessel (6). From that time forward, fostered by the English government, negro slaves were brought into all of the Colonies, mainly on English ships, although there were also New Englanders who exchanged their rum for negroes on the coast of Africa (7).

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the number of negro slaves in the Colonies was about half a million (8). The leaders in the new government, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, although some of them were slaveholders, all regarded slavery as a great evil. Their struggle with England was for "Freedom" and their idealistic theories could not be reconciled with the existence of slavery under the government which they had just established. The altruistic impulse, however, was not strong enough to overcome the spirit of self interest prevalent in a large part of the country (9). An eminent foreign historian (10), without bias in favor of either the slaveholders or the non-slaveholders of the United States, has summed up the sentiments of the former toward slavery in the following language:

"The negro had been long looked upon, uprightly and honestly, as an animal. There was no consciousness whatever that any injustice had been done him. When conscience began slowly to assert itself, it was quieted by the argument that bringing heathen doomed to hell to America made the blessings of Christianity attainable to them. A sluggish faith could content itself with this lie since it harmonized with worldly interests."

In the Northern states the conservative people awakened early to the great wrong of negro slavery. By the year 1800 all of them had passed laws abolishing slavery, in some states immediately, in others after a period of years. Henry Watterson commented sarcastically on the movement: "The North, which brought the Africans here in its ships, finding slave labor unprofitable, sold its slaves to the South at a good price and turned pious" (11). By act of Congress of March 2, 1807, the importation of slaves into the country was prohibited from January 1, 1808 (12). But slaves continued to be smuggled into the United States, it being estimated that in some years the number was from thirteen to fifteen thousand (13). The illicit trade continued until the slave trade was on May 15, 1820, declared by Congress to be piracy (14).

In the North slavery had become a moral question, in the South an economic and political one. The North was opposed to the further extension of slavery, particularly into the new territories and states as they were created, the South favored their admission as slave territories or states. In 1820 a line of demarcation was created between slave and free territory by the passage by Congress of the

Missouri Compromise bill, approved on March 6th. The slave power was not satisfied; the country was ever expanding into the fertile West and the slave-owners desired a share of the new lands; but they must take their slaves with them. With the assistance of Northern politicians they procured the passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, approved May 30, 1854 (15), which provided for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and left to the decision of the residents of the states and territories, the question of permitting slavery within their respective borders (16). The law repealed the Missouri Compromise and was responsible for the organization of the Republican party.

In the non-slaveholding states the agitation against the extension of slavery now increased ten fold. The revolt spread into every state, county, city and hamlet in the North. Here and there the forces of opposition, including those who believed in the abolition of slavery, coalesced, calling themselves the Anti-Nebraska party, and went actively campaigning against both the Whig and Democratic parties. And at one of the local meetings of these persons it was decided to substitute the word "Republican" for "Anti-Nebraska" as a party designation, and the decision was received with enthusiasm wherever the new revolution had taken root. The name Republican was a name dear to all Americans from the time when the monarchical yoke of England was shaken off. It was a name to conjure with. It was equally as attractive as the word Democrat, the name under which the old Republican party of Jefferson had been winning campaigns for lo these many years. It was even more alluring to the swarms of foreign refugees from Germany, Hungary, Italy, France, who had come to the United States after seeing their hopes of establishing republics in their old homes blasted, by the failure of the revolutionary movements in which they had taken part. And when Horace Greeley, the high priest of the Anti-Nebraska movement, approved of the name Republican in his paper, the *New York Tribune*, in its issue of June 24, 1854, the isolated particles became ready for consolidation into a national party.

There were detached movements in that direction, beginning a few weeks after the passage of the obnoxious Kansas-Nebraska law, with the convention at Jackson, Michigan, held on July 6, 1854, at which a full state ticket was nominated. There were soon Republican organizations of some sort in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Hampshire, Wisconsin. New political alignments were made. In the South the Whig party disintegrated, the members almost *en masse* attaching themselves to the Democratic party. In the North it was also soon disrupted, most of the members joining either the American or Know Nothing party, or the Free Soil party, and finally entering the Republican camp. Many Northern Democrats also joined the Republican party.

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DAVID N. WHITE

Father of the Republican Party of the United States.

CHAPTER II.

THE PITTSBURGH CONVENTION OF 1856, AND ITS INFLUENCE ON LINCOLN'S CAREER.

The Republican party of the United States was born in Pittsburgh, and the father was David N. White, the proprietor and editor of the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* (1). In a letter written on December 26, 1878, to the editors of the *Commercial Gazette* of Pittsburgh he tells the story of its origin (2).

"The Whig party in Pennsylvania was dead,"—he wrote, and "the Democratic party was tied hand and foot to the triumphant car of the slave masters; * * there was not at that time any Republican organization in any county in Pennsylvania." In the summer of 1855 he resolved to organize the Republican party in Allegheny County and also in the state if possible. He drew up two calls, one for a county delegate convention and the other for a mass state convention. He interviewed the political leaders in the state personally on the subject, or wrote to them. These calls were published on August 8, 1855, and at various later dates in the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, and although the calls requested other papers friendly to the conventions to copy the calls, the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* was the only newspaper to publish them (3). The call for the state convention was signed with fourteen names, by residents of thirteen counties, there being two signatures from Philadelphia; and Thaddeus Stevens of Lancaster County was the most distinguished name attached to the call. The convention met in Pittsburgh in City Hall, on September 5, 1855, and was largely attended; and Passmore Williamson of Philadelphia was nominated for Canal Commissioner. He was the secretary of an abolition society in Philadelphia and was then in prison for contempt of court in refusing to deliver upon order of court, runaway slaves. The suggestion of his name, according to Col. A. K. McClure, carried the convention off its feet "in a tempest of enthusiasm" (4). Delegates were elected to the Allegheny County convention from nearly every election district, a county ticket was nominated, and a county committee appointed. The Democrats carried both the state and county in October, but a beginning had been made and an organization created.

The Republican party as a national organization, had its inception shortly after the October election. At the election in Ohio in October, 1855, Salmon P. Chase, who was afterward President Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, was elected governor by the Anti-Nebraska party, and was specially attracted by the Republican movements in Pennsylvania. In November he came to Pittsburgh to confer with Mr. White in regard to organizing a national Republican party, the interview taking place in a room in the Monongahela House (5). In his letter to the *Commercial Gazette,* Mr. White relates what took place at the conference.

"He expressed himself surprised and delighted with the movement, which had originated in Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania, to unite together the scattered forces of the opponents to the dangerous encroachments of the slave power, and as a presidential election was to take place the next year, he wished to confer on the possibility of originating a national party on the same basis as our county and state Republican party, and as a sort of outgrowth of that movement. He was pleased that the initiative had been taken in Pennsylvania, a middle state, and a state not given to extreme views, and not easily aroused to resist aggression. He spoke of the propriety of preparing a call for a national mass convention to meet probably in Pittsburgh, and spoke of a gentleman of his own state who would take the trouble to procure signers, so as to give it a national significance. The result of the interview was the resolve to hold such a national convention."

On January 17, 1856, a call was issued for the convention, which was to be held in Pittsburgh on Washington's birthday, February 22nd (6), a day dear to all loyal Americans. The following is the call:

"To the Republicans of the United States:

"In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention, at Pittsburgh on the 22d of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the national organization, and providing for a national delegate convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio, LAWRENCE BRAINERD, of Vt.
J. Z. GOODRICH, of Mass. WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wis.
DAVID WILMOT, of Penn. RUFUS HOSMER, of Mich."

The signatures of the chairmen of the Republican State Committees of Maine, New York and Indiana were not attached to the call, but representatives from all of those states were present at the convention. That the convention was held in Lafayette Hall on the day designated is well known (7).

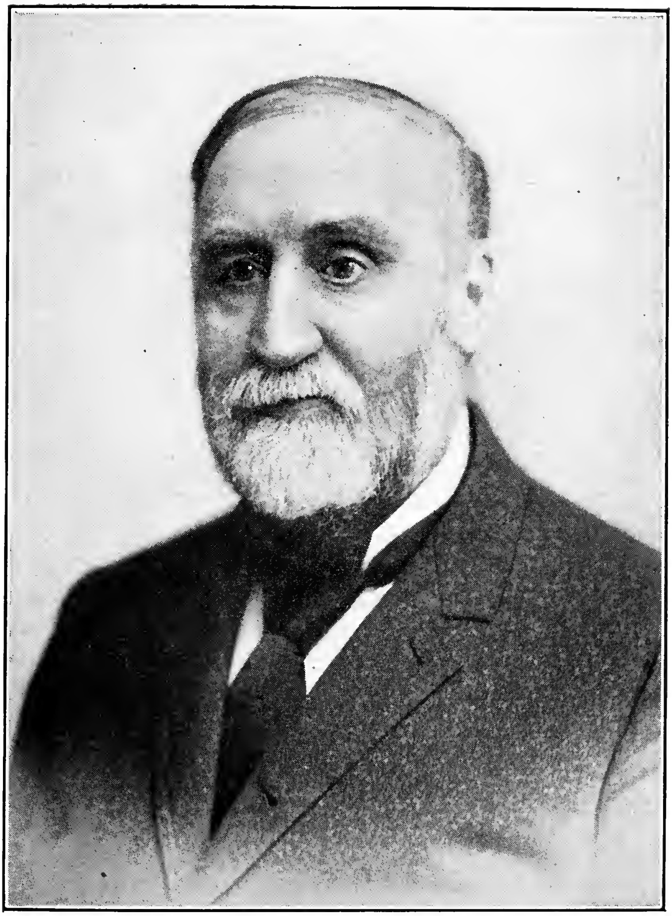
On the day that the convention convened, the interior of the hall presented a gala appearance. The walls and ceiling were hung with flags, and on the stage were portraits of such political war horses, as David Wilmot, Joshua R. Giddings, the latter being present in person, and of the great commoner, Henry Clay. It was not what is known as a delegate convention, but was, as it was designated in the call, an informal mass convention, and everyone who was interested and desired to attend was welcome, and was called a delegate. The winter had been severe, snow had begun to fall on the preceding Christmas and the landscape was still covered with snow and ice (8). The few railroads in operation were new and travelers encountered many difficulties in going from place to place. Yet the convention was largely attended, there being about five hundred delegates present (9). Twenty-four states and two territories were represented, being all of the free states, and eight of the slaveholding states, namely, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina and Texas.

The convention was opened with a prayer by the Rev. Owen Lovejoy, a brother of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who had been murdered by a pro-slavery mob in his home at Alton, Illinois, for his abolition views, and was called a martyr to the cause. Mr. Lovejoy's prayer was the most radical utterance in the convention. He asked God to remove the Buchanan administration from power, and thwart its unholy designs upon the liberties of a free people. And unlike other prayers this one was received with rapturous applause (10).

The convention was shrewdly managed, and Francis P. Blair, formerly the editor of the *Washington Globe*, because he was a Southerner, and yet sincerely opposed to the extension of slavery, and had been a Democrat and friend of Andrew Jackson, was elected chairman, amid great enthusiasm. David N. White, the originator of the convention, had no official connection with it. As in his organization of the Republican party in Allegheny County and in the state of Pennsylvania, he remained in the background, except that he was a member of the Reception Committee. His associate editor on the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, Russell Errett, was, however, one of the secretaries.

All classes, conditions and nationalities were represented. Congregated there were journalists, clergymen, lawyers, merchants, manufacturers, physicians, engineers, actors, workingmen. There were Democrats, Whigs, Americans, Free-soilers, Abolitionists. Some were politicians, but by far the larger number attended purely on account of the wrong of slavery. Russell Errett said it was a body noted for its exceptionally tall men (11). "The doorways of Lafayette Hall," he relates, "were made for smaller men, and I remember how two gentlemen, in passing through the committee room, bumped their heads severely against the top of the doorway, although bareheaded. They were all tall, splendidly formed men, and as big mentally as they looked to be physically."

Of the delegates of foreign birth the Germans were the most numerous, the Irish coming next. Carl G. Rümelin, the editor of the *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, represented the swarms of Germans, who having come to the United States after the collapse of the Revolutions of 1848 and 1849 in Germany, had just become citizens. He pledged his loyalty to the new party, but expressed disappointment at the convention not taking a stand against the discrimination entertained by many against persons of foreign birth. Horace Greeley, in the report to his paper, the *New York Tribune* commented on the speech, saying it was "among the most effective; that it was pointed and eloquent and was received with much applause." Russell Errett also



RUSSELL ERRETT

One of the Secretaries of the Pittsburgh Republican National Convention of 1856

commended the speech in strong terms (12). So impressed was he that he wrote in 1888: "After a lapse of thirty-two years his speech comes back to me almost as fresh as in its first delivery." Malone Raymond of Pennsylvania, the Irish comedian, represented the Irish citizens. Horace Greeley, in a white coat, his broad forehead seeming balder than ever, was a striking figure. Henry J. Raymond, the founder and editor of the *New York Times*, who was then Lieutenant Governor of New York, having been elected on the Anti-Nebraska ticket in 1854, was there, but did not take an open part in the proceedings. His work, however, was the most important accomplishment of the convention. Although not a member of the Committee on Address, he was the author of the luminous, Address to the people of the United States, which the convention afterward sent out (13). Zachariah Chandler of Michigan entertained the convention with anecdotes containing both wit and wisdom. Oliver P. Morton, who was a representative from Indiana, is remembered in Pittsburgh as he appeared in his old age —a helpless paralytic, seated on a chair and still making speeches in advocacy of the party which he helped to create. In the language of one of the speakers, the men in the convention were the "ice-breakers" in the cause of Republicanism.

The convention lasted two days. A National Executive Committee was appointed, and it was decided to hold a Republican National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, to be held in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856. Again the sentimental side of the originators of the convention appeared, June 17th, being the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. After adopting the, Address to the people of the United States, which presented a strong picture of the condition of the country, brought about by the hunger of the slave-owners for additional territory into which to expand, the convention adjourned, with nine rousing cheers.

The convention had attracted much attention in Pittsburgh. The newspapers, even the Democratic *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, devoted columns to accounts of its proceedings. There is a piquency about the accounts printed in this paper, which at the time no doubt caused resentment among the Republicans, but which today appear amusing. The account of the proceedings of the first day is headed:

"Black Republican Convention."

"Giddings, Greeley and the Smaller Lights on Hand."

"Passmore Williamson Exhibited."

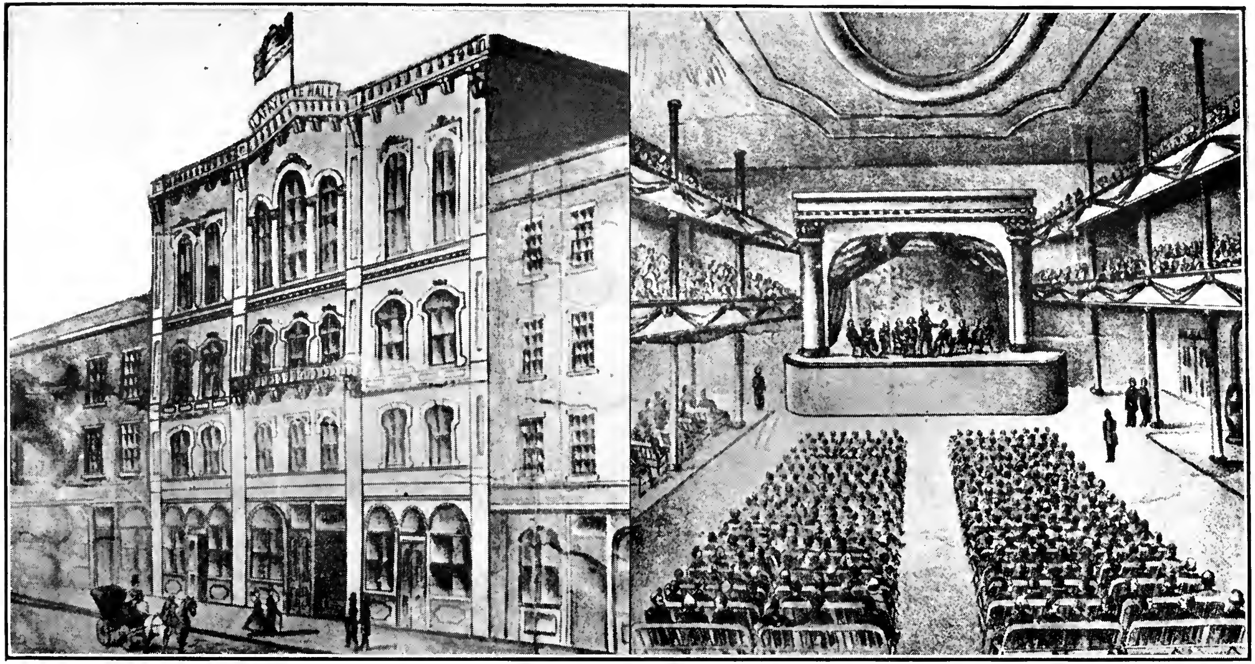
In another part of the paper it is related that "Passmore Williamson was in the convention in the afternoon with his whiskers on." Speaking of the attendance the *Pittsburgh Daily Post* said: "Lafayette Hall will hold eight or nine hundred people. A thousand *may* crowd in, and perhaps that number were there in the evening. But there was at no time a demand made for a larger hall, although one three times as large could have been had within two squares." The *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch* on the other hand said, that during the afternoon there were not less than a thousand present; and Horace Greeley in a telegram to his *Tribune* said "hundreds went away because it was not possible to gain admittance."

The local German newspaper, *Der Freiheits Freund,* declared for the new party because the paper was strongly opposed to the extension of slavery and slave chasing. It demanded, however, that a plank be inserted in its platform opposing discrimination against citizens of foreign birth. After the convention was over it expressed its dissatisfaction at the failure of that body to make some expression on that subject, which it designated "Know Nothingism." It advised its readers to support the Republican party, but at the same time told them to take part in the selection of delegates to the Philadelphia convention, and to only advocate the election of such men as were friendly to their interests. "If that convention does not do right," it went on, "then the Democratic party remains. The Germans will go with the party which helps them."

Many of the writers of United States history fail to mention the fact that the Republican party was born in Pittsburgh. Others do not attach the importance to the event that it merits. Even some of the historians of the Republican party do not refer to this fact, while others dismiss it with a bare mention. In no history, except a local one of limited circulation, is it set forth that David N. White was the father of the Republican party. Nowhere is Henry J. Raymond (called by his biographer the godfather of the Republican party), given the proper credit for his work in preparing the, Address to the people of the United States (14). The influence which the convention exerted on the history of the United States should receive more attention from historians. Out of political chaos a great party was born which has many important achievements to its credit. The convention should also be commemorated for another reason. It caused a great awakening in Abraham Lincoln. It was after becoming familiar with what had been accomplished in Pittsburgh that Lincoln decided to renounce the obsolete party to which he had belonged since early manhood, and attach himself to the new party of idealism and progress, which had just been formed, an incident which started him on the career that finally led him to become the greatest statesman of his time. This should give Washington's birthday an added significance.

From a careful study of Lincoln's life for the first few months of 1856, it can be fairly deduced that it was the Pittsburgh convention that finally convinced him that it was the Republican party that would carry the country safely through the storm that was impending. Since the expiration of his term in Congress, which ended on March 4, 1849, Lincoln had devoted himself to the practice of the law and to a course of general education, even joining a class for the study of German. He took little part in politics, except that in 1852 he appeared on the Whig ticket as a candidate for presidential elector. He had been a life-long Whig, but always realized the sin of slavery and was opposed to its extension, but hesitated to leave the Whig party. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill caused a widespread feeling of indignation, and sounded the death-knell of that party. A live issue was now presented, and Lincoln emerged from his political retirement. The lure of politics was still strong within him, his old ambition for political preferment was reawakened, and he appeared on the stump denouncing the iniquity of the new legislation. In October, 1854, during the week of the State Fair at Springfield, Stephen A. Douglas, before an unprecedented concourse of people, made a speech defending his course in having the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed. The following day Lincoln answered him in a speech so profound, logical and convincing that those who heard it said it was unanswerable; and he followed Douglas in his speaking tour through Illinois. Now he belonged to the Anti-Nebraska party. He was very conservative, and while the old parties were disintegrating he was not yet a Republican. By the time that the call for the Pittsburgh convention was sent out, he was nearly ready to take the decisive step and join the new party. But he was cautious, and regardful of his own interests, and at the Decatur conference he remained in the background, marking time, sizing up the situation, considering; and at the banquet in the evening after the conference was over, he failed to unbosom himself of his views on the formation of the new party. The details of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh convention became known. The whole country learned that men from far and near had been in attendance; that they were there in numbers; that they were men of high character; that the interests represented were diverse; that the enthusiasm displayed was intense. It was discovered that the speeches, and above all the, Address to the people of the United States, were conservative and full of wisdom.

It was now that Lincoln made up his mind. He realized that the new party was built on a broad foundation, that it was not one of those ephemeral excrescences which had arisen in the last dozen years, and had then died as suddenly as they were born. The new party was one that he could conscientiously enter; and it was a party that could win! For several months longer he remained brooding; then in the spring a call appeared for a Republican county convention to elect delegates to the state convention to be held at Bloomington on May 29th, and the paper contained Lincoln's signature. He had placed the seal of his approval on the proceedings of the Pittsburgh convention. The seed sown in Pittsburgh had begun to sprout and at the state convention in Illinois it bloomed, and Lincoln came out squarely for the Republican party and made a great speech. Hernden, his law partner, says that when making this speech he appeared to be inspired. For bringing Abraham Lincoln into the folds of the new party, if for no other reason, the Pittsburgh convention should be regarded as one of the great events of history.



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT LAFAYETTE HALL
FEBRUARY 22nd and 23rd, 1856

From an old lithograph

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CHAPTER III.

LINCOLN VISITS PITTSBURGH ON HIS WAY TO BE INAUGURATED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

On February 14, 1861, Abraham Lincoln visited Pittsburgh (1). He had now achieved the height of human greatness. Since those memorable two days of 1856 when the Republican party was born, and which had resulted in his receiving a vision, and he had taken the step that had led to his present preferment, his life had been one of extreme activity. His Bloomington speech had caused one of his enthusiastic Illinois supporters to nominate him for the Vice-Presidency at the Philadelphia convention, and he had received one hundred and ten votes, of which eleven came from Pennsylvania delegates. He was defeated, but busied himself making speeches for Fremont and Dayton, the candidates nominated by the convention, and headed the electoral ticket in Illinois. In the spring of 1857 the Supreme Court of the United States decided in the Dred Scott Case, that a negro could not sue in the United States Court, and that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories. In the North the flames of resentment rose higher than ever. Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln's old antagonist, attempted to calm the storm in Illinois, and Lincoln answered him. The next year the election for United States Senator to succeed Douglas was to take place, and Lincoln was nominated by the Republican State Convention as the Republican candidate. Now began the series of debates between Lincoln and Douglas which have since become historic. Up and down the state the two men traveled, talking before great audiences, charging and answering and charging again. Lincoln had the best of the arguments, but lost the Senatorship.

But he had gained far more than the Senatorship. He had become well known not only in Illinois, but in other states as well. Before the Pittsburgh convention he had been scarcely heard of outside of Illinois. Now he was favorably spoken of in many Northern states. His friends began to talk to him about the Presidency in 1860. The Illinois newspapers commenced taking up the matter. At the state convention of 1860, a storm of applause broke forth when two rails that were said to have been cut by Lincoln were brought in, attached to which was a streamer announcing him as the "Rail Candidate for President in 1860." He was nominated at Chicago. Again Pennsylvania helped him, this time with fifty-two votes on the second ballot, and the break to Lincoln had begun. On the third ballot he only lacked two and a half votes of the nomination, and in a moment four votes were changed in the Ohio delegation and he was nominated. A campaign followed, exciting as no political campaign had ever been. Also it was picturesque, and the Wide-Awakes in their glazed caps and capes, carrying lanterns, or blazing petroleum torches, paraded the streets. Badges containing pictures of Lincoln splitting rails, or engineering a flatboat, were worn on men's coat fronts. On November 6th, he was elected President of the United States.

Now he was on a triumphal tour to the seat of the national government of which he was to be the supreme head for four years. But that government was rapidly disintegrating, one after another the slave states were seceding, seven had already gone scowling out of the Union. The spectre of war had created in the entire North fear and foreboding, but had also stirred the people to an unprecedented degree of patriotism. Everywhere they were anxious to see the man who was to lead them through the expected period of doubt, and turmoil and dissension. And to accommodate the prevailing sentiment Lincoln was traveling by a circuitous route to Washington.

He left his home in Springfield on February 11th, and stopped at many places along the way, and to the clamor for a speech he generally made a few remarks, talking familiarly to the people who crowded about him. Everywhere he was received with the wildest demonstrations of enthusiasm; it was apparent that he was the idol of the people. The common people cheered for him because they loved to think of him as one of them. They called him familiarly "Abe," at least when they were in a crowd and at a distance. The others acclaimed him for his accomplishments, and on account of that which they thought he could do in the prevailing emergency.

His train reached Steubenville shortly after two o'clock on Thursday afternoon, February 14th. It consisted of three passenger coaches and a baggage car, and was drawn by the locomotive "Comet" which had been decorated with flags. The first car was given over to excursionists, while the other two were occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, their son, Robert T. Lincoln, and the two younger Lincoln boys, by Mr. Lincoln's suite, by representatives of the leading newspapers of the country, and by a committee of Cleveland citizens who had been appointed to escort Lincoln to Cleveland, the next stop in his itinerary. At Rochester there came on board the train, the citizens committee of Pittsburgh, the committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature and the committee of Allegheny Councils, with Mayor Simon Drum at their head. Here it was learned that at Freedom, a few miles east of Rochester, the tender of the locomotive of a freight train going west, had broken an axle, and that the track was obstructed in consequence. A delay of nearly three hours resulted. A large crowd immediately gathered and shouted for the President-elect to come out of his car. And he complied, and came out on the rear platform, and as the people pushed up he shook hands, and chatted with them good-humoredly and retired, and came out again and again. A teamster named Henry Dillon, who was known to be the tallest man in the vicinity, came up on the platform, shook hands with Lincoln and stretching himself to his full height exclaimed: "Why I am as tall as you are!"

He moved over to the side of the President-elect, and both Lincoln and he took off their hats and turned their backs to one another. Lincoln placed his hand on Dillon's head and it was apparent that he was two or three inches taller than Dillon. Lincoln laughed and turned round and said, amid the shouts and laughter of the assembled crowd (2), "Oh! I could eat salt off the top of your head."

In Pittsburgh extensive preparations had been made for Lincoln's reception. A citizens meeting had appointed a number of committees, including a large reception committee. Pittsburgh Councils had decided to proceed in a body to the railroad station on Federal Street, Allegheny, where the train was to come in, that being the eastern terminus of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad, over whose tracks the President-elect's train was to arrive. Here they went to meet Lincoln and escort him to the Monongahela House, where he was to be quartered. Allegheny Councils had concluded to do likewise, and had also appointed the committee which met Lincoln's train at Rochester. Major Symington, the commandant at the United States Arsenal, had supplied two brass canon, with which salutes were to be fired, one being stationed on Boyd's Hill and the other on Seminary, now Monument Hill, in Allegheny, and also furnished the gun squad and the ammunition.

At an early hour the streets of the two cities began to assume a lively appearance. Strangers were crowding in from all over the county and from adjoining counties. Along the line of the route that Lincoln was expected to pass over the residents began decorating their houses with flags. In the afternoon many of the workshops shut down, stores were closed and a general suspension of business ensued. The special train bringing the President-elect was due to arrive at the Federal Street station at twenty minutes after five. At four o'clock the military under command of Brigadier General James S. Negley, consisting of the Pennsylvania Dragoons, the Jackson Independent Blues and the Washington Infantry, formed on Penn Street, now Penn Avenue. Shortly before five o'clock the order to march was given, and as the carriages containing the Councils of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, and the various committees, passed down St. Clair, now Federal Street, the military fell into line and escorted them to the Allegheny station.

The station was already so crowded that it was considered futile to attempt to clear it. The carriage in which Lincoln was to ride, was an open one, drawn by six horses, and as the weather was lowering, it was placed under the shelter of the platform of the station, and a file of soldiers stationed on each side, with the military staff and the brigade and division officers in front and rear; the dragoons kept guard outside. The other carriages were also either placed on the platform or around the depot. An impatient gathering filled the platform and blocked Federal Street in front of it. Rumors of the detention of the train passed through the crowd, but were disregarded until almost six o'clock. Then the people began to besiege the telegraph office anxious for information in regard to the whereabouts of the train.

After six o'clock rumors of the train having passed Sewickley were circulated, and tended to keep the crowd from dispersing. As night gathered a light rain began to fall, and aided in driving away the women composing a large part of the crowd. Many, however, maintained their ground until the rain began to pour down in a heavy stream. In anticipation of a formal reception, the Allegheny Councilmen had collected within the narrow enclosure separating the tracks from the platform, and here most of them waited patiently.

At eight o'clock the guns on Boyd's Hill and Seminary Hill, commenced booming. The whistle and the puffing of the locomotive, and the ringing of the bell of the approaching train were heard, and in an instant all was bustle and excitement. A call was made for the military to clear the enclosure alongside of the track, and it was not until some time after the train had stopped that a narrow lane was opened from the train to the President-elect's carriage, and it was with the utmost difficutly that the military kept the crowd from closing up the narrow passage. On leaving the train Lincoln was welcomed to the city by Mayor Drum, who introduced him to a number of the persons collected there. Among them was John Morrison, who had been Mayor Drum's immediate predecessor in the office of mayor, and who was later to again serve in that capacity. He was there with several of his children, including his daughter Mary, aged about twelve years. Lincoln was attracted to the little girl and attempted to kiss her, but she shrank back declining this mark of interest, afterward telling her family that the reason she refused to be kissed by Lincoln was "because he was so very black" (3).

With his escort drawn up on either side, Lincoln made his way toward his carriage. As soon as the crowd saw in the light of the flickering gas-lamps, the towering form of the President-elect and Mrs. Lincoln, and his son, Robert T. Lincoln, and the two younger boys some distance behind, loud cries for a speech were heard, but Lincoln walked briskly and entered the carriage, followed by Mayor Drum. The cries intermingled with cheers, continuing, he arose, bowing, and declared good-humoredly, that owing to the lateness of the hour, caused by the unavoidable delay, and the inauspiciousness of the weather, he would be unable to respond, but hoped to meet them in the morning in Pittsburgh, when he would have a few words to say to them. Cheer after cheer rent the air as Lincoln sat down, and the procession began to move. It was led by the military, their uniforms now bedraggled with rain and the mud of the street, the Pennsylvania Dragoons on the right, the President-elect's carriage and the other carriages following. Along the route in defiance of rain, many spectators still held their positions. The pavements along St. Clair, Market, Fifth, now Fifth Avenue, and Smithfield streets, were crowded, and everywhere the utmost enthusiasm was evidenced. In many of the stores and dwellings the windows were lighted, and here and there the darkness was illuminated by brilliant colored fires.

The beating of the drums and the strains of familiar airs were at last heard by the dense crowd that had assembled on Smithfield Street, in front of the Monongahela House, where they had been patiently waiting in the rain for three hours. The enthusiasm now manifested itself in a constant succession of cheers. Thousands of voices cried for Lincoln in all the familiar phrases of the campaign. So closely packed was the gathering that it was necessary for the military to clear a passage with their bayonets before Lincoln could enter the hotel. The vestibule, parlor and office were jammed with people. Here he was introduced to the mayor, George Wilson, who extended a cordial greeting. The crowd was so dense that Lincoln and his party had to be almost carried, before they could get up stairs into the private parlor that was reserved for them. The calls for him from the hall were incessant, and after listening to the uproar for a few minutes, he came out of the room and mounted a chair which had been placed for him at the door, and made a few remarks. He again referred to the detention of the train and the disagreeable weather. He stated that he had intended to address the citizens of Pennsylvania on a topic which nearly concerned their interests. Here some one cried out asking that he say something about Allegheny County. Allegheny County had given him a majority of ten thousand votes over his next highest competitor, and his eyes brightened as he replied: "I have a great regard for Allegheny County. It is the banner county of the state, if not of the entire Union." At this a nimble-witted punster interjected the remark, "No *rail*ery, Abe," which was followed by laughter and tremendous applause from the crowd, and by shouts of: "Good for the Railsplitter!" and "Split another Rail!"

After quiet was restored Lincoln continued: "It rolled up a tremendous majority for what I at least consider a good cause. By a mere accident and not through any merit of mine, it happened that I was the representative of that cause and I acknowledge with all sincerity the high honor you have conferred upon me." As he dismounted from the chair, three rousing cheers were given for "Honest Abe."

Out on Smithfield Street in the darkness and the rain, the crowd now became impatient. From all sides came cries of "Lincoln!" "Lincoln!" "Come out and show yourself, Abe!" "Speech!" "Speech!" "Let us hear from the Railsplitter!"

As Lincoln finally came out on the balcony he was received with a storm of applause which lasted for several minutes. Heedless of the rain, hundreds lowered their umbrellas in order to be better able to see and to hear the President-elect. After the cheering was over, Lincoln began. He declared that he only appeared for the purpose of coming to an understanding as to the best manner of closing the scene for the night. He said he would postpone his further remarks until morning, adding "when we hope for more favorable weather; and I have made my appearance now only to afford you an opportunity of seeing as clearly as may be my beautiful countenance," and amid roars of laughter and cheering he said "Good Night!" his words being echoed back by the crowd in the street in one thunderous chorus. It was only on his return from the balcony that he joined his family and together they had supper.

Friday morning was again wet and dreary. The rain had fallen heavily during the preceding night and until eight o'clock, when it subsided somewhat. Mr. Lincoln had arisen early and until the time for his address, was occupied in receiving the members of Pittsburgh Councils and other callers. Promptly at half past eight he stepped out on the balcony (4). Down below on Smithfield Street from Water Street to Second Street, now Second Avenue, notwithstanding the rain and the half liquid mud covering the street, an immense crowd had assembled. Viewed from the balcony the space seemed to be absolutely covered with umbrellas. The applause which greeted Lincoln was many times greater than on the evening before. *The Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle* of February 15, 1861, describes Lincoln as he appeared that morning on the balcony. "He wore a black dress suit, rather fashionably made, with large turn-down collar and black tie. A judiciously cultivated beard and whiskers hides the hollowness of his jaws to some extent, and takes away the prominence of the cheek bones, given him in engravings."

He was now formally welcomed in a speech by Mayor Wilson, and at its conclusion he launched out into his promised address. He thanked Mayor Wilson for his flattering reception, but stated that he knew it was not intended so much for himself as for the cause which he represented. He alluded to the distracted condition of the country, and admitted that it filled everyone with anxiety. His statement that, "Notwithstanding the troubles across the river (pointing southwardly across the Monongahela River and smiling), there is no crisis but an artificial one," was received with long continued applause.

He touched upon the question of a tariff for the protection of home industries, and added: "I must confess that I do not understand this subject in all its multiform bearings, but I promise you I will give it my closest attention and endeavor to comprehend it more fully." He dwelt upon the provisions of the Constitution by which the Executive might recommend measures, or veto such as he thought improper. He went on smiling, "It is supposed that he may add to these certain indirect influences to affect the action of Congress." Continuing in a serious manner he said: "My political education strongly inclines me against a very free use of any of these means by the Executive to control the legislation of the country." As he bowed on concluding, a tremendous wave of applause burst forth.

Lincoln had spoken longer than he intended, and it was almost nine o'clock when he closed his speech. The special train for Cleveland was scheduled to leave the Allegheny station at ten o'clock, and it was necessary to immediately arrange to get there. The halls adjacent to the parlors leading to the balcony were so densely crowded, that Lincoln could not move from his position until the military forced a passage, by means of which he reached the carriage, where with Mayor Wilson he was soon seated. In response to the loud cries of "Stand up!" "Stand up!" he arose in the carriage and bowed his acknowledgments again and again. The wildest demonstrations of applause followed from the assembled thousands.

Without waiting for General Negley to complete his arrangements for a military display, at Lincoln's urgent request the procession began to move away from the Monongahela House. It proceeded along Smithfield Street to Fourth Street, now Fourth Avenue, and up that thoroughfare to Grant Street and then hurried by the most direct route to the Allegheny station. But all the way to the station there were cheering multitudes, and Lincoln stood up in the carriage most of the time, bowing in reply to the enthusiastic plaudits of the crowd. At the Allegheny station the jam was far greater than when he arrived. The rain had ceased to fall, and old and young, male and female, crowded around the depot by thousands. The solid mass of humanity was almost impenetrable. General Negley by appealing to the people succeeded in getting Lincoln from the carriage, and the party reached the platform one by one in Indian file. In a few minutes the special train reached the station, and they embarked amid the shouts and cheers of the enthusiastic multitude.

REFERENCES AND NOTE.

1. *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, February 13, 14, 15 and 16, 1861.
   Pittsburgh Daily Post, February 15, 1861.
   Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch, February 15 and 16, 1861.
   Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, February 14, 1861.
2. Communicated to the writer by George W. Pusey, of Pittsburgh, who in 1861 was a boy attending Beaver College, at Beaver, and had come over to Rochester to see the President-elect as he passed through on his way to Pittsburgh.
3. Communicated to the writer by John A. Emery, Jr., of Pittsburg, the son of Mary Morrison, who afterward became the wife of John A. Emery.
4. NOTE.—When former President Theodore Roosevelt visited Pittsburgh on September 10, 1910, and made an address, he was supposed to do so from the same balcony on which Lincoln had spoken in 1861, but through some one's error he delivered his speech from the Water Street balcony.

CHAPTER IV.

DEATH OF LINCOLN.

The war was over. Utterly exhausted, Lee had surrendered. There was rejoicing all over the victorious North. Lent had passed and the people were anticipating the gladness of an Easter freed from the cares of war, when suddenly the telegraph flashed the startling news that Lincoln had been murdered. The people were stunned. Smiles and jubilation were changed to tears and lamentation, and a universal cry for vengeance went up.

The night of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, and the days following were days of distress in Pittsburgh. The local newspapers of the day paint a vivid panorama of the scenes in the city immediately succeeding the tragedy(1). The man for whom, four years before, they had made the greatest demonstration that Pittsburgh had ever seen, and who had grown immeasureably in their opinion since that time was dead! Political partisanship was forgotten; a foul crime, the murder of the chief magistrate of the country, the governor of all the people, only was remembered. The Democratic *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, in its issue of Saturday, April 15, 1865, said: "About two o'clock this morning we were startled by the awful announcement of the assassination of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. We are so petrified at this terrible intelligence, that at this early hour in the morning we are unable to speak of its damnable enormity as it deserves."

On Saturday all the newspapers printed startling headlines announcing the event. At twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock in the morning, the President died, and this fact was soon known in Pittsburgh and in the entire country. At half past nine his death was announced in the District Court of Allegheny County, and the court adjourned. In the Common Pleas Court, and in the United States District Court, the announcement was made shortly afterward, and they also adjourned. At ten o'clock a meeting of the Allegheny County bar was held and a committee appointed to prepare suitable resolutions on the death of the President, and to arrange for a fitting demonstration by the bar.

The news of Lincoln's death traveled fast to all parts of the two cities. Men in the stores, the offices, the workshops, were soon informed of the calamity which had befallen the country. Women heard of it in their homes, and the more well-to-do hurried away wide-eyed and tearful for more news. The humbler women were busy with the cares of their children, their baking, and cleaning and brightening for the Easter joys of the next day. What anguish was in those women's eyes as they talked with their neighbors, their sleeves rolled up, the dough of the bread pans still on their hands, or their hands wet from the scrubbing of floors, from washing clothes, discussing Booth's deed; and they wept tears of bitterness, and their children wept with them.

At eleven o'clock, at a public meeting called by the mayor, James Lowrey, Jr., in Wilkins Hall on Fourth Street, it was decided that all business should be suspended until the following Tuesday, and that the people be asked to drape their houses in mourning. It was also suggested that the citizens meet in their respective houses of worship on Sunday and join in prayers for the safety of the country. The meeting then adjourned to meet again on the following Monday. It being the Sabbath of the Jews, their Synagogue on Hemlock, now Eighth Street, was early hung with crape, and Professor Josiah Cohen delivered an eloquent address on the character and achievements of Abraham Lincoln. Since that time Josiah Cohen has been for forty years, a distinguished member of the Allegheny County bar, and a popular judge of the Common Pleas Court for a dozen years more, and now is perhaps the only man living who took a prominent part in the proceedings of those dark days.

By common consent, as soon as the enormity of the calamity was realized, business was suspended. Even the banks closed their doors and the brokers ceased trading. The Theatre, and Trimbles Varieties, posted notices that they would not give performances in the evening. The dry goods stores were ransacked for mourning goods, and everywhere men were draping houses and stores, the newspaper offices being the first to don mourning garb. The *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle* appeared with its columns heavily bordered in black; all over the two cities, as well as on the steamboats on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, flags were placed at half mast. At the Fort Pitt Foundry, at the corner of Pike and O'Hara, now Twelfth Street, where many of the cannon used in the war had been manufactured, minute guns were fired; and the bells on the fire engine houses tolled in token of sorrow. In the evening a crowd went through the principal streets and forced such business houses as had not already done so, to close their establishments. However, except for a few drinking shops, this had already been done, and these were forced to at once cease doing business. A wizard show at Masonic Hall had defied public sentiment, and was giving a performance, but the crowd made a raid, turning out the lights, and driving the audience out into the street. On the Post Office steps an old man named, J. W. Bear, known in political circles as the "Old Buckeye Blacksmith," rehearsed the deeds of the dead President to a dense crowd who listened with tear-dimmed eyes. The streets were crowded with sad faces. Men talked of the terrible crime with bated breath and recalled, often with tears, the virtues and greatness of mind of the dead President. They lingered on Fifth Street until late in the day anxious for additional news. Nor did the rain, which had been indicated all day, and which toward evening began to fall, drive the people from the streets.

On Sunday all the churches displayed emblems of mourning. Their services were largely attended. It was Easter and the rejoicing that would otherwise have been in evidence after the self-denial of lent, had given way to deep sorrow. The ministers referred to the fact that on the previous Sunday there had been a religious jubilee because the four years of war were over, and contrasted it with the present gloom. All lauded the man who had been so suddenly called home, and talked of the retribution which awaited the criminals. In some churches the bitterness engendered by the war cropped out. The Rev. J. B. Clark, the pastor of the Second United Presbyterian Church of Allegheny, who had been the colonel of a volunteer regiment in the war, spoke of his disappointment at the terms of surrender granted to General Lee. He declared that "a good old lady" speaking of them had said to him: "If I had a flag I would have displayed it at half mast and draped it with mourning." At St. Paul's Cathedral the services were peculiarly grand and solemn, and the attendance could not have been less than five thousand. The Rev. Father Hickey occupied the pulpit and delivered a sermon, extolling the virtues of Lincoln. The Smithfield Street German Evangelical Church was densely packed. The pastor, Rev. Carl Walther, who as a young student in Germany, had fought for liberty in the war against Napoleon, delivered a discourse that was listened to with intense interest.

On Monday the gloom deepened. All the newspapers, except the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, appeared with heavily leaded columns, and that paper apologized for its failure to do so, by stating that owing to the circular form of its press and forms, it was not in its power to place the paper in mourning. The Allegheny County bar held the meeting arranged for on Saturday and adopted resolutions, and listened to addresses by its leaders. The adjourned meeting of citizens was held at two o'clock at the corner of Fifth and Smithfield streets in front of the Post Office. It had originally been decided to hold the meeting in Wilkins Hall, but it early became evident from the immense throngs which filled the streets, that no hall in the city could hold those who would desire to attend. Mayor Lowrey therefore caused the erection of a stand in front of the Post Office, around which the citizens gathered by thousands. As soon as the stand was completed, Dr. George McCook talked to the assembled crowd until the meeting was organized, by the selection of Mayor Lowrey as chairman. Dr. Allison of the *Presbyterian Banner* offered a prayer, and former governor, William F. Johnston, Thomas Williams, Gen. J. K. Moorhead and T. J. Bigham delivered addresses, and the resolutions previously prepared were adopted. In the evening a special meeting of Pittsburgh Councils was held and resolutions of regret enacted.

In Pittsburgh and Allegheny crape and black muslin were festooned from windows and over doors, and portraits of the dead President wreathed in crape were displayed in windows and on store fronts; and significant mottoes were distinguishing features of the day. The interior, and the outer walls of the churches bore symbols of mourning, and the court rooms and the public offices, national, county and city, were draped in black. Street vendors were selling small medallion pictures of Lincoln bound with crape or black ribbon, which were being largely worn. A popular badge of mourning was a black bordered white silk ribbon containing the motto, "We Mourn Our Loss," and adorned with Lincoln's likeness, under which was the verse:

"Rest! Statesman; Rest!
Await the Almighty's will
Then rise unchanged
And be a statesman still."

Also veterans of the war appeared with their corps badges shrouded in crape. In many families any black material at hand had been pressed into service as a mourning device. Women's dresses and veils, and men's clothes were sacrificed and cut up and fashioned into streamers and fastened above doors or above or below windows. Many of the yard locomotives, and the locomotives on the trains centering in the city were clad in mourning.

On Tuesday Allegheny Councils held a joint meeting and adopted resolutions similar to those passed by Pittsburgh Councils. The leading streets were somber with mourning emblems. The scene along Water Street from the Monongahla House, where Lincoln had been an honored guest four years before, which was heavily draped in black, and displayed the stars and stripes, also enshrouded in crape, beggared description. The fronts of the houses all the way to the Point were covered with emblems of mourning, as were the steamers on the wharf. Wood Street for its entire length was draped, as was Market Street. The drygoods store of J. W. Barker & Co., on Market Street was literally covered with black, and immediately over the front entrance was the motto, "We Mourn Our Loss." The appearance of Fifth Street was still more impressive. Black streamers were suspended from every store front, from every window. Flags tied with crape fluttered from every building, and across the street. On the store of Hugus and Hacke, in the center of the three large windows was suspended a likeness of the President, heavily draped with black material, and surmounted by an eagle having a small flag in its beak, the whole being surmounted by the American colors. Oliver McClintock and Company displayed a sign bearing the words: "First pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocracy."

The Post Office, Masonic Hall, the offices of the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, the *Pittsburgh Commercial*, the *Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle*, the *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch* and the *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, and The Theatre were all hung in black. The front of St. Paul's Cathedral was also draped, as was the Court House. Everywhere the portrait of Lincoln bordered in black was in evidence. On the front of the dwelling and store of George W. Weyman on Smithfield Street were the lines:

"Thick clouds around us seem to press,
The heart throbs quickly—then is still;
Father 'tis hard to say "Thy will
Be done!' in such an hour as this.
A martyr to the cause of man,
His blood is freedom's eucharist,
And in the world's great hero-list
His name shall lead the van."

The Smithfield Street German Evangelical Church had a profuse display of mourning. All the fire companies clothed their engine houses in black. Over the Vigilant engine house on Third Street, now Third Avenue, was the motto:

"Vigilant Mourns the Loss."

Woe to the man who dared utter a word approving of the crime, or say aught derogatory of Lincoln! In Birmingham, now part of the south side of the city, a milkman had just handed a woman customer a pitcher of milk, when she spoke regretfully of President Lincoln's assassination. He replied that "The son of a b— should have been killed four years ago." No sooner was the remark out of his mouth, than he received the pitcher and its contents in his face; and he was nearly killed by the infuriated crowd which collected, and was finally led with a rope around his neck to the Military Post on Smithfield Street. In a grocery store on Pennsylvania, now Fifth Avenue, near Pride Street, a man expressed pleasure at Lincoln's assassination, when a woman threw the bucket of yeast which she had purchased into his face, and he was obliged to fly for his life from the other customers in the store. A man was arrested and fined for tearing crape from houses on Penn Street and making slurring remarks about Lincoln. In a tannery in Duquesne Borough, now part of the north side of Pittsburgh, a workman uttered sympathetic words for the Rebels, when the other workmen threw him into one of the vats, and his life was saved only by the interference of the proprietor. On Fifth Street a drunken fellow expressed joy of Lincoln's death, and he would have been hanged to the nearest lamp-post had he not been rescued by the police. The owner of a lager beer saloon on Penn Street was placed in the lockup for having expressed delight at the assassination.

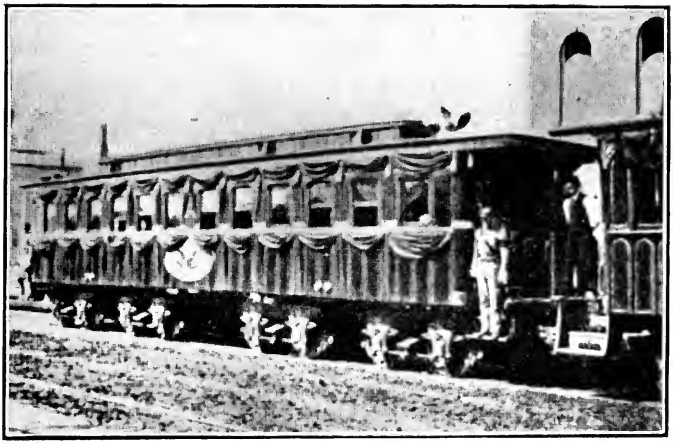
Lincoln's funeral service was held in Washington on Wednesday, April 19th. At the same hour services were being held in various churches in Pittsburgh and Allegheny in accordance with the wishes of the Acting Secretary of State. The burial was to be at Springfield, Illinois, and it was arranged that the body should be taken to its last resting place over the same route that Lincoln had traveled in February, 1861. This was afterward changed, and the funeral train went by way of Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York and western cities. The funeral train left Washington early on Friday, April 21st, and after stopping at Baltimore, reached Harrisburg at eight o'clock in the evening. Here the train was met by the committee of Pittsburgh citizens appointed for that purpose. At twelve o'clock noon on Saturday, the funeral train bearing Lincoln's body left Harrisburg for Philadelphia; and on that day, as the train passed through the state, in pursuance of the proclamation of Governor Curtin, all business in Pittsburgh and Allegheny was suspended.

It was an imposing funeral train and consisted of nine cars, eight of which were furnished by the leading railroads over which the remains were to be transported. The ninth car, containing the body of the dead President, was known as the "President's car," and had been built by the national government for the convenience of President Lincoln in traveling over the United States Military Railroads. While the funeral train did not pass through Pittsburgh, the funeral car was there for some time, and for that reason it seems fitting to say something regarding it. It contained a parlor, sitting room and sleeping apartment. It was heavily draped within and without, the black color being relieved with white and black rosettes, and silver fringes and tassels.

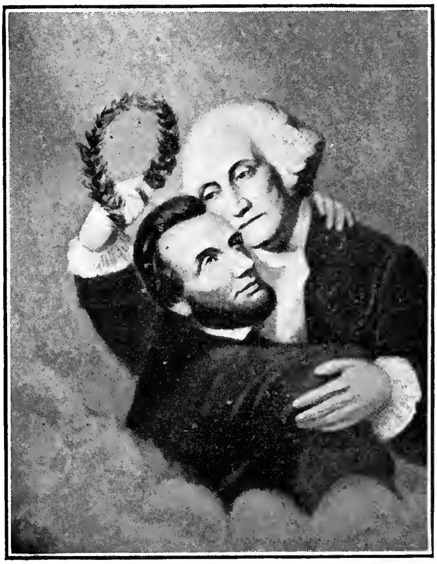
On the windows were black curtains, and the entire furniture was shrouded in that color. A plain stand covered with black cloth, was placed in the car, at one end, and on this the remains of the President rested. On a similar stand, at the other end of the car, was the coffin holding the remains of Willie Lincoln, the President's son, who had died in Washington, and which were to be buried at Springfield along with those of his father.

On Saturday, May 6, 1865, the party which had accompanied the funeral party to Springfield, arrived in Pittsburgh over the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, on their return to Washington, and stopped over for a few hours. The funeral car came through with the train bringing the party and was immediately taken to the Outer Depot in Allegheny (2).

A life-long resident of Pittsburgh, who as a boy of seven, saw the car as it lay in the yard of the Outer Depot, describing it a number of years ago related that it was of a slate-gray color, and had a large eagle surmounting a red, white and blue shield painted on either side; that immediately after Lincoln's death, when it was decided to use it as the funeral car, it had been repainted. He declared that he did not remember how long the car remained in the yard, but that it seemed to him to have been there for weeks. As he went on with his story, the eyes of the relator became brighter, and he seemed to live over again the days of his early childhood. "At that time my father was employed by the railroad company, and he took me to see the car a number of times and told me its history, and talked to me about the dead statesman. With awe I stared at the spot which was pointed out as the place where the coffined body of the martyred President had lain on its catafalque. I imagined I could see the still form. I recall the reverence with which the railroad employees entered the car, hat in hand, and the low tones in which they conversed, as they stood about discussing the man on whose account they were there. Child that I was, I visited the car again and again, drawn thither by an irristible desire to stand inside of the enclosure hallowed by Lincoln's presence, in life and in death, and who I thought had been the greatest man who ever lived."



LINCOLN'S FUNERAL CAR



WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN
APOTHEOSIZED

Copy of a print sold on the streets of Pittsburgh after Lincoln's assassination

REFERENCES.

1. *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 15, 17, 18, 19, 21 and 22, 1865.
   Pittsburgh Daily Post, April 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1865.
   Pittsburgh Evening Chronicle, April 15, 17 and 18, 1865.
   Pittsburgh Commercial, April 15, 17 and 18, 1865.
2. *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 8, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A Tribute

The Civil War will always be of romantic interest. When it began John Brown had met his glorious death, albeit on the scaffold, but little more than a year before; and in the entire South the black man was being bought and sold as a chattel. The government had not yet entirely passed the formative stage. The country still had a western frontier, which was only a day's journey from Chicago. Heroism was above commercialism. Opinion was rapidly crystalizing against the further extension, and in favor of the entire abolition of human slavery. A new political party had been organized, whose object was to prevent the further extension of slavery; and with this party were allied all the men who were urging its complete abolition. In its search for a leader, to direct the destinies of the nation, this party, called to the presidency a young giant who had declared that the Union could not endure half slave and half free—that a house divided against itself could not stand—that slavery must ultimately be extinguished. Because he bore the name, that God himself had bestowed on the patriarch of the Jewish people, his utterances had a prophetic prescience. Heroic in mould he will always appear, as he emerges, laurel-crowned, out of the smoke, and dust and roar of the battles of the war, which his election precipitated.

We all love Lincoln because he was intensely human. He was truly great, but like all really great men, he had in his composition all the little elements which go to make up the ordinary man, such as we delight in thinking we are. Born in a rude Kentucky cabin, he was the son of an illiterate father, who was at once carpenter, cabinet-maker and farmer, and of a mother of innate refinement, who died when her boy was still very young. The father married again, and gave his son a stepmother of wisdom and strength, who made his life attractive, and inspired him to become the good and useful man whose memory we so delight to honor. There were few schools in those days in Indiana, to which state the boy was early taken, and the education which he received from that source was extremely fragmentary. But he was eager to learn, and grasped at every opportunity of acquiring knowledge, in the intervals that could be spared from the work on his father's small farm. He read over and over again the few books that came in his way, but with the Bible, which was always at hand, he became more familiar than with any other form of literature; and in after life he made constant use of appropriate quotations from its pages. His stepmother however, has made the shrewd observation, that at this time, like many other boys, her stepson "sought more congenial books." He was thoughtful and observant, and matured early, and earned a few dollars here, and a few dollars there, by working for the neighbors, which money was always demanded, and scrupulously given to his father. His first large undertaking was when at nineteen years of age he helped navigate to New Orleans, a flat boat loaded with provisions. His receptive character was distinctly broadened by his experience in that large city. When the family moved again, this time into Illinois, Lincoln was twenty-one years old, and he helped his father to build his log house, and to clear the ten acre farm on which they had settled; and he split the rails to fence the land, a few of which were finally to be dramatically carried into the state convention at Bloomington in 1860, and which resulted in his nomination by the national convention at Chicago to the highest office in the gift of the people of the United States.

After he had seen the family well settled, Lincoln struck out for himself. He sought a wider field. The family environment was too narrow for his dominating spirit, although he was deeply attached to his relatives, and continued to assist them with money as long as he lived. All the time he was leading the wholesome out-door life of the back-woods. He was an adept in all the ordinary sports. He could throw farther, run faster, jump higher, shoot straighter than any of his companions. At the cock fights, which were still considered a civilized amusement, and the horse races, he became the chosen umpire. On occasions he has also been known to indulge in fist-fights, and the story of his fight with the bully of Gentryville, is still a legend, out in Indiana where it occurred. As a wrestler he was supreme, and the way in which he whipped Jack Armstrong, the leader of the Clary Grove toughs in Illinois, raised him high in the estimation of the people among whom his lot was cast.

All his life he was intensely ambitious. He became a clerk in a store. When Black Hawk, the Indian chief, undertook to wage war on the settlers in the Rock River Valley in Illinois, Lincoln became, at twenty-three, a volunteer, and being already a leader of men, his comrades, in the company of mounted volunteers of which he was a member, elected him captain. He saw no fighting, except such fighting as the wild young fellows whom he commanded indulged in, among themselves. The only incident in this experience that stands out in relief, is the one which Lincoln often laughingly described. On one occasion he desired to march his company through an open gateway, but could not remember the proper word of command for changing the formation of the company to what he humorously called "endways," so he shouted: "This company is dismissed for two minutes, when it will fall in again on the other side of the gate!" On the disbanding of the company, he reenlisted in another company and served as a private for the remainer of the short-lived war.

He was early anxious for the political preferment, and on his return from the war, ran for the state Legislature, but was defeated. He conducted a grocery- store, in partnership with another man in New Salem, which had been paid for with notes. He read and studied; and the business did not prosper, and a tavern license was taken out. He was appointed postmaster of the village; and began reading law. He had no heart for selling groceries or liquors; he was a careless business man; and even the selling of liquors failed to make the enterprise profitable. He became deputy surveyor of the county in which he lived, and although he knew nothing whatever of surveying, he needed the money, which the proffered positions would pay him, and in six weeks, he had mastered the science of surveying sufficiently, to be able to do the work required of him. Now the grocery store was sold. Notes were taken in payment which the makers neglected to pay at maturity. Lincoln's debts, contracted in the purchase of the store, were large and being unable to meet them, he became insolvent. For almost five years he continued to be a surveyor, all the while taking part in politics, and enlarging his acquaintanceship, and was now twice elected to the Legislature. A love romance came into his life, and for him ended in darkness and gloom; and when Ann Rutledge, his loved one, died, in his dispair, he declared that his "heart was buried" in the grave with her. But he was young and vigorous in body and mind, and his ambition swept him past this dark place in his path, and he went on in his fight for recognition, and in March 1837, in his twenty-eighth year, he was admitted to the bar at Springfield, the new capital of the state, where he commenced to practice the legal profession.

He reached the top easily in his chosen calling; and he grew rapidly in the estimation of all who knew him, either personally or by reputation. He had no personal vices; his moral character was always above suspicion, he did not smoke. In his early manhood he had drunk whisky, and had sold it. Now he drank no intoxicating liquors of any kind. In his thirty third year this man of the people married a girl of ancient lineage and social charms.

His was truly a remarkable career. As a politician, he discussed the question of slavery in a series of debates in Illinois with Stephen A. Douglass, the ablest and most adroit logician of his day, and he carried off the honors. To Lincoln, the subject of the debates, was not merely a partisan political question, but as he expressed it, "the old eternal question of right and wrong." With only one term in the National House of Representatives to his credit, his political fame in the remote state of Illinois, had so far affected men all over the North, that he was nominated and elected President of the United States, at the time when the strongest man in public life was needed. He came to Washington a poor man. He never cared for money, in the accumulation of which a man of his high order of ability could have been eminently successful. Years before he had paid out of his earnings as a surveyor, and at the bar, all the obligations with interest, that had been incurred by him in his storekeeping experiment. At times his income was large for those days, but after he had married it was nearly all used for household expenses, for while he lived modestly, he lived well, and in furthering his political ambition. It was customary at that time, to spend money much more lavishly for political purposes, taking into consideration the comparative wealth of the people, than now, when its use in politics is limited by law. His entire worldly possessions when he moved into the White House, were the little frame house in which he lived in Springfield, and eighty acres of wild land in Iowa, which he had entered with the bounty land-warrant that he had received for his services in the Black Hawk War. He was even obliged to borrow the necessary money for the family expenses of the first few months in Washington.

His experience in public life, in the broader sense, had been limited, yet from the first he brilliantly met every demand. Inexperience soon gave way to understanding. That he was wise beyond his years was early recognized. He was only seventeen years old when he passed his last days in a school-room, and since that time he had been engaged in many callings, and had learned many lessons. From early youth he seemed conscious of a high mission;he believed that he was destined to rise to a great height, and he struggled on through years of toil and exceptional hardship. When he was only thirty-six years of age, he was called "Old Abe" by those to whom he was endeared. His well known integrity, caused him later to be known to everybody as "Honest old Abe." His election was the death blow of slavery; and the South commenced the War of Secession, a movement which had been engendered for some years prior to that time. Lincoln was for the integrity of the Union; on this his will was iron. "My opinion", he wrote to Thurlow Weed, on December 17, 1860, "is, that no state can in any way lawfully get out of the Union." The South had been organized into a Confederacy before he was inaugurated, and when he took the reins of government into his hands, he found that nearly half the team, which he had been elected to drive, had run off. As he stood on the platform in front of the Capitol, his vigorous manhod, his six feet and four inches of height, his angular and slightly stooped figure, the dark homely face, the bright shining eyes, the black hair and beard, with scarcely a silver thread running through them, made him seem a young collossus, when compared with the old white-haired and decrepit Buchanan who was beside him. The two men were typical of their administrations; Lincoln was bold and forceful yet cautious and hopeful, Buchanan was weak, hesitating and fearful. In his inaugural address, while he was conciliatory, Lincoln repeated what he had written to Thurlow Weed, and to the principle then enunciated he clung throughout the whole of the Civil War.

He was a many-sided man. He realized that as President, certain social obligations were imposed upon him; and at the first inaugural ball, he moved gayly, with Mrs. Lincoln, through the opening quadrille. At his levees he was a charming host, and those who came expecting to see an awkward, ill clad country lawyer, were disappointed at beholding a man of easy manners, and conventional dress. He was stronger than any man in his cabinet, not excepting Edward M. Stanton, the secretary of war, who entered it in January 1862. He always had his ear to the ground, and knew public sentiment long before the public itself realized that it had an opinion; and he took advantage of his knowledge. He had hoped to avert civil war but gave up all hope after the Seccessionists bombarded and captured Fort Sumpter, when he instantly called on the country for troops; and the whole North blazed with war sentiment, and became an armed camp; and when the volunteers were thought to be efficient, they were sent South and the fighting began. His soul was sorely tried; yet he was the calmest man in Washington during that day of drizzling rain, when General McDowell's army broken and dispirited, straggled back into the city, from its rout at Bull Run. But oh!, how he wept when a few months later his old Illinois friend, Colonel Baker, was killed in the disaster at Ball's Bluff. The cares of the office were appalling. He once said to General Schenck when he was particularly depressed, on account of a new disaster to the army: "You have no idea of the terrible weight of care and sense of responsibility of this office of mine. If to be at the head of hell, is as hard as what I have to undergo here, I could find it in my heart to pity Satan himself."

He was a political partisan, yet he early placed George B. McClellan, a Democrat, at the head of the army because he believed him to be the fittest man, to undertake the organization of the army. He was most patient with him, and hoped and prayed that he would win victories for the Union. Even after McClellan had signally failed to demonstrate his capacity as a leader in an aggressive campaign, and had allowed his political ambition to become President, to turn his face from his duty, Lincoln still bore with him. His love for the Union was so strong that when he was being urged to be a candidate for a second term, he directed overtures to be made to McClellan, and let it be known, that he would step aside and allow McClellan to be elected President on a Union-Democratic ticket, if he would only come forward and put himself at the head of such a party, instead of injuring the chances of carrying the war to a successful conclusion, by flirting with the Democratic party, which was declaring the war to be a failure.

He had a keen intellect, and was never at a loss for a telling reply. When New York City was apprehensive of a bombardment by Confederate cruisers, a committee of its citizens visited him, and in an earnest appeal, the chairman declared that the committee represented the wealth of the city—"one hundred millions in their own right"—were the words of the zealous chairman. The far-away look which had become almost habitual with Lincoln when talking to delegations of visitors came into his eyes, and he replied deliberately, that he could not furnish a gun-boat, and added impressively, "If I were worth half as much as you seem to be, I would build a gun-boat and give it to the government."

He had wit of a high order. The bane of his life was the office-seekers. On one occasion he was prostrated in the White House by an attack of small pox. Calling to his attendant, he said, with a lugubrious mien; "Tell all the office-seekers to come at once, for now I have something I can give to all of them." At this time Mr. Lincoln believed that "to the victor belong the spoils of office," although after his second inauguration his views changed, and he declared himself in favor of tenure during good behavior; and this was the birth of the civil service reform movement.

As a raconteur he had no superior in Washington. This power was never intentionally used to wound, but either as a relaxation, after he had been tortured by some overwhelming mental strain, or to point a moral. He was much annoyed by the importunities of persons who had articles which they desired to sell to the government. Three men somehow gained access to his presence, who had some warlike invention to dispose of, and the spokesman in an insolent manner reminded the President, that he had already spoken to him about the matter, and demanded a definite reply. A cold twinkle came into Lincoln's eyes as he told the story of a boy who was obliged every day to commit to memory, and recite, a chapter from the Bible. The boy did very well, until he came to the chapter detailing the story of the trials of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the fiery furnace. Try as he would, the boy could not remember these names. The next day he still failed to remember the names, and also the next. The fourth day the boy was again asked to tell the names of the men in the fiery furnace. "Oh!" he exclaimed hopelessly, "here comes those three infernal bores! I wish the devil had them!"

The war graved heavy rings under Lincoln's eyes, and the lines in his face became deeper, and his features wan. He passed many sleepless nights. But hope never left him. His confidence in ultimate victory was unchangeable. In the darkest hours he always found respite from his cares in visiting the theatres. From boyhood, he had been a lover of Shakespeare, and had read most of that author's plays, and could recite whole scenes from memory, which he often did for the entertainment of his friends. His whole being became absorbed as he sat watching Edwin Booth's peerless performance of the part of Hamlet. In this play he saw expounded a philosophy much like the views which he himself entertained. While he owed much of his success in life to his own untiring efforts, yet like other men of destiny, he had a strong belief in the truth of Hamlet's remark to Horatio, that "there's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will", a sentiment which he was always fond of quoting. His theatre-going however, was not limited to the Shakespearean drama, but extended to all classes of plays. In Edwin Forrest's portrayal of the conglomerate character of Richelieu, the famous French statesman—soldier—priest, of the Seventeenth century, as painted in Bulwer's play, Lincoln beheld reflected many of his own opinions on public and private questions; and he was charmed with the reflection. He greatly delighted in attending the negro minstrel entertainments, as here their was both humor and pathos, and both the humor and pathos related to the negro slaves, whose condition was the cause of the war that was then being fought. He laughed at the jokes, some of which were at his expense, and he enjoyed the simple melodies. He would chuckle with pleasure when the end-man would start to sing his favorite ditty:

"When I was young I used to wait
At massa's table, 'n' hand de, 'plate,
An' pass de bottle when he was dry,
An' brush away de blue-tailed fly."

Although he was ignorant of the art of music, the rhythm and the sentiment of the ordinary song affected him deeply; it produced sensations of dreaminess, joy, sadness, exaltation. He listened rapturously to the singing of others. The Hutchinson Family had been singing patriotic songs to the soldiers in the camps about Washington, and had created great enthusiasm, when McClellan ordered them out of the army, for singing Whittier's famous anti-slavery poem set to the music of Luther's stirring hymn, *"Ein Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott"*:

"What gives the wheat fields blades of grass?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On the old star spangled pennon?
What breaks the oath
Of the men o' the South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?—
Hark to the answer: *Slavery!*"

This did not deter Lincoln from inviting them to his levees, where he listened to them with eyes closed, and sympathy expressed on every lineament of his face; and soon afterward he made an order superseding that of McClellan and directed the commanders to permit the Hutchinsons to sing the interdicted song to the soldiers.

He had the soul of a poet, and his public addresses, with all their powerful logic, teem with poetic imagery. With only a limited knowledge of the poets, he eagerly read poetry, particularly if it dealt with human aspirations and human sufferings. Lord Byron delighted him, a favorite selection, for he believed in dreams, which he would recite to his friends, being the somber lines:

"Our life is two-fold: Sleep hath its own world,
A boundary between the things misnamed
Death and existence: Sleep hath its own world,
And a wide realm of wild reality,
And dreams in their development have breath,
And tears, and tortures, and the touch of joy;
They leave a weight upon our waking thoughts,
They take a weight from off our waking toils,
They do divide our being."

Of the fugitive newspaper poetry, he had made a collection, which he kept in his desk, and many of the selections he had committed to memory. In the newspapers he had come across Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes' "The Last Leaf", and he never tired of quoting:

"The mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has pressed
In their bloom;
And the names he loved to hear
Have been carved for many a year
On the tomb".

He was as tender hearted as a woman, and many a letter of his is now preserved as a treasured heirloom, in the family of some mother, or wife, or child, who had been suddenly bereft of a son, or husband, or father, fallen in one of the many battles, that were constantly being fought. It was a most delicate mark of sympathy from one high in authority to an humble woman,that dictated the letter he addressed to the mother in Boston, whose five sons had all been killed in battle on the Union side. "I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine", he wrote "which should attempt to beguile you from a loss so overwhelming". People went to him for all sorts of favors, and he was touched with compassion and granted their requests. A handsome girlish wife whose husband, a young lieutenant, because he had stayed with her, too long, on their honeymoon, had been dismissed from the service, asked and obtained his reinstatement. Innumerable times, he was asked to prevent the execution of soldiers who had deserted and been recaptured, or had slept at their posts, in time of danger, or had committed some other of the crimes against the military law; and in all but the gravest cases he mercifully interfered. Doing good deeds seemed to transform Lincoln entirely, in the eyes of those for whom he was doing favors. Thaddeus Stevens presented an old lady to the President to ask him to pardon her son, who had been condemned to be shot for sleeping at his post. After the pardon had been signed, the lady astonished every one in the room, as she was leaving, by suddenly bursting out: "I knew it was a lie! They told me Mr. Lincoln was an ugly man, when he is really the handsomest man I ever saw in my life."

He was a farsighted politician and had been a student of human character all his life. In the decade immediately preceding his first inauguration, immigration into the United States had been the heaviest in all its history, being larger than the total immigration for the preceding thirty years. More than half of the immigrants were German and Irish, and they thronged every center of population in the North; and they were enthusiastic partisans of the war. Lincoln encouraged their patriotism, and thousands upon thousands of them flocked into the Union army; and he gave to representatives of their race, who had had military experience, or had merit, important commands. To have fought in the Civil War, "mit Sigel," or under Meagher, will ever remain a badge of honor. Then he rewarded the Frenchmen in the army, through General de Trobriand, the Poles through Colonel Kryzanowski, the Italians through General di Cesnola. He realized that at this time the army was ruling the destinies of the nation, and that the private soldiers were closer to the hearts of the people, than their officers. Therefore he cultivated the private soldiers; he desired their good opinion. No high general was as well known as Lincoln, in the camps about Washington, and in the field, at Harrison's Landing on the James River in the early part of the war, and later at Falmouth, on the battle field of Antietam, and at City Point. He walked or rode through the camp streets, and to the cheers of the soldiers he replied with nods and smiles. They cheered for "Old Abe", and considered him their friend, and he laughed and joked with them. With his bodyguard at the Soldiers' Home in Washington, he was always on familiar terms, the captain was "Joe", and the men also were known to him by their Christian names. But his friendly feeling toward the soldiers, did not deter him from reproving them, when he thought they merited reproof. While riding with several others to the review of the First Corps of the Army of the Potomac at Falmouth one day, the driver of the ambulance in which they were travelling, occasionally let fly at his team of troublesome mules, a volley of suppressed oaths. Lincoln bore with the man's profanity for a time, then leaning forward touched him on the shoulder, and asked:

"Excuse me, my friend, are you an Episcopalian?

The man greatly startled, looked around and replied: "No, Mr. President; I am a Methodist." "Well", said Lincoln, "I thought you must be an Episcopalian, because you swear just like Secretary Seward, who is a warden in an Episcopal Church".

He visited the hospitals where the wounded men were convalescing, with scrupulous regularity; and the invalids were elated, and repeated with pride what the President had said to them. The courage of his tumultous youth had not deserted him, and once while on a visit to the out-posts of the army he rode with General Benjamin F. Butler, along the line of the intrenchments at Fortress Monroe, in full view of the enemy, while his soldiers were cheering themselves hoarse, and the enemy's pickets, who were not more than three hundred yards distant must have heard the tumult, and suspected the cause, and could easily have fired on and killed him. Being remonstrated with, his only reply was to laugh and say: "Oh no! the commander-in-chief must not show any cowardice in the presence of his soldiers, whatever he may feel".

In crucial moments he was superb. When the Army of the Potomac was about to enter Pennsylvania, while pursuing the army of Lee, and a great battle was imminent, General Hooker suddenly resigned the command. Even Stanton, the iron hearted secretary of war was in a panic. The news came in the evening. As Lincoln read the dispatch announcing Hooker's resignation, his jaws tightened and he said instantly to Stanton, "Accept his resignation." And immediately the President and his great war secretary decided to place General Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac, and at daybreak the next morning, Meade was in control, and afterward fought the battle of Gettysburg successfully. When the great crisis of the whole war arrived, Lincoln met it like a demigod. He had long realized that the war must inevitably lead to the emancipation of the slaves, but was long in doubt as to the most opportune time for bringing it about, and the best method by which it could be accomplished. The abolitionists were clamoring for immediate emancipation. The Northern clergy thundered against him for his delay. A number of Chicago ministers called on him to demand a proclamation abolishing slavery. One of them on leaving added as a parting admonition: "It is a message from the Divine Master to you". Lincoln replied quietly: "That may be true, but if it is, it is odd that the only channel He could send it by, was that roundabout route, by way of that awfully wicked city of Chicago."

Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* railed at Lincoln in his "Prayer of Twenty Millions", to which complaint the President replied in a published letter of convincing dignity. "What I do about slavery," he wrote, "I do because I believe it helps save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do believe it would help to save the Union." He was of the opinion that the time had not arrived for striking the shackles from the slaves; that public opinion was not ripe for so drastic a measure. He was engaged in war, and he intended to take advantage of every phase of the struggle. When McClellan won the battle of Antietam, and cleared Maryland and Pennsylvania of the Confederates, Lincoln was satisfied that the proper time had come, and without consulting anyone he issued his first proclamation on the subject of the abolition of slavery. He gave notice of his intention to free the slaves in the states and territories in revolt, if they did not come back into the Union by the first of the next January. When the first of January 1863 arrived, the proclamation, written with his own hand, was ready, and after laying it before his cabinet, he signed the paper, and all the slaves in the rebellious states were declared to be free; and the whole civilized world rejoiced.

In military, no less than in political affairs, Lincoln was an over-mastering genius. Without previous military training, for his four months service in the Black Hawk War, can by no stretch of the imagination be termed such, his ability was such that he was not only nominally, but actually, from the very beginning of the war, the commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the Union. A few days after his inauguration he was called upon to make his first decision, and he demonstrated his ability by wisely overruling General Scott, who had advised the evacuation of Fort Sumpter. His plans of the military campaigns were marvels of insight and sound judgment, as is now admitted on every hand by military experts. If the campaigns which he laid out were not always successful, it was generally because of lack of capacity, or on account of some blunder, on the part of the generals entrusted with their execution. He sent general after general, to cope with the lion of the Confederacy, General Lee, who failed in the task assigned them, but finally General Grant was found, and to him Lincoln gave absolute authority. As usual in such cases he wrote fully and frankly. "The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know," he declared. "You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you". And his faith was not misplaced.

At last the haughty banner of the Confederacy was everywhere trailing; valor and skill could not withstand valor and skill indefinitely, when combined with infinitely greater resources. The war was over although General Lee had not formally surrendered, and Lincoln went to the headquarters of the army at City Point, to confer with General Grant. Richmond was evacuated and set on fire. Two days later Lincoln was in the abandoned city, walking through the streets almost unprotected, no trace of exultation in his bearing, viewing the desolation wrought by the fire, and attempting to learn what could be done to soften the hard lot of the fallen foe. The streets were packed with negroes, old men with kinkey grey hair, old women in red bandannas, young negroes and young negresses, children in arms, and children running about; black negroes, brown negroes, yellow negroes. All were wild with excitement. The year of jubilee had been surpassed; the millennium had dawned. They were ecstatic; their Savior had appeared among them. They leaped in the air for joy; they hugged and kissed one-another; they followed Mr. Lincoln about. They sang religious hymns, and they shouted in the exhuberance of their delight :

"Glory! Glory, Hallelujah!"
God bress Massa Lincum!
Glory! Glory, Hallelujah!"

But the tragedy of the war was not the only tragedy that was enacted in the bloody drama of the abolition of slavery. Appomattox was already a landmark in history. By day there was rejoicing on every thoroughfare; at night the public buildings were illuminated. The burdens and cares of four terrible years seemed about to be lifted from the President's weary shoulders; peace and happiness were coming timidly out of their retirement and smiling at him again. But alas! it was all only a mirage in the desert of his life. His work was done. He had led his people through tribulation and death, to within sight of the promised land; but into this he was not destined to enter. His name was not to be linked with the names of those who were to bring tranquility out of chaos, in the conquered states. His great and forgiving heart was already planning for a reunited country, and devising means for ameliorating the unhappy condition of the suffering South, when he was struck down by the hand of a sneaking assassin. "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye", his earthly career was ended. He died with a smile on his face. In the play which he was attending, *Asa Trenchard*, had made a witty retort to the taunt of *Mrs. Mountchessington*; and Lincoln had smiled, and the merciless bullet came; and the smile never left his wan features. And as his spirit took its flight, out in the street, a mild April rain murmured a soft requiem.

He has been dead for many a year, yet, as was sung of John Brown, by the Union soldiers in the war, "his soul goes marching on." "He now belongs to the ages" was the pathetically eloquent remark of Secretary Stanton, at Lincoln's deathbed, as the great President breathed his last. We realize the truth of the observation, more and more, every day. In moments where the public weal is at stake, whether the question at issue, be old or new, Lincoln's utterances are the ones to be conjured with, more than the words of any other American. He is no longer classed with the political partisans; he is no longer counted as the representative of any section. Democrat, Socialist, Republican, Northerner or Southerner, aristrocrat or commoner, all revere his memory and look to his writings and speeches for inspiration.

LAFAYETTE HALL

Lafayette Hall was a four story brick building which stood on the westerly side of Wood Street, thirty feet south of Fourth Avenue. There was also an entrance from Fourth Avenue, located about sixty feet west of Wood Street, the building having an ell-shaped extension to that thoroughfare. The building was erected in the middle of the last century, and for a number of years was used for public meetings. It was an historic landmark, because within its walls there was held the National Convention of 1856, at which the Republican party was organized. In later years the building was used for dances and minor receptions, and occasionally for lyceum attractions. In its old age it fell into disrepute, and on account of the collection there of many disorderly crowds and of midnight brawls, the place received an unsavory reputation. Several murders were committed within its walls. One of the last events of note, was the appearance on its stage of General William Booth, the founder and commander-in-chief of the Salvation Army.

Lafayette Hall had been owned for several years by the Tradesmen's National Bank of this city, whose banking house, at the corner of Wood Street and Fourth Avenue adjoined it. In the spring of 1895, both buildings were torn down and the present eight story structure, now known as the Columbia Bank Building erected in their place.

MONONGAHELA HOUSE

By L. C. MACPHERSON*

After almost a century's continuous catering to travelers faring along the various roads leading by water or stage into and out of Pittsburgh, the Monongahela Hotel is to pass. The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, has sold to a prominent Pittsburgh business man the hotel property, situated on the west side of Smithfield Street between Water Street and Fifth Avenue. The frontage on Smithfield is 180 feet and depth 181, these dimensions indicating later purchases, if the figures stated in the original business cards of 80 years ago were accurate, those being 120 by 160 feet. But the sale includes the old hotel laundry, 30 by 80, and these measurements may reconcile the discrepancy.

The approximate price is $750,000.

The designed disposition of the quite eligible site cannot be discovered by any direct admission of the intimately concerned parties, but enough is known to warrant the very confident hazard of the assertion that conversion into office apartments will be at once started, for there is a known and insistent demand for this style of building in the city. The sale evokes, without any sentimentality, much retrospection whether made by citizens, who lag on the stage though not superfluous, and can themselves recall a troop of memories of the kind old tavern in its not yet extinct type of architecture, or by that vigorous younger generation, who have listened to the tales of a wayside inn, and also often partaken of some kind of the hotel's varieties of welcome.

First Modern Hotel

Beyond question of fact the Monongahela House stands in the front line among the old landmarks of Pittsburgh, but one must not read the superscription for its picture as being "the first modern hotel built west of the Alleghanies, without noting well that word "modern." The original hos-

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*From *The Pittsburgh Dispatch* of January 23, 1920.

telry was erected on the present site in 1839-40, and its newspaper advertisement then showed it contained 210 rooms, covered an area of 120 by 160 feet, fronting on Smithfield Street at the corner of what was then called Front, now Water Street. It was built by James Crossan, who had been proprietor of the old Exchange Hotel. Its business card announced that it was "beautifully located on the banks of the Monongahela River, convenient to the steamboat landing." There is no doubt that it was then a magnificent affair and equaled by few hotel structures in the United States.

In the great conflagration of April 20, 1845, it was destroyed, but was rebuilt and reopened by James and John McD. Crossan on March 5, 1847. The heavy transportation on the river involved the building and loading of flatboats, and the men engaged made it quarters for lodging and conviviality and general intercourse. Travelers bound to Eastern cities deemed it their favorite resort, and a guest book, if made continuous through the years, would be a veritable bedroll of the worthies of this nation and all the civilized lands elsewhere. Andrew Jackson has noted his sojourns beneath its roof in volumes of either official reports or "Travels;" Charles Dickens mentions it in Martin Chuzzlewit—is it not? The Prince of Wales, later king, grandfather of the prince more recently in this land, had an American, not royal, reception there after his escort brought him from the "depot" of that day. The date was October 2, 1860. In August, 1849, President Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and Ready," was in "our midst," and in the parlor of this hotel Judge Walter Forward made an oratorical effort of welcome regarded as surpassing his known ability for eloquence. Another distinguished guest of the early days was former President John Quincy Adams. Former President Theodore Roosevelt was there on September 10, 1910.

Where Lincoln Stayed

Abraham Lincoln was in Pittsburgh, February 14, 1861, on that fateful and dangerous trip to his inauguration. A great crowd massed in the streets and cheered him and his family as he finally reached the hospitable portals of the Monongahela House, about 9 o'clock in the evening, through a heavy rain. The two speeches he made, one while sitting in the lobby and the other from the balcony, are parts of the annals of the times; and this hasty outline of a hotel's fame does not suggest the necessity of assembling all the memories of past generations, nor of indulging in samples of eloquence. There were memorable talks along the way to Washington, and the scenes must have been beyond the reach of present-day imagination to restore.

It was in a room at the Monongahela that some raconteurs of the past have located the origin of the Republican party. Its guest list also can boast of Horace Greeley, Ulysses S. Grant, Secretary of State W. H. Seward and Secretary of War Edward M. Stanton, who was virtually a resident of the city, absent on official leave, Gen. William T. Sherman, Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, Roscoe Conkling, James G. Blaine, Thomas B. Reed, William McKinley, Jr., before he was President. Gen. Ben. Butler was here twice, once at a veterans reunion and again when he thought he might be elected President. It is legend, and tradition or legend has often some substratum of truth, that Henry Clay figured among the guests of an elder day. Surely the line of notabilities has not been exhausted and more patient research through the newspaper files might exhume many an interesting chronicle of olden days when great men and ladies found a generous welcome in this more than wayside inn.

Famous Banquet Hotel

The Monongahela Hotel has been the banqueting hall on countless occasions for associations, societies, fraternities and assemblages of every kind conceivable, secular, religious, scientific, Pan-American, international, coalmen, in operator or miner capacities, the whole gamut of human endeavor is run by the representations who have found transient shelter at this venerable tavern. The theatrical and the operatic world can have its past recalled by noting the stars once incribing their names on the blotter. This banquet hall can seat 1,500 persons and once easily ranked first among all the places for feasts where between the soup and the sherry was heard many a speech, pregnant with prophecy that came true, or argument that wielded potent influence upon the immediate future of business, or perhaps only the jests and persiflage of the hour to add zest to the menu. The hotel was also a favorite resort for associations, which had exhibits of their wares as part of their meetings at stated times. Often the halls have been filled with glassware, cutlery, all the multitude of articles that industry includes. It has been the location of several investigating commissions, national and state Lexows.

It suffered a serious fire about three decades ago, and there was some doubt then for a time whether it would be restored for hotel purposes. Its management in recent years has changed with some frequency. About ten years ago D. F. Henry of the Henry Hotel owned the site. No brief and hurried sketch could embrace all the items fairly worth the writing about this house of entertainment, once for man and beast. Its structure was too modern and imposing to gather much of the poetic around it like the inns of other lands, or even in the good old colony days.

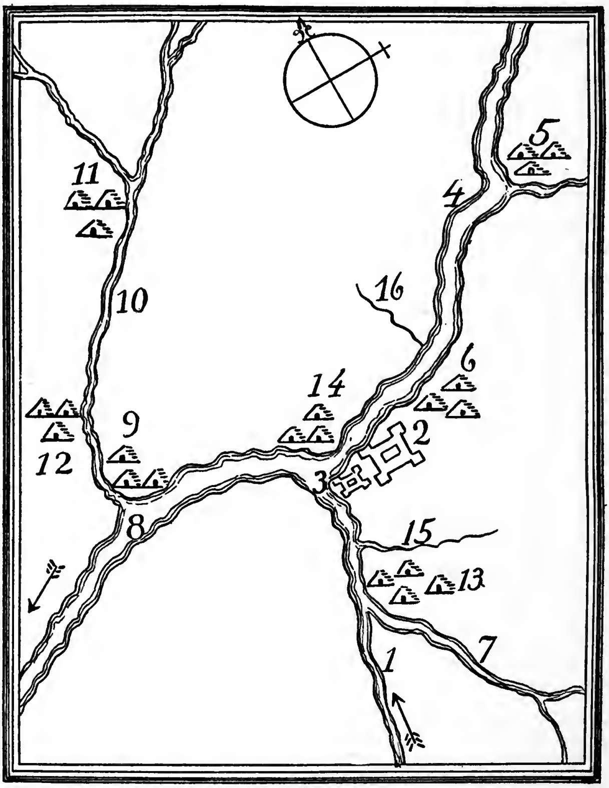
Sold in 1906

In the files of The Dispatch for May 17, 1906, on the first page, is an item conveying the fact that the Monongahela Hotel had been sold for $1,000,000 to an unknown purchaser, and that neither the Crossan or Clark estates' representatives—its owners—nor the Monongahela House Company, of which William H. Hays was president, would comment at all on the fact. But the latter held a lease not yet expired, and it was stated the sale would not interfere with the continuance of the hotel. Much of the history of the famous place was detailed in the item of news, as herein set forth, but the only added point was the assertion that the present building was the first of the large ones erected after the great fire of 1845.

PITTSBURGH AND VICINITY IN 1761

The editor of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has lately come into the possession of a copy of *Father Abraham's Almanac*, for the year 1761. It was printed in Philadelphia in that year by W. Dunlap, "at the *Newest Printing Office,* in Market Street".

It is a curious little volume in several respects, but what is of most interest to the readers of this magazine is the account of Pittsburgh and vicinity, together with a map, which is the earliest map of the district, in existence. The map with the references to the same, as also the description of Pittsburgh, and the contiguous territory is printed herewith.



REFERENCES to the above SKETCH of Fort DuQuesne, now Pittsburgh, with the adjacent Country.

1.—Monongahela River. 2.—Fort DuQuesne, or Pittsburg. 3.—The small Fort. 4.—Alleghany River. 5.—Alleghany Indian Town. 6.—Shanapins. 7.—Yauyaugany River. 8.—Ohio, or Alleghany River. 9.—Logs Town. 10. —Beaver Creek. 11.—Kuskuskies, the chief Town of the Six Nations. 12.—Shingoes Town. 13.—Allequippes. 14.—Sennakaas. 15.—Turtle Creek. 16.—Pine Creek. The Arrows show the Course of the Rivers.

A Brief Description of Ohio

1st. Pittsburgh, late Fort DuQuesne, lies in about 40 Deg. and 24 Min, N. Lat. The River Ohio may be said to begin at this Spot, for it divides into two Parts here which the *Indians* call by different Names, the Northermost, *Alleghany,* and the other *Monongahela.* The general course of Ohio is S. W. by W. till it falls in the *Mississippi* near the 36th Degree of Latitude, running about 900 Miles. Pittsburgh is situated on a fine Point of Land, about twenty-four Feet above the Water, at the Junction of the *Alleghany* and *Monongahela* with the *Ohio.* The Course of *Monongahela* is S. and being navigable for small Craft, for above 60 Miles, it is supposed the nearest Communications the *British* Settlements can have by Water to *Pittsburg,* will be from some of the Branches of *Potowmack* to *Monongahela,* where it is thought a Land-Carriage of about 60 Miles only may be effected. The Course of the *Alleghany* is N. by E. and one Branch of it, which is navigable for small Craft to a Fort the *French* had at the Head of it, is within fifteen Miles of the East End of Lake *Erie.* This Lake is near 300 Miles long, and about 80 broad, is chiefly East and West; the most Southerly Point of it is little more than 41 Deg. North. The Land many Miles round *Pittsburg* is exceeding good, and all that between Lake *Erie* and *Ohio* is esteemed as good as any in the World; many fine Rivers navigable for small Craft run into the Lake, some of which nearly interlock with others that fall into the Ohio. Lake *Erie* empties itself by the Falls of *Niagara,* to the N. E. now also in the Possession of the *English.* At that Part of *Alleghany* where our Map ends, lay the Indian Town of *Kittanning,* which Colonel *Armstrong* set on Fire, and killed the noted *Indian Jacobs*; and that Part of *Monongahela* where our Map ends, is near to *Braddock's* unhappy Defeat.

2nd. *Pittsburg* seems extremely well situated for a Capital City of those Parts, as it is the only Place yet discovered that has an easy Communication with our Settlements; and it is said, that on the breaking up of the Winter, the melting of the Snow in the Spring generally raises the River twelve or fourteen Feet, and sometimes more, above its ordinary Bed, tho' hardly ever overflowing its regular and high Banks. Hence it is apprehended Ships of between 100 and 200 Tons may be built at *Pittsburg* and sent off loaded from thence every Spring. About 150 Miles W. N. W. of *Pittsburg*, a River called *Cayahogo*, falls into Lake *Erie*, at the Mouth of which is a fine Harbour capable of receiving large Vessels, fitted for the Navigation of the Lake: And from thence it is said to be navigable for shipping N. W. thro' the Straits of St. *Clair*, into Lake *Huron* and Lake *Michigan*, two other inland Seas of great Extent, where numerous Tribes of *Indians* dwell and resort.

THE OLD INDIAN BURYING GROUND

Later used as a Place of Interment by the French, and by the Pioneers of Pittsburgh

By STEPHEN QUINON*

Of the people who worship in the First Presbyterian and Trinity Episcopal churches, how many are aware of the wealth of historic interest in the square in which those churches stand? How many know anything of the gallant men who sleep there, men whose lives abounded in romance, whose names are associated with glorious deeds? That square, bounded by Wood and Smithfield streets, Sixth Avenue and Virgin Alley, is a memorial of struggling and suffering, of disaster and triumph, such as could not easily be found elsewhere. Within its limits, crumbling into a common dust, are the bodies of savages, and civilized French, English, American, Canadian, Indian traders, soldiers, judges, characters which stand out boldly on the background of the past.

One of the earliest references to the square appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 26, 1786, in a paragraph, copied into *Hazard's Register* under date of May 28, 1831:

> "In laying out the town of Pittsburgh, 5 lots have been assigned for churches and burying grounds. These comprehend the former ground, and which is adjoining to the ancient cemetery of the natives, being one of those mounds before mentioned, and which, judging from the height of the earth in this place, seems to have been a place of sepulchre for ages. These lots are about the center of the town as it is laid out, and an intermediate distance between the rivers. A church is on the way to be built, of squared timbers and moderate dimensions, which may accommodate the people until a larger building can be erected".

Where were "those mounds before mentioned?" What has been preserved of them the article quoted does not say. One of them is that which remains at McKees Rocks, and,

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*From *The Pittsburgh Times* of June 28, 1895.

as learned from a description of Grant's Hill, written by Judge H. H. Brackenridge, and published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of July 29, 1786, there was another on that hill:

> "On the summit of the hill there is a mound of earth, supposed to be a catacomb or ancient burying place of the savages".

Until recently I was of the impression that there was still another at the Point, as Harris, quoted in *The Early History of Western Pennsylvania and the West,* says:

> "In our early day the ditch that ran from the Allegheny through Marbury, Liberty and Short streets to the Monongahela, and the mound, and several old brick and log houses that composed a part of old Fort Pitt were standing conspicuous".

The wording of this left the impression that a third Indian mound was at the place indicated; but the venerable Isaac Craig, than whom there is no higher authority, and to whose courtesy I am indebted for my knowledge of the paragraph relating to the square in question, assures me that the impression is wrong.

The town was laid out by Wood and Vickroy, whose services are commemorated by streets bearing their names, in the summer of 1784, and the plan approved by Tench Francis, attorney of the Penns in September. In that plan the square consists of 8 lots, each 60 by 240 feet, facing Sixth Avenue, and running through from that to Virgin Alley. They began with No. 433 lying along Smithfield Street, and ended with 440, lying along Wood Street. The 5 lots "assigned for churches and burying grounds," and which "comprehend the former ground" were 439 and 435 inclusive, which were divided equally between the Presbyterian Church and the Episcopal Church. The Presbyterian portion was 439, 438 and half of 437, giving the church 150 feet front by 240 in depth. The Episcopal portion was of corresponding size. These lots had evidently been selected because they had been burying grounds to a period beyond memory.

THE GRAVE OF BEAUJEAU.

In this Square was located the French Cemetery of the Blessed Virgin of the Beautiful River.

There can hardly be a reasonable doubt that within this square was the Catholic cemetery of the Blessed Virgin of the Beautiful River, of the time of the French occupation, from April 1753, to November 1758. It was the burial place of the aborigineеs back to the age of the mound builders. Whoever reads the story of the relations between the French and Indians in this region must know that the French were assidious in complimenting them to wean them from the English interest, and there could have been no better way to compliment them than by laying the French dead alongside the Indian dead. The savage was always approachable through his religious instincts, through his sense of the mystery of the hereafter. To adopt his burial place was a recognition of brotherhood with him. If there had been a French cemetery close to Fort Duquesne it would have been discovered in the course of a century's digging and delving around the Point. The Rev. A. A. Lambing, likewise a high authority on local history, calls my attention to the fact that "when the foundations were dug for the plow works, now a paint works, between the foot of Penn Avenue and Duquesne Way, some 15 years ago or more, two bodies were found, one an Indian and the other a white man. That was just outside the walls of the Fort". That is not proof that a cemetery was there. In the Fall of 1825 a stranger stopping at Lawrenceville one day, while coming into town or going out, saw "a group of persons assembled near an excavation in the Northern Liberties," and curious to learn what the attraction was, walked up and found it was the discovery of three coffins. They were of three soldiers who had been shot by the redoubtable Anthony Wayne, when preparing for his expedition against the Indians. That was in 1792. Neville B. Craig wrote that "Wayne's army was at that time encamped on the beautiful plain on the southeast side of Liberty Street and extending from where the Episcopal Church stands up to the canal." The Episcopal Church of 1825 stood on the triangular lot, since famous as the sight of the Penn Bank. Wayne was encamped on the grounds of Fort Fayette. These men, shot for desertion, were perhaps, buried where they fell. There may be a question as to whether the authorities of the graveyard around the present churches would have permitted the burial of them there. They were regarded as criminals. Something similar may be the explanation of the burial of the Indian and the white man outside of the walls of the Fort at the Point.

How did Virgin Alley get its name? For years I have tried to ascertain. I believe it got it from the cemetery of the Blessed Virgin of the Beautiful River. When this town was laid out, the people here, as stated in 1786, were Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians, though the last were few, and there were some Catholics. Would those Protestants, would the agents of the Quaker Penns, honor the Virgin by calling a part of the town after her? Certainly not. But the alley is named after her. Exactly, but who gave the name originally? The Catholic French! Might it not have been by Denys Baron, priest of the Recollet Order of the Franciscans, chaplain of Fort Duquesne? Without going into details concerning the Indian trails, converging or diverging at the Point, over what route within the present city limits did Forbes travel to Fort Duquesne when he came to drive out the French? In answer to certain inquiries about the Indian trails, Morrison Foster, still another authority on local history, wrote to me:

> "There was a path up Liberty Street and along the foot of the hill, about where the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad runs, crossing the Two Mile Run, where Vilsack's brewery is; then straight up the hill past the rear or south of the house, I was born in, where my father lived when he laid out the town of Lawrenceville; thence along the bluff overlooking the Two Mile Run, until it joined the path from Shannopin. By this path Gen. Forbes made his road when he moved on Fort Duquesne. Forbes' Road was there within my recollection".

Liberty Street runs direct from the Union Station to the freight station and to the sites of Fort Duquesne and

Fort Pitt. This was "the main road" as early as 1730. The old writers tell how thickly this region was wooded when the French came. When a death occurred at the Fort it is reasonable to hold that on the way to the Cemetery of the Virgin they followed the main road a certain distance and then turned off into the woods. Virgin Alley begins at Liberty Street the "main road" of old. Was there not a path to the burial ground about where Virgin Alley runs, was it not known among the French by a name derived from the cemetery, and was not that name handed down from the French to the English, who accepted it as an established name? I can conceive of no other way in which that good Catholic name could have been given to the alley or any other in which the fierce Presbyterians could have been reconciled to it. The name bears witness that within that square was "the cemetery of Fort Duquesne, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin of the Beautiful River" the register of which was kept by Chaplain Baron, a translation of which, with instructive notes, made by Neville B. Craig, may be read in the file of the *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette* of 1858, in the number of July 5th, in the Mercantile Library of Pittsburgh.

It is worth while to note the first white person ever buried there:

> "20th of June, 1754,—died in the Fort Duquesne, on the Belle Riviere, Toussaint Boyer, called Bientourne, bachelor, inhabitant of St. Pierre, in the prairie of Magdalene, aged 22, or thereabouts, having received the sacraments of penitence, of the Viaticum and Extreme Unction. He was buried in the place intended for the cemetery of said fort, with the usual ceremonies, by me."

This young man was a Canadian, as was a more famous one buried there—"M. Leonard Daniel, Esq., Sieur de Beaujeau, captain in the Infantry, commandant of Fort Duquesne and the army." This was the man who defeated Braddock at the crossing of the Monongahela. He was born in Montreal in 1711, and for his valour and enterprise had received the cross of the military order of St. Louis. The battle of Braddock's Field was fought in the afternoon of July 9, 1755. Before setting out for it in the morning, he "had been to confession and made his devotions." About two o'clock it began, and he was soon mortally wounded. Winthrop Sargent, who devoted a volume to the Braddock Expedition, says in describing the opening of the battle:

> "Before them, with long leaps, came Beaujeau, the gayly colored fringes of his hunting shirt and the silver gorget on his bosom, at once bespeaking the chief."

Beaujeau was buried on the 12th. Here I quote from a letter to me from Mr. Isaac Craig:

> "The French soldiers killed at Braddock's defeat I was told by an old citizen, were buried where the Episcopal chapel now stands."

After a reference to three rough stones there, he continues:

> "When the remains of the dead in that churchyard were removed, I told the gentleman who superintended the work of this story, and requested him to see that the removal was executed with special care. It happened that these graves were dug up during my absence from the ground, and when I returned I was handed a piece of gold fringe about 5 inches long, and 2 inches wide, which I am satisfied was a portion of the uniform worn by Monseiur de Beaujeau."

Mr. Craig showed me the relic, saying that he thought it must have been a part of the decoration on the shoulder, of a colonial officer taking the place of the epaulette. But it might have been a part of "the gayly colored fringes of his hunting shirt." If that was not from the uniform of Beaujeau from whose could it have been? The French privates or subalterns could not have worn such fringes. The removals spoken of were to make room for Trinity Church and chapel erected in 1869, was it not? I take it as an established fact that the square in question comprises what was originally the burying ground of the savages, which was next the Catholic cemetery of the Blessed Virgin of the Beautiful River.

LOT OWNERS IN THE SQUARE

As to the original ownership of that square, outside of the five lots assigned to the churches. They were granted by the Penns in September 1787. In November of that year John Skinner bought lots 433 and 434 from the Penns. The first is the one along Smithfield Street, extending back to Carpenters, now Freiheit Alley. The other lies between the alley and Trinity Church. Who Skinner was I have not taken pains to inquire. He was not a conspicuous figure in our early history. He sold those lots to John Gibson, and when Gibson went into the clutches of the sheriff, they passed to Wilson Hunt, and then, as I make it out, to Oliver Ormsby, who cut them up into a plan of his own, and sold Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 8 of his plan, part of Woods 434 to Trinity Church for a burying ground, in November of 1827, and it was laid off by the surveyor, G. Bardeou, who has left many marks of his work in Pittsburgh.

No. 440 along Wood Street, from Sixth Avenue, to Virgin Alley, was bought from the Penns by Rev. Samuel Barr, December 4, 1787, for 12 lbs. and 10 shillings "current money of Pennsylvania, in specie." The good Quaker Penns were sound money men. So far as I have noticed in their land dealings they demanded specie every time. No matter about that, though. Barr sold the lot September 16, 1795, to John Wilkins, for 80 lbs., and he sold it August 5, 1796, to John Easton, described as the Tennesseean and late sergeant in the fourth regiment of the Army of the United States, who sold it to the trustees of the First Presbyterian Church, December 16, 1801, for 107 lbs. and 10 shillings.

Rev. Samuel Barr, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Londonderry blew into this town in the fall of 1785, and there was not much here which he did not see in about the time it takes to tell it. He assumed charge of the First Presbyterian congregation in an informal way almost as soon as he arrived.

AN OLD HEAD STONE.

The Shawnee Chief Red Pole, Brother of Blue Jacket, Who Fought Wayne at the Fallen Timbers.

On entering Trinity churchyard one sees to his left a crumbling head stone, bearing the name of an Indian, part of the inscription eaten away by the tooth of time.

The following letter by Major Isaac Craig, grandfather of Mr. Isaac Craig, of Allegheny, quartermaster here, to James McHenry, Secretary of War, at Philadelphia, relates some of the story of the inscription:

> "Pittsburgh, 17th January, 1797, Sir—the river still continues shut up with ice; Captain Turner and the Indians are therefore, still here, and I am extremely sorry

> to have to inform you that about ten days ago, Red Pole, the principal chief, complained of a pain in his breast and head, supposed by Dr. Carmichael to have been occasioned by a slight cold, and for which necessary medicines etc., were applied, but without success, as his complaints had increased, attended with other bad symptons, and he is now according to the opinions of Doctors Carmichael, Bedford, and Wallace, dangerously ill, notwithstanding every possible attention has been paid to him and to the other Indians, of which they are perfectly sensible, and Blue Jacket in particular acknowledges with gratitude that the kindest possible attention is paid to his sick brother."

That was pneumonia he had, was it not?

This is how the inscription once read:

"MIO-QUA-COO-NA-CAW,
or
Red Pole;
Principal village chief of the Shawnese Nation;
Died at Pittsburgh the 28th of January
1797
Lamented by the United States."

In a letter under date of February 3, 1797, Major Craig informed the Secretary that Red Pole died at 9 A. M. of January 28th, and added:

> "I have had the corpse attended and interred in the most respectable manner in our church burying ground, and with your approbation, and to gratify Blue Jacket, and the other chiefs, I wish to place either a tombstone or a headstone to his grave, with any inscription you may please to point out."

The Shawnese were brothers, as intimated, and Neville B. Craig, writing about the incident in 1833, referred to Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, as considering them brothers. Blue Jacket was a spirited man, one who would not be awed by even Mad Anthony Wayne, and forced the Indians to fight him at Fallen Timbers, where they were defeated by a bayonet rush.

These chiefs, in charge of Captain Shaumburg, arrived here Christmas Day, 1796, and were detained by the ice. They were returning from Philadelphia, then the seat of government. The mention of Shaumburg suggests the plot of the Spaniards to sever the Union, to which end they plied with gold Gen. James Wilkinson, a name familiar here. He succeeded Wayne in command of the army, on Wayne's death in 1796. It is possible, here to merely refer to this fact, and for the sake of illustrating the historic relations of the Pittsburgh square.

Red Pole's body was buried where Trinity Church is, and I have been told that as there was hardly any of it left to remove, the stone only was, and set where it is now.

To the right of the church one sees names which speak volumes—Mackay and Bayard. The Mackay reposing there was the son of Aeneas Mackay, a British soldier in command of the king's troops from South Carolina, who came to the aid of Washington in the advance on Fort Duquesne in 1754, and surrendered with him to the French at Fort Necessity. He was afterwards commandant at Fort Pitt, and when the Revolution broke out, joined the Americans, was commissioned colonel of the 8th Pennsylvania regiment in July, 1776 and died at Quibbletown, N. J., February 14, 1777.

Samuel Mackay reposes near his nephew and namesake, Samuel Mackay Bayard. Stephen Bayard, a descendent of Huguenots, a native of Maryland, whose body lies somewhere in that ground, married the daughter of Aeneas Mackay, the first white child born at Fort Pitt, Elizabeth, after whom her husband called the town of Elizabeth, which he laid out. In 1812 he was offered the commission of a major general, but was compelled to decline it on account of his bodily infirmities. He was major of the 8th, and promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy after the death of Mackay. On one occasion Lieutenant Gabriel Peterson deposed that at the battle of Brandywine a cannon ball, evidently well spent, "struck Col. Bayard on the head and shoulder, and tumbled him over the ground for near two rods. Deponent helped him up on his feet—he was frantic." Stout old hard hearted Stephen, with his Huguenot blood! It raised his dander at the British to get a cannon ball at the butt of the ear. Somewhere in that ground, over near the Virgin Alley side, Willian Butler sleeps for his last long sleep. He was a Revolutionary officer who retired from the service in 1783 and died in Pittsburgh in 1789. His brother, Richard, who perished in St. Clair's disastrous expedition, is spoken of by Gen. Henry Lee as " the renowned second and rival of Morgan in the Saratoga encounters." It was Richard who challenged Gen. von Steuben for an affront after the surrender of Yorktown, and it took all the influence of Washington and Rochambeau to dissuade him from the duel. I have been told that there were five of these Butlers, and all men of strong character. They were here at an early period as Indian traders.

This sketch would be incomplete, indeed, if it contained no word about John Gibson, who once owned two of the lots in the square. He was a native of Lancaster, and came over here with Gen. Forbes, when about nineteen years of age. After the French were driven out he settled at Fort Pitt as a trader. During Pontiac's War he was taken prisoner by the Indians, condemned to the stake, but saved through the Indian custom of adoption. A squaw adopted him. I think I have read that he was a prisoner when Boquet, after the relief of Fort Pitt, marched against the Indians on the Muskingum, and that he wrote one of the letters which they sent to Bouquet, during the negotiations for peace. He married the sister of the celebrated Mingo chief, Logan, whose speech sent to Dunmore every schoolboy knows, and it was Gibson who translated it as delivered to Dunmore under an oak tree about seven miles south of Circleville, Ohio. When the War of Independence began he was appointed colonel and served in New York and New Jersey under Washington till 1781, when he was appointed to the command of the western department. He was a member of the Pennsylvania convention, an Associate Justice of Allegheny County, his commission as such can be read in the Recorder's Office; was Secretary of the territory of Indiana in 1801, and held that office until the territory became a state. He died at Braddock in April 1822.

NOTES AND QUERIES

LINCOLN'S VISIT TO PITTSBURGH

Recollections of William E. von Bonnhorst

My recollections of President Lincoln's short stay in Pittsburgh on his way to his inauguration at Washington are those of a very small boy, but what little I saw of it made quite a distinct impression on my youthful mind. Perhaps the impression was deepened by the fact that my father was an applicant for the position of Postmaster of Pittsburgh under this, the first, Republican administration, and I, with the rest of our family, was naturally anxious to see the man who had it in his power to gratify our ardent wishes for this appointment. I might add that this appointment was made on March 22, 1861, less than three weeks after President Lincoln's inauguration.

At the time of Lincoln's visit, February 14 and 15, 1861, we were living at the northwest corner of Grant and Fourth streets on the site now occupied by the Berger Building, a point of vantage, as almost all parades formed on Water Street and passed up Grant Street. I was too young to be allowed to go to the Monongahela House to hear the President's speech from the balcony, but waited with impatience on our front steps for the approach of the President and his party, on their way to the Federal Street, Allegheny station, where he was to take the train for Cleveland. I presume there was a string of carriages accompanied by "Wide-awakes," as the marching clubs were then called, but all I had eyes for was a six-horse open carriage, driven by "Sam" Ward, in which was seated a tall, dark, bearded man, wearing a very high silk hat, who bowed gravely in response to the cheers of the crowds lining the street. In the carriage with him was the mayor of the city, George Wilson, who lived on Fourth Street, between Ross Street and the Canal outlet, now the P. C. C. & St. L. Ry., and whom I knew quite well by sight; the other occupants of the carriage I cannot recall.

It may seem strange to the younger generation to be told that the part of the city through which the President-elect passed was then largely a residence section; that part of the old Second Ward bounded by Ross, Second, Smithfield and Diamond streets being almost a community by itself. On the west side of Grant Street, between Fourth Street and Diamond Alley, were the homes of Thomas Bakewell, a prominent glass manufacturer; Benjamin Page, Jr., Mrs. John P. Bakewell, Benjamin Bakewell, Jr., Rev. E. M. Van Deusen, rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, and Sidney F. von Bonnhorst, and the offices of Abraham Nicholson, alderman; Joseph Knox, attorney, and on the corner now covered by the Bakewell Building was an old building called Tilghman Hall, mostly occupied by lawyers. On the east side of Grant Street, between the streets before-mentioned, was a lot known as "Oregon Lot," which was vacant, with the exception of the residence of Andrew Fulton, grandfather of ex-Mayor Fulton; the office of E. P. Jones, attorney, a one-story brick building, and the building owned by John Mellon, attorney, on the corner of Diamond Alley, occupied as offices by lawyers. On Fourth Street, between Grant Street and Cherry Alley, were the residences of Hill Burgwin, Reuben Miller, Jr., Dr. George D. Bruce, Dr. D. M. Dake, Samuel Fahnestock, and the offices, and in many cases the residences, of such well-known former members of the bar as Hamilton & Acheson, Cicero Hasbrouck, Penny & Sterrett, Robert Woods, Thomas Ewing, Marshall Swartzwelder, John T. Cochran and George Gilmore. On the corner now covered by the St. Nicholas Building, was the St. Nicholas Hotel, kept by Valentine Fehl, a favorite place for the noon-day dinners of attorneys, and also an abiding place for theatrical folk.

THE STORY OF THE SONG, "JOHN BROWN'S BODY"

By J. H. JENKINS.

In the spring of 1861 the 12th Regt., Mass. Vol. Infty. was stationed at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor. Among the number were four sergeants, Eldredge, Edgerley, John Brown and J. H. Jenkins, who constituted a male quartette, especial attention being given to those patriotic airs which were then stirring the hearts of the boys in blue. Among the favorite airs which seemed to have the right swing was an old campmeeting tune, to the words of "Come brothers, will you meet us," and to this tune we proposed to set martial words. The Virginia tragedy of John Brown was fresh in our minds, and was emphasized the more by the martial ardor of the little sergeant of the same name. He used to speak of "marching on" in the spirit of his namesake, and so the first verse sprang into being spontaneously,

John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave
His soul goes marching on.

The second verse applies entirely to Sergeant Brown. He was very short, and was the butt of many jokes from his comrades, when he appeared on parade with his knapsack strapped upon his back, overtopped by the neatly rolled regulation overcoat. He would answer back, "Well, boys, I'll go marching on with the best of you." So the second verse was added, "John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back, His soul goes marching on."

The death of Col. Ellsworth at Alexandria gave rise to the third and fourth verses, his old Zouave company going under the soubriquet of "The Pet Lambs," while our abhorrence of the Rebellion found vent in our expressed desire to "Hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree."

In this way the song with its five verses was put together, piecemeal, and when sung at night, in the barracks, became immensely popular.

Every Saturday afternoon Gilmore's Band came down from the city to play for dress parade, accompanied by crowds of people in excursion steamers. One Saturday the quartette took P. S. Gilmore into one of the casemates, and sang the tune to him time and time again, while he played it on his cornet, and then noted the air in his band book. The next Saturday, when the regiment was at parade rest, the band started down the long front to the inspiring strains of "John Brown," then played by a band for the first time.

When the regiment left Boston for Harper's Ferry, it stopped for dinner in City Hall Square, New York. After dinner the line was reformed for the march down Broadway to the Ferry, when the order "Forward march" rang down the line, our band struck up our favorite tune, the regiment joined in the refrain, and their steady tramp was emphasized by the chorus from a thousand throats of "Glory Hallelujah." The song soon became a national one, while in the Army of the Potomac the 12th Mass. was known as the "Hallelujah Regiment."

The Collector for June, 1910.

TABLET PLACED ON THE SITE OF OLD CITY HALL, WHERE THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH WAS FORMED.

One of the interesting incidents in connection with the Young People's convention last week was the unveiling of a tablet in memory of the birth of the United Presbyterian Church at the Pittsburgh Market House, on Thursday evening. This tablet was prepared by the Historical Society under the direction of the General Assembly. The unveiling was happily timed for the meeting of the convention in this city. The delegates were invited and attended in large numbers. The principal addresses were made by Dr. John A. Wilson and Dr. R. J. Miller. Dr. D. R. Miller led in the opening prayer. Mr. Fleming Jamieson, a citizen of the north side, Pittsburgh, was the only person present who had participated in the union of the two churches which formed our denomination sixty-two years ago. He was called to the platform and made a few remarks. The tablet is placed on the Market House, at the site formerly occupied by the City

Hall, where the union of the two churches was consummated. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"In the City Hall of Pittsburgh
Formerly occupying this site
the union of
the Associate Presbyterian Church
and the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church
was consummated on May 26, 1858,
forming the United Presbyterian Church of North America."

The United Presbyterian of August 5, 1920.

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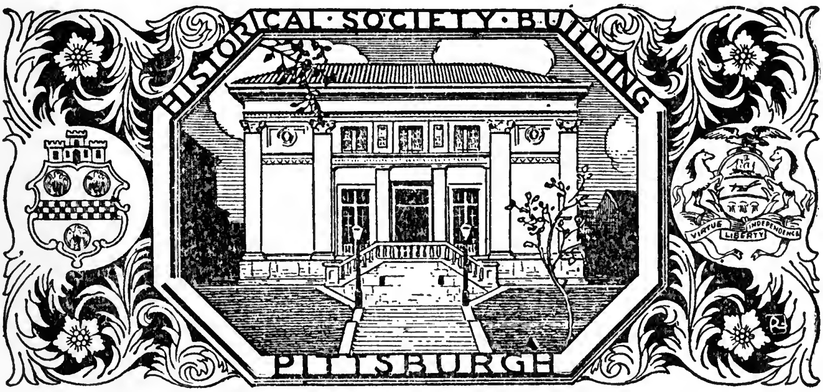
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE


HISTORICAL · SOCIETY · BUILDING
PITTSBURGH
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PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
WESTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

VOLUME 4 1921

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IV

DAVID C. HERBST
One of the Founders of the Republican Party

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 9 No. 1 JANUARY, 1921 Price 75 Cents

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ORIGINATED IN PITTSBURGH

By

CHARLES W. DAHLINGER

That the Republican party, as a national organization, was formed in Pittsburgh is undisputable. It is, however, known to few, even in Pittsburgh, that the Republican party itself was conceived in this city. There has been considerable controversy as to where and when the Republican party as a local organization had its birth. It is generally believed that the party came into existence shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill on May 30, 1854, and Ripon, Wisconsin claims the honor of organizing a party under the name Republican soon after that date. The people of Jackson, Michigan, maintain that at the state convention which they held on July 6, 1854, this name was first used to designate the party organized to prevent the extension of slavery. A number of other widely separated communities present the same claim. All these assumptions are clearly erroneous, and to Pittsburgh must be given the credit of being the place where the Republican party originated, having been organized there under that name in 1852. The writer

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THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

of this article frankly confesses that he was not aware of this important fact until it was called to his attention by William McConway, a valued member of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, after the appearance in the October, 1920, number of this magazine of the story of, "Abraham Lincoln in Pittsburgh, and the Birth of the Republican Party."

The founding of the Republican party in Pittsburgh was the result of the Presidential election of 1852. The so-called compromise measures which bear the name of Henry Clay, which were enacted in 1850, were claimed to settle the existing differences between those in favor of slavery and those opposed to it. Under these laws California was admitted as a free state; and the laws provided governments for the remaining territory acquired from Mexico, giving to those governments legislative power over "all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the constitution of the United States", and the provisions of the act creating them. The slave trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia, and a new fugitive slave law was enacted which provided officers of the United States for its execution.

The two predominent parties, the Whig and Democratic parties accepted the compromise as final. The Whig national convention of 1852 declared that it was a "settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace," and deprecated all further agitation of the question of slavery as "dangerous to our peace"; and the convention nominated General Winfield Scott as its candidate for President. The Democrats declared their purpose to "abide by, and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress." Their candidate for President was General Franklin Pierce. But all over the North there were men who would not agree that the question of the extension of slavery had been settled. They met in national convention in Masonic Hall, Pittsburgh, on August 11, 1852, under the name of the "Free Soil Democrats," and nominated John P. Hale for President. In 1848 they had demanded the prohibition of the extension of slavery into free territory, now their platform declared "slavery to be a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right"; and "that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition," and it called for the "immediate repeal of the fugitive slave law". The slave power mistrusted the Whig party, notwithstanding the declarations in its platform, and went to its old and tried friend, the Democratic party, and Scott was overwhelmingly defeated and Pierce elected. The Free Soil Democracy met with a defeat still more ignominious than that of the Whigs. It had shown less strength than in 1848, its extreme radicalism on the question of slavery having lost it many supporters, who while sincerely opposed to the extension of slavery, had not yet advanced to the stage where they believed in its abolition, and the vote of the party shrank from 291,000 in 1848 to 156,000 in 1852. The Anti-Masonic party had dwindled into insignificance, and the strength of the remaining political parties was so trifling from a national point of view that they were hardly worth considering. The result of the election was to place the Democrats in absolute control of the national government. They had the President and a large majority of both houses of Congress. The party was completely dominated by the pro-slavery element.

The Whigs of Allegheny County were stunned. The county had given Scott 9615 votes, to 7226 cast for Pierce. They could attribute the repudiation of their candidate by the country at large to only one cause, namely the defection of the Southern Whigs, because of their fear that Scott's success would mean loss of prestige to the cause of slavery; and the party was torn into fragments. The Democratic *Daily Pittsburgh Post* referred to it as "the late Whig party." (1) The views of the Whigs on public questions were now widely at variance and there was no way of bringing about harmony. There were, however, men of vision in Pittsburgh who realizing that the Whig party was dead, decided that nothing remained but to organize an entirely new party; and this was done within a few weeks after the Presidential election.

On July 6, 1904, the Republicans of Jackson, Michigan, celebrated, what they termed the semi-centennial of the organization of the Republican party. Col. John Hay, the Secretary of State, was the principal orator, and the newspapers all over the country contained accounts of the event. The news of the celebration awakened old memories in David C. Herbst, a prominent business man of Pittsburgh, a member of the well known oil refining firm of Warden and Oxnard, and caused him to dispute the claim of Jackson to being the place where the Republican party originated. In a communication to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* published in its issue of July 25, 1904, he shows that Pittsburgh is entitled to this honor, and that the party was organized and named in the grocery store conducted by him when quite a young man, in the three-story brick house which stood at the northwesterly corner of Third Street, now Third Avenue and Cherry Alley, the ground being at present covered by a portion of the two-story brick annex to the United States Government building. In 1852 the premises were owned by Alexander Miller, and were in 1877 conveyed by his descendants to the United States. At the celebration of the "Golden Jubilee of the Republican Party" in Philadelphia on June 17, 18 and 19, 1906, Mr. Herbst made an address (2) in which he repeated his account of the origin of the Republican party and elaborated some of the details related in his letter to the *Pittsburgh Gazette.*

Mr. Herbst's grocery store was located in the Second Ward, for several generations known as the South Ward. It comprised the territory between Diamond Alley now Diamond Street, and the Monongahela River, and Wood and Try streets. It was the only ward in the city, where according to Mr. Herbst, "the citizens took an active part in politics outside of the days of election." And with the exception of three persons who either lived in the adjoining First Ward, or had their places of business there, the men who inaugurated the movement for the organization of the new party were all residents of the Second Ward.

Mr. Herbst's store was the social center of the district, where the leading men of the vicinity gathered after the cares of business had been laid aside. But on a certain winter night in 1852, shortly before the midwinter holidays, when the power which the pro-slavery Democracy had acquired in the Presidential election was fully realized, they came together for something other than social enjoyment. They met in deadly earnest determined to carry out the design which the passing events was developing in their minds. The room was small, the building itself measuring only about twenty seven feet square, and for lack of space and better accommodations, the men sat upon nail kegs, boxes, flour barrels, the counters, or clustered around the warm stove. All shades of political opinion were represented. There were Whigs, Democrats, Abolitionists, Free Soilers, Washingtonians. Among them were a number who were active in politics. Their object was to formulate a basis for a new political party upon which all the factions opposed to the pro-slavery Democracy might unite for the accomplishment of its overthrow.

The persons who were associated with Mr. Herbst in the conference were far-sighted and full of resolution, and had either succeeded, or were succeeding in the various pursuits in which they were engaged. William J. Howard was United States pension agent, whom the Whigs and Anti-Masons had elected mayor of the city in 1845, and who was defeated for that office when again a candidate in 1846. Robert Rodgers was a member of the firm of Howard and Rodgers, coppersmiths and sheet iron workers, and Rees C. Fleeson was one of the editors and proprietors of the *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*, his partner, Col. J. Heron Foster, being at the time the Free Soil candidate for mayor. John J. Roggen was one of the proprietors of the Pittsburgh Novelty Works, manufacturers of hardware, and in politics was styled the "self-made mechanic"; he had been the Whig candidate for mayor the year before. James Dunlop was an attorney, and the author of a digest of the laws of Pennsylvania which had already run through two editions and was to be republished in future years. Charles Naylor was also an attorney, who originally hailed from Philadelphia where he was admitted to the bar in 1828, and had been a member of Congress from 1837 to 1841. He had commanded a company of volunteers in the Mexican War, known as the Philadelphia Rangers. Coming to Pittsburgh after the close of the war, he had been admitted to the bar of Allegheny County on May 4, 1849, on motion of James Dunlop. Another attorney was Gilbert L. B. Fetterman. Jacob W. Cook was a broker, and George Wilson of a tobacconist. James W. Baxter was one of the owners of a spice mill. John McD. Crossan was proprietor of the Monongahela House. Minas Tindle was a partner in the firm of Tindle and Company, who conducted a furniture store; David N. White was proprietor and editor of the *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*; Reuben Miller, Jr., was engaged in various enterprises, being at once a wholesale grocer, an iron founder and a steamboat owner; and William C. Robinson was of Robinson and Minis, founders and engine builders. John McCurdy was an associate of James Park, Jr., in the business of dealing in tin plate and queensware; and Richard F. Smyth was a partner in Kay and Company, booksellers and stationers. James W. Woodwell was a furniture manufacturer. Robert M. Riddle was editor of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Journal*, who early the next year was to be elected mayor by the Whigs and Anti-Masons, and had just been nominated by the Whig convention as its candidate for that office. His candidacy was already being enlivened by the rhyming comments of the *Daily Pittsburgh Post*:

"Sing hey diddle, diddle!
Hurrah for Bob Riddle!
The man for the workingmen he!
He smiles in their faces
With all his best graces
As friendly as friendly can be
But when fortunes frown
And the *wages come down*
And labor is trodden in dust,
The proud 'upper ten'
Claim the *Journal* man then
And ever he's true to the trust."

Subsequent meetings were held in the little grocery store and others participated and aided in the movement, as soon as the purpose became known, notably Thomas Steel, the alderman of the Second Ward. Nor did the cold blasts and heavy snows of that severe winter deter the lovers of right from attending the conferences, or chill their ardor. The conglomeration of political opinions caused many sharp debates; oftentimes a dissolution was threatened. The representatives of each particular party desired something which would be recognized as peculiar to his organization. The Abolitionists wanted some direct reference to the abolition of slavery; the Free Soilers asked support for the Free Soil idea. Fleeson was willing to forego his opinions for the sake of harmony; Steel asserted that unless something was said in favor of the Washingtonians he would withdraw.

The selection of a name presented an almost insurmountable obstacle and threatened to break up the gatherings a number of times, and one night it became necessary to lock the doors, in order that the meeting might be kept together; and that night a decision was reached. The debate had been particularly acrimonious, when Captain Naylor rose in a quiet way, and with a smile and a wave of his hand, commanded, "Peace!"

A hush fell on those in attendance, and after a moment's hesitation, Naylor continued quoting:

> "What's in a name? That which we call a rose
> By any other name would smell as sweet."

He proceeded, urging the necessity of concluding the work for which they had met, and added, "Our country is a great Republic; why not name the new party 'Republican', without prefix or suffix?"

Captain Naylor had struck a popular chord; an agreement was reached, every one was satisfied, the name was adopted and the first step in a great work was accomplished; and this was the conception of the new party.

And the gatherings in Mr. Herbst's grocery store grew constantly in numbers; and the name Republican became known outside of the little group who originated it; and while the disintegration of the Whig party as a national organization went on, men began calling themselves Republicans, and the flag of Republicanism was carried into other counties of Pennsylvania. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was enacted into a law, the Republicans became an army. Nor did the sudden rise of the Know Nothing party deter these men in their efforts for concentrated action. Then in 1855, David N. White sent out his calls to the Republicans, (4) asking them to meet and organize the scattered units into fighting forces, not only in Allegheny County, but in the state of Pennsylvania as well. The National Convention of February 22, 1856, followed, and the Republican party of the United States was launched. That the party was also born in other places is beyond question, and Ripon and Jackson and the other places are no doubt entitled to share in this honor, but as the Pittsburgh meetings antedated all the others, in the words of Mr. Herbst "The parentage is certainly in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania" (5).

There may be certain individuals who doubt that the Republican party originated in Pittsburgh in 1852, claiming that after the lapse of more than half a century Mr. Herbst's memory may have been at fault, and that the meetings in his grocery store were held at a later date. To these persons it can only be said that a careful investigation of many of the statements made by Mr. Herbst in this matter, shows that he was correct in every particular. He gives the names of the men at the conferences even to the middle initials; also the names of the concerns with which they were connected, or the pursuits in which they were engaged. He must have had written data supporting his narrative, and have prepared his *Pittsburgh Gazette* article and made his Philadelphia address, with a full knowledge of the facts.

In Pennsylvania the Native American party had its inception in December, 1843, when a meeting was held in Philadelphia at which an "American Republican Association", as the units of the Native American party were called, was organized. Other associations soon sprang up in almost every ward, and township in Philadelphia. Captain Naylor who suggested the name for the party organized in Mr. Herbst's grocery store, had gained great popularity in Philadelphia during the Native American riots in that city, in 1844, the story of which is told at length in Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia,* (6). There had been a month of rioting; many persons were killed; several Roman Catholic churches and two convent schools were burned. On July 6th, an immense crowd had gathered about the Roman Catholic Church on Queen Street intent on securing the arms, supplied by the state, which had been taken there. The Sheriff of the county with a possé was present to preserve order. Several companies of militia with three field pieces came upon the scene. The soldiers were taunted by the crowd who dared them to fire; stones are said to have been thrown at them. General Cadwallader, the commander of the militia, gave orders to fire, and one of the field pieces was leveled at the crowd. Captain Naylor was a member of the Sheriff's possé and hearing the order, rushed forward in front of the canon and shouted,No! Don't fire! Don't fire!

The cannon was not fired and the lives of many innocent women and children as well as men were saved. But Naylor was arrested by order of General Cadwallader and under guard was taken into the church. He was now the hero of the hour. The next day the crowd, greatly augmented, and having obtained arms and even a cannon, returned to the church, broke down the door, and compelled the soldiers quartered there to release Naylor. He was received by his liberators with the wildest demonstration of enthusiasm. From the steps of the church he made a speech, entreating the people to keep the peace and retire to their homes. He was then escorted in triumph to his residence by the multitude.

This experience had no doubt fixed the word Republican indelibly in Naylor's mind. He was an orator, and his speech in Congress against President VanBuren's plan for an Independent United States Treasury had gained him lasting fame (7). That he was highly esteemed in Pittsburgh, is apparent from the laudatory notices which appeared in both the *Pittsburgh Gazette* and the *Daily Commercial Journal* of November 15, 1852, on the occasion of his visit to Philadelphia in the early part of that month. It was therefore natural that Naylor would assume the leadership at the meeting in the grocery store, and suggest the name which had been burned in his memory by his experiences in Philadelphia. That this was in his mind is apparent when it is recalled, that he declared that the designation of the new party was to be without prefix or suffix, both a prefix and a suffix being part of the name of the American Republican Associations. It should also be remembered that the name must have been well known to the others present at the conference, as it was that of the party of Jefferson, and for the further reason that an American Republican Association had been in existence in Pittsburgh since August 5, 1844, of which George H. Thurston, a well known Pittsburgher, was secretary.

Captain Naylor was a near neighbor of Mr. Herbst, residing on Third Street directly across Cherry Alley from Mr. Herbst's grocery store, where he also had his office, lawyers in Pittsburgh then having their offices in their dwellings. In his *Pittsburgh Gazette* article Mr. Herbst relates interesting details regarding Captain Naylor and the company which he took into the Mexican War.

"The company was known as the 'Killers and Bouncers' and was composed of the roughest element of the Quaker City. It was this element that during the Native American riots in Philadelphia set fire to and burned the Roman Catholic churches and convents. The people of Philadelphia equipped them and sent them to fight the Mexicans. Captain Naylor was one of the few men willing to take this organization into the war. When they arrived in Pittsburgh *en-route* to Mexico it was found necessary to await transportation to New Orleans. They were placed in barracks provided in the large Christy warehouse situated on Water Street, a short distance above Cherry Alley. The first night of their stay there they broke out and for awhile made 'a rough house' of Pittsburgh. Captain Naylor, whose quarters were in the Pittsburgh Hotel, located at the corner of Wood and Third streets, was soon on the ground and with his drawn sword drove his men back into their barracks. One soldier resisted and attempted to take away Captain Naylor's sword. The Captain gave him a cut in the face with his weapon, which necessitated the man being given into the care of the surgeon. Captain Naylor brought only a few of his men back from Mexico; the others died in battle fighting bravely for their country."

After residing in Pittsburgh for a few years, Captain Naylor returned to Philadelphia where he died on December 24, 1872, at the age of sixty six years. Mr. Herbst died on June 8, 1907, aged eighty years.

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THE LINCOLNS OF FAYETTE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN S. RITENOUR

I

THE LINCOLN GENEALOGY

Mordecai Lincoln, who settled in North Union township, Fayette county, Pa., about four miles from Uniontown, in the year 1792, and who died and is buried there, was a brother of John Lincoln, the greatgrandfather of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

The researches of historical writers since the Civil War have revealed with reasonable fullness and unquestionable accuracy the Lincoln family history, from the departure of Samuel Lincoln, a weaver, aged 18 years, from the town of Hingham, England, about 1637, down to the time of President Lincoln. The president himself knew practically nothing of the history of his own family, and, great a figure as he was in the eye of the world after 1860, he had the moral courage to admit this in the following extract from a letter written to a friend, J. W. Fell:

"My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham county, Va., to Kentucky, about 1781-2, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks county, Pa. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of christian names in both families such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham and the like. My father at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education."

Since the death of the president, the pedigree of the main branch of the Lincoln family has been so clearly established that no one who wishes to learn about it need remain ignorant. But there has been little or no inquiry into the collateral branches; for the sufficient reason, of course, that all the interest has been naturally centered in the direct line from which the president sprung.

The Lincolns of Fayette county had always believed themselves to be of the same tribe as the president, the belief being based on the knowledge that their progenitor, Mordecai Lincoln, came from Berks county, Pa., from whence migrated also the Lincolns of Virginia and Kentucky. Investigation has shown the belief to be entirely sound and to justify the statement in the introductory paragraph of this paper.

II

SAMUEL LINCOLN

Now, to begin at the beginning. The root of the Lincoln family tree in this country—the particular tree that flowered in the presidency of the United States—was Samuel Lincoln, of Hingham, England, who emigrated to and settled in Salem, Mass., in 1637, when he was 18 years of age. The Lincoln name is of Norman origin. Samuel had been preceded four years to this country by his brother Thomas. The maiden name of Samuel Lincoln's wife was Martha, but her family name has never been ascertained.

Samuel and Martha Lincoln had ten children, the fourth being Mordecai I., born June 14, 1657. This son became a blacksmith, learning his trade of Abraham Jones, of Hull, Mass., whose daughter, Sarah, he married. He died in 1727. His grave is in the cemetery at North Scituate, Mass.

Mordecai I and Sarah Jones Lincoln had four children, the first of whom was Mordecai II, born April 24, 1686. Two more children, Elizabeth and Jacob, were born to Mordecai Lincoln I by a second wife whose name is unknown.

III

MORDECAI LINCOLN II

Mordecai Lincoln II, born in 1686, emigrated from Massachusetts to Freehold, Monmouth county, New Jersey, where he bought land in 1720, and where he married Hannah Salter before 1714. Later he settled in Berks county, Pa., (then Philadelphia county.) He made his will Feb. 22, 1735, and of course died between that date and June 7, 1736, when the will was proved. The name Lincoln is spelled in the will both "Lincon" and "Linkon." It is signed "Mordecai Lincon." The posthumous son of which the testator writes as expected was born in due time and received the name of Abraham.

Following is a copy of the will:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I, Mordecai Lincon, of Amity, in the county of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania, being sick and weak in body, but of sound mind and memory, do make this, my last will and testament, in manner and form following, revoking and hereby disannulling and making void all other and former wills and testaments by me made, whether in word or writing; allowing this to be my last will and testament, and no other.

Imprimis.—It is my mind that in the first place my just debts be honestly paid.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas Linkon the half of my land situate in Amity and to his heirs and assigns forever.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas Linkon, his heirs and assigns forever, the one-half of my land in Amity aforesaid, with this proviso—that if my present wife Mary should prove with child at my decease, and bring forth a son, I order that the said land be divided into three equal parts, and that Mordecai shall have the lowermost or southeast part, and Thomas the middle most, and the posthumous the upper most.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my daughters Hannah and Mary a certain piece of land at Matjaponia, all ready settled on them by a deed of gift.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my son John Lincon a certain piece of land lying in the Jerseys, containing three hundred acres, and to his heirs and assigns forever.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my two daughters Ann and Sarah and to their heirs and assigns forever one hundred acres of land lying in Matjaponia, which land I do order my executrix, hereinafter named, to sell, and divide the money between them.

And I do hereby further order and appoint that if any one or more of my children above named should happen to die before they arrive to their full age, then such share or shares shall be equally divided amongst the following children:

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my beloved wife Mary all the residue or remainder of my estate, goods, chattels, quick and dead, to be at her disposal and liberty, to remain on my plantation at Amity until these, my children, are at their several ages; the better to enable my wife to bring up all my children without wasting or embezzling what I have left them.

And I do hereby nominate and appoint my wife Mary Lincon my whole and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, and my loving friends and neighbors, Jonathan Robison and George Boone, trustees to assist my executrix in seeing this will and testament well and truly performed according to the true intent and meaning thereof

The within named Mordecai Lincon did sign, publish, pronounce and declare that this present writing was his last will and testament the 22nd day of February, A. D., 1735.

MORDECAI LINCON (seal)

In the presence of us,
Israel Robeson,
Solomon Cole,
John Bell.

Letters testamentary were granted to the widow, "Mary Lincon," by P. T. Evans, register general, Philadelphia, June 7, 1736. The appraisers who subsequently made an inventory of the effects styled the deceased, "Mordecai Lincoln, Gentleman."

IV

CHILDREN OF MORDECAI II

So, according to the will, the children of Mordecai Lincoln II, were Mordecai III, who came to Fayette County, Thomas, Hannah, Mary, John, Ann, Sarah and Abraham, eight in number, all of whom clearly appear to have been minors when the will was written.

It is known that Abraham was the youngest child, John was probably the eldest, since he was born in New Jersey and came to Berks County with his parents. The others may have been born in the order named in the will, but this is merely an inference, and may be entirely inaccurate, since John, the eldest, is the fifth named in that instrument.

The words of the will, "my present wife Mary," imply that she was not Hannah Salter, first wife of the testator, and this was the fact. Mordecai Lincoln II married a second time, in Berks County, but the dates of this marriage and of the death of his first wife are unknown; nor is anything known, so far as the writer has information, of the family name of the second wife. John was the son of the first wife and Abraham of the second. That much is definite enough. The maternal parentage of the other six children is pretty much a matter of conjecture as between the two wives. Ann Lincoln married a man named Tallman.

Coffin's "Life of Lincoln" says Mordecai Lincoln II was married in Massachusetts before going to New Jersey; also that his son John was born in Massachusetts, and accompanied him to New Jersey. The accuracy of these statements is doubtful. If, however, they are to be accepted as facts, then Mordecai Lincoln was married three times, twice before he was 28 years old. But under present knowledge it is wise to discard altogether the ideas of a Massachusetts marriage. There is no record of it to be found; indeed, no record even of the christian or family name of the alleged Massachusetts wife. Lincoln had married Hannah Salter at Freehold, N. J., not later than 1714, as shown by a will, of date that year, made by Capt. John Bowne, bequeathing to his niece, Hannah Salter Lincoln, 250 pounds. But the will of Mordecai Lincoln, made in 1735, when he was 49 years old, positively indicates, as already shown, that at that time all of his children were minors. The date of this will, 1735, is 21 years after his marriage to Hannah Salter, as fixed by the will of Major Bowne. This would carry the birth of John Lincoln back to about 1714. It is probable he was approximating his twenty first year when his father died.

Mr. Coffin further states that Ann and Sarah Lincoln were the children of Hannah Salter, which there is no occasion to doubt.

Hannah Salter was the daughter of Richard Bowne Salter. Her father was a lawyer, judge and member of the provincial assembly.

The Berks County land that Mordecai Lincoln purchased became vested in him in 1730, and from this fact one would naturally argue that 1730 fixes the time of his removal from New Jersey; but it is not conclusive.

V

THE ESTATE

The property that Mordecai II divided among his three sons, Mordecai III, Thomas, and his posthumous son, Abraham, consisted of 1,000 acres of land on the east bank of the Schuylkill River, in Exeter Township, near Reading. This was a Quaker community, known as the Oley settlement. The Boones lived here, and the George Boone appointed as one of the trustees by the will of Mordecai II, was an uncle of the celebrated Daniel Boone.

Among the 76 taxables in Exeter Township in 1741, says "Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties," were Mordecai Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln, William Boone, Benjamin Boone, Joseph Boone and John Boone. George Boone, a native of England, took out a warrant in 1718 for 400 acres of land in Oley township, then in Philadelphia County. Exeter township was erected December 7, 1841. It was originally the south part of Oley township. The township line enclosed about 13,500 acres. The survey was made by George Boone.

The London Company consisting of Tobias Collett, Daniel Quair and Henry Goldney, took up a tract of 1,000 acres on the east side of the Schuylkill River. The warrant was signed October 18, 1716. William Penn in 1699 had granted to this company 60,000 acres in Pennsylvania. The 1,000 acres referred to were taken in part thereof, and on November 9, 1717, the patent was issued. In February, 1718, the company granted their right to Andrew Robeson, then of Roxbury township, Philadelphia County. This tract became vested in Mordecai Lincoln II in May, 1730, and he devised it to his sons, Mordecai and Thomas, and his posthumous son, Abraham.

VI

THE LINCOLNS AND BOONES

I trust the reader will pardon a brief digression here for the purpose of showing the intimate relationship between the Boone and Lincoln families. There were frequent inter marriages between them. The first of the Boones was George Boone, from Bradwinch, near Exeter, Devonshire, England, who appears to have come over about 1717. He probably gave the name Exeter to the place where he located. He was a member of the Society of Friends, dying in 1740, aged 78 years.

William Boone, grandson of the first George Boone, married Sarah Lincoln in 1748. This Sarah was likely the daughter of Mordecai II. Squire Boone, also a son of the elder Boone, was the father of Daniel Boone, who was his fourth son and sixth child. Daniel was born in this township of Exeter, October 22, 1734. He died at Charette, Mo., September 26, 1820, having lived nearly four score and ten years.

Squire Boone was one of the trustees of the Oley meeting in 1736, proving his status in the Quaker church at that time. But in 1748 he was disowned for countenancing the marriage of his son to a woman who was not a Quaker. Not long after this he went to North Carolina, where he settled at Holoman Ford, on the Yadkin River. It was from this place that Daniel Boone went over into Kentucky and entered upon the career which made him famous.

John Lincoln and Squire Boone are supposed to have left Berks county together, with their families, about the year 1750, going south. At that time there was an extensive migration to the south from eastern Pennsylvania. John Lincoln settled in Rockingham County, Virginia, where many of his descendants still reside. His son Abraham, as stated in the letter of the president to Mr. Fell, emigrated from there to Kentucky. Abraham's son Thomas was the father of the president, who was born in Hardin County, Kentucky in 1809, three years before the death of Mordecai Lincoln III, in Fayette County in 1812.

The Boones seem to have been all Quakers. While some of the Lincolns were also Quakers, it appears that some of them were not. This is shown by the fact that Ann Boone, who married Abraham Lincoln, was dealt with by the Exeter monthly meeting in 1761 for marrying out of the church, which she acknowledged. This Ann Boone was the daughter of James Boone and a woman named Foulke. She was the cousin of Daniel Boone.

Her husband, Abraham Lincoln, was the posthumous son of Mordecai II, and brother of Mordecai III. He died in 1806, aged 70 years; the year of his birth, 1736, was also the year of his father Mordecai's death. He became quite prominent in the politics of Berks County. For six years, from 1773 to 1779, he held the office of County Commissioner. In 1783 he was elected to the General Assembly. He had also been a Justice of the Peace.

The Lincolns who now reside in Berks County are the descendants of Thomas and Abraham Lincoln, the sons of Mordecai II, who remained there.

Another prominent family in Berks County, neighbors of the Lincolns, was the Hanks family, some of whom if not all left there at the same time, about 1750, that the migratory spirit was awakened in the bosoms of the Boones, Lincolns and others. Nancy Hanks, mother of the president, was a descendant of this Berks County family, but all attempts to obtain anything like an accurate genealogical record of her ancestors have thus far been fruitless.

David L. Lincoln of Birdsboro, Berks County, in a letter written in 1883 stated that John Hanks had accompanied the Lincolns who went to Fayette County, and that from there he went on southward. This is the extent of our information as to the presence of any of the Hanks family in Fayette County, and it may be entirely inaccurate, probably is. Mordecai Lincoln did not leave Berks County until more than thirty years after the migration of his brother John, about 1750, and it was more than forty years later before he finally settled in Fayette County.

VII

OLEY, AMITY AND EXETER

The townships of Oley, Amity and Exeter, with which the name of Lincoln is so closely linked, all lie contiguous, and were mainly settled by Quakers and Swedes. In the early records of all three of these the name of Lincoln appears. These townships antedate the erection of Berks County, which was created out of Philadelphia, Lancaster and Chester counties in 1752. As already stated, Mordecai II, died in May, 1736, and it is likely was buried in the Quaker settlement in Oley, the meeting house and burial grounds of which are within the present limits of Exeter Township, but the inscriptions on many of the tombstones are wholly obliterated, and the grave of Mordecai Lincoln, if there at all, is indistinguishable from any of the others.

The old meeting-house still stands, and it is one of the landmarks of Berks County. It is one mile from the present village of Stonerville, and about ten miles from Reading. It is a plain brown stone building, still in serviceable condition, and still in service, despite it has weathered the storms of more than 150 years. It was built on an acre of ground bought by George Boone from Thomas Penn, and the same day transferred by Boone to trustees for purposes of a Quaker house of worship.

Among the books in the Berks County court house are some which contain the names of the taxpayers of each township during and after the period of the Revolutionary war, showing that the assessments to raise money to meet the expenses of the war were heavy. In 1781 Mordecai, John, Benjamin and Thomas Lincoln are named among the taxpayers of Exeter Township. These were Mordecai III., his brother Thomas, and his sons John and Benjamin.

A writer in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of July 8, 1891, says at that date there was an Abraham Lincoln living in Caernarvon township, Lancaster county, about 14 miles from Reading. He was over 80 years of age, and had spent his entire life on the farm on which he was living. In general appearance he was not unlike the martyred president, having the same large, erect, gaunt form, and retaining to a remarkable degree many of the notable physical characteristics of the Lincoln tribe as disclosed in the personality of the president.

VIII

MORDECAI LINCOLN III

There is no data now at hand to show precisely the date when Mordecai III left Berks county, but it is known that he was for a time, how long is not known, a resident of Dauphin county, Pa., before finally settling in Fayette county. The Dauphin county records disclose that on April 23, 1791, John Harris, gentleman, of Harrisburg, sold for 33 pounds to Mordecai Lincoln, inn-keeper, of Hummelstown, lot No. 11, on Chestnut street, Harrisburg, containing about one quarter of an acre. A deed of same date as above conveys the same property from Mordecai and Mary Lincoln to George Reddick for 306 pounds, gold and silver, "together with the houses, kitchens, barns, stables and buildings." The property must have been an inn. Mordecai Lincoln signs his own name to the deed, but his wife Mary was unable to write, since her name is accompanied with the sign of "her X mark."

That Mordecai Lincoln had lived for several years in Dauphin county before removing to Fayette county is clear from the figures of a deed by which, after he had settled in Fayette county, he disposed of his Dauphin county property. This deed, dated May 17, 1794, "between Mordecai Lincoln, of Union township, in the county of Fayette, and State of Pennsylvania, yeoman, and Mary, his wife, of the one part, and Valentine Hummel, of Derry township, in the county of Dauphin, State aforesaid, inn keeper," witnesseth, &c., that for 500 pounds, have sold to said Hummel a lot of ground in Derry township, in a town called Fredericktown, being lot No. 13, and bought by Mordecai Lincoln from Peter Friedly and wife Jan. 4, 1787. "Signed, sealed and delivered," says the deed, "in the presence of Benjamin Lincoln and John Jones, the day and year above mentioned." The acknowledgment is May 5, 1795, "before James Finley, one of the judges of the court of common pleas of Fayette county."

The last record we have of the presence of Mordecai III in Berks county is in the statement that he was a taxpayer in 1781. We have seen that he had bought property in Dauphin county in 1787, so his emigration from Berks county must have been between 1781 and 1787.

The Fredericktown referred to in the deed to Valentine Hummel is now known as Hummelstown, a post-borough of about 1,000 population, nine miles east of Harrisburg. It was laid out by Frederick Hummel in 1762.

IX

IN FAYETTE COUNTY

Mordecai Lincoln was accompanied to Fayette county in 1791 or 1792 by his wife Mary, his two sons, Benjamin his first and John his second; his two daughters, Nancy (Ann) and Sarah, and their husbands, Jacob Giger and John Jones. Unfortunately nothing more is known about his wife than that her name was Mary, and that she was an invalid during the last 30 years of her life. They were married in Berks county, and buried two daughters, Hannah, and another whose name is unknown, before leaving that county. Hannah Lincoln was born in 1761. She and her sister both died young and unmarried.

Four miles from Uniontown, in what is now North Union Township, Lincoln bought a tract of land, called "Discord," from Isaac Pearce, the patentee. It contained 320¾ acres and allowance, and the price paid was 500 pounds. In addition to this he procured a patent from the commonwealth for another tract of land called "Union Green," containing probably 200 or 250 acres. The two combined comprised all or nearly all the land now owned and occupied by John and Elizabeth Canon, the late John Jones and John Hankins. Lincoln built the old part of the house in which Elizabeth Canon lived later.

Of the personality of Mordecai Lincoln, his mental and physical traits, we know only through tradition; and the information transmitted in this way is as scant as it is unsatisfying. No one living ever saw or talked to him. He was sixty years of age when he settled in Fayette County, a tall, strong, vigorous, large-boned, angular old man, having all the distinguishing facial and physical characteristics of the Lincoln blood—prominent nose and ears, suggestive of a dominating mentality and generous disposition; heavy, overhanging eyebrows and sturdy chin. He was prudent, industrious, law-abiding, and notably methodical in the business affairs of every-day life. These are among the elements of good citizenship. His love of order and system is disclosed in the manner in which he kept his "Family Book," which is still in the possession of the Jones family. He carefully kept accounts with all of his children, and made everything even between them in his will. The following extract from his book enumerates the number and value of the articles with which he dowered his daughter Sarah when she married John Jones:

Given to my daughter Sarah	lbs.	s.	d
One case of Drawers	6	10	0
One dining table	3		
One tea table	2	5	0
One bed and bed clothes	10		
One cow	5		
One pot and one kettel	0	16	6
One tea kettel	0	15	0
A half dozen knives and forks		5	6
One saddel	5	0	0
One skimmer, ladel and flesh fork		6	6
One tub		7	6
To cash	1	5	0
To frying pan	0	6	10
To pewter	1	10	0
	—	—	—
	37	7	10
To 2 cows	7	0	0
To 3 sheep	1	2	6
	—	—	—
	45	10	4

The late John Jones related the following incident which he had heard his grandfather, Mordecai Lincoln, often tell. It is given to illustrate the natural feeling of resentment that follows imputation of one's veracity and to show that the Lincoln family entertained a praiseworthy pride in their reputation for truthfulness. Abraham Lincoln, the young brother of Mordecai, was the one most concerned in this incident, which occurred in Berks County. Abraham had been a witness in a case in court. During the course of the argument to the jury his veracity was attacked by the opposing counsel, which angered him deeply. After the trial he accosted the attorney, saying:

"How much would it cost to knock a lawyer down?"

"Twenty dollars," was the reply.

Lincoln laid him out on the floor with a single blow, and taking from his pocket a twenty dollar note spread it across his breast and left the court room.

IX

THE WILL OF MORDECAI LINCOLN

Mordecai Lincoln died in March, 1812, and was buried on his farm. His wife died just two years later, in March, 1814. The property on which the burial ground is located was later owned by his grandson, William Jones, and later owned and occupied by John and Elizabeth Canon, his great grandchildren. Following is a copy, *verbatim et literatim*, of the will of Mordecai Lincoln, as taken from the records of Fayette County.

Upon the twenty-second day of February in the year of our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Eleven, I Mordecai Lincoln, Sr., of Union Township, Fayette County and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania being far advanced in years but of sound mind and memory do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament, revoking all other will or wills heretofore by me made.

1th. I Recommend my soul unto Almighty God who gave It and my body to dust its original, thare to be Interd in decent maner by my Representatives.

2dly of those Wordly Goods which it has pleased God to Endow me with I leave and Bequeath In the following manner Twt.

3dly I leave and unto my Son Benjamin Lincoln the sum of one dollar to be paid by my Daughter Sarah Jones in one year after my Deceace.

Item—4thly, I Also leave and bequeath unto my son John Lincoln six pounds annually of Interest Drawn from a bond I have on my son Benjamin Lincoln Until said Bond becomes Due from and after my Deceace.

Item—5th I leave and bequeath unto Mary Lincoln wife of my son John the Residue Interest on said Bond untill it becomes Due after such monies is taken out of said Bond as shall appear a legal Compensation for the services of my Executors During their Executorship and the Interest of the Residue to be aplyed for the use and support of her five youngest children twt John, Nancy, Iaferty, paterson & abby, and the afore said bond I require to be put into the hands of my Executors and when it becomes Due I devise the One third part of said bond unto my son John Lincoln to be paid him in the space of one year after said Bond becomes due. Also I devise the third part of said Bond unto Mary Lincoln wife of my son John to be paid in manner and form aforesaid. I also devise and bequeath the Residue or other third part of said bond unto the five youngest Children of my son John Lincoln whose names are heretofore recited or the surviving part of them when they arive to age and in case of the death of any of them to be Equally divided amongst the Survivors to be paid in maner and form as aforesaid.

Item 6th—I leave and bequeath unto my daughter Nancy Giger one dollar to be paid by my daughter Sarah Jones in addition to what I have heretofore paid to my daughter Nancy to be paid to her after my decease.

Item 7th—I also devise and bequeath unto my daughter Sarah Jones all the uses and profits of the tract of land she now lives upon, to be held and enjoyed by her for eight years from and after this date, but if myself and my wife Mary should live until after the expiration of eight years in such case my daughter Sarah Jones is to enjoy all the profits and benefits of said tract until our decease, and at my and my wife's decease my daughter Sarah is to be at the expense of our interment and all other expenses to carry this will into execution and at my decease I also leave to my daughter Sarah all the movable property I may be possessed at my death.

Item 8th—I also leave and bequeath unto my grandson William Jones all the above tract of land to take into possession at the expiration of the term granted to my daughter Sarah Jones, or after my decease to be held and enjoyed by him, his heirs and assigns forever, his paying out thereof unto my grandson John Jones the sum of one hundred pounds when the said John arrives at the age of twenty-two years.

I now hereby constitute William Swearingen my executor of all this my will and testament revoking all will or wills heretofore by me made, in testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

MORDECAI LINCOLN (Seal)

Signed, sealed in the presence of us.

SAMUEL McCLEAN,
SAMUEL SMITH

X

THE FAMILY OF BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Benjamin Lincoln was born in Berks County, October 29, 1756. He died October 6, 1821. His wife was Elizabeth Orvis. She died December 29, 1846, aged 80 years. Both lie in the family graveyard in North Union township. Their children in the order of birth were: Thomas, Nancy, Abraham, Sarah, Mary, Hannah, Mordecai, Elizabeth and Phoebe.

Thomas Lincoln married Mary Henshaw and died in Carmichaels, Greene County, where their son, Thomas L. Lincoln, lived later.

Nancy married Daniel Woodmancy, and their daughter Rhoda married first Gabriel Lennon and second Henry Zearing.

Abraham Lincoln married Patti Cole. Their children were all daughters. There is no trace of them now. Abraham died in Uniontown; when, not known.

Sarah Lincoln married James Russell, and they settled in Ohio, leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no trace behind them.

Mary Lincoln married James Hagan, and they too went to Ohio, disappearing as completely as the Russells.

Hannah Lincoln, who was born February 19, 1795 and died in Uniontown, February 10, 1889, married Isaac L. Hunt on June 5, 1819. Their children were Jacob, Benjamin Lincoln, Daniel, Isaac L., Mordecai Lincoln, Sarah, Thomas Lincoln and William.

Elizabeth Lincoln married James Junk.

Phoebe Lincoln married Henry Yeagley. The Hunts, Junks and Yeagleys, were all well known in and about Uniontown.

Mordecai Lincoln married Jane Hewitt. He died October 2, 1851, aged 50 years, and his wife died August 3, 1873, in her 68th year. Their daughter Nancy died June 15th, 1865, aged 29 years. Another daughter, Phoebe A., died February 5, 1852, aged three days.

XI

THE FAMILY OF JOHN LINCOLN

John Lincoln was born in Berks County, March 28, 1758. The date of his death is not known. His body lies in the family burial ground. His wife was Mary Lafferty, of Philadelphia. Their children, not in the order of birth, were Mordecai, William, Jesse, Abigail, Hannah, Jemima, Mary (Polly,) Sarah, John, Nancy, Lafferty, Patterson, and Abigail again, the latter born after the death of her elder sister. Of some of these children we know little, and of others much.

Mordecai Lincoln went to Ohio where he died. He never married.

Jesse Lincoln, who died in Uniontown December 18, 1869, aged 82 years, married Hannah Jones, who died in Uniontown June 17, 1877, aged 83 years. The 11 children of Jesse and Hannah Lincoln were Lafferty, Mary, David, Margaret, John, Benjamin, Phoebe, Richard S., Martha, Amanda and Samuel. Phoebe Lincoln married Philip Bogardus.

Abigail Lincoln the elder was never married. She was killed by the falling limb of a tree April 5, 1807, aged 17 years.

Hannah Lincoln married John P. Sturgis, and one of their children is Hon. Geo. C. Sturgiss of Morgantown, W. Va.

Jemima Lincoln married John Oldshue, and one of their children was the late Lincoln Oldshue, an eminent physician of Pittsburgh.

Mary (Polly) Lincoln married Jacob Springer. They had no issue.

Sarah Lincoln married David Downey Shaw, and they had nine children.

Of John Lincoln we have no record. He married, but had no family.

Nancy (Ann) Lincoln, who was born October 18, 1802, married James Ralston on December 25, 1828. She was his second wife. They took up their abode near Ashland, Ohio, where John Ralston was born on December 8th, 1829. Their children are scattered throughout Ohio, West Virginia, Texas, Indiana, Colorado and other states.

Lafferty Lincoln married Margaret Hedden, of Upper Middletown, Pa. One of their sons is named Daniel Boone, thus commemorating the early ties of relationship between the Boone and Lincoln families.

John Lincoln married Tillie Aldridge, and they settled in Kentucky, where he died without issue.

William Lincoln, who was the ninth child of John Lincoln, was born October 11th, 1790, in North Union Township, near the present dwelling of the late John Jones. He left Fayette County to serve his country during the war of 1812. After this war he lived for a while in Kentucky, removing later to New York, where he finally settled at West Constable, Franklin County. There he raised his family and there he died. His wife, Amy Briggs, died in 1867, aged 77 years.

XII

THE JONES FAMILY

Sarah Lincoln, who married John Jones, both coming from Berks county with Mordecai Lincoln, was born in Berks county, February 25, 1767, and died Jan. 25, 1838. Her husband died in May 1802, aged 40 years. Their children were Mary, William, Eleanor, Nancy and John.

XIII

THE GIGER FAMILY

The descendants of Nancy (Ann) Giger—some spell the name Kiger—appear to be pretty well scattered and lost. Mrs. Giger was born November 22, 1769. Her body was interred on her father's farm. Her husband's name was Jacob. Both came to Fayette County with Mordecai Lincoln. They had eight children, viz: John, Henry, William, Lewis, Charles, Thomas, Polly and Sarah. The latter married Samuel Shull in Uniontown about 1810, and one of their children was Henry Giger Shull, who died in April, 1889, at Galion, O. A son of the latter, M. L. Shull, was later a Justice of the Peace and police magistrate at Longmont, Colorado. These are all the particulars of the Gigers I have been able to glean.

Both Benjamin and John Lincoln lie with their father in the old grave yard on the North Union Township farm.

So far as I know there are but few lineal male descendants of Mordecai Lincoln living now in Fayette County. One of these is Sherman Lincoln of Uniontown. Of indirect descendants there are enough to fill all the pages of this journal.

For much of the information incorporated in these papers I am indebted to Charles Carleton Coffins, "History of Abraham Lincoln;" the memory of the late Miss Mary Jane Shaw of Uniontown; to the assistance of William Hunt and H. L. Robinson of Uniontown; and to the valuable investigations of Howard M. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, into the early history of Berks County.

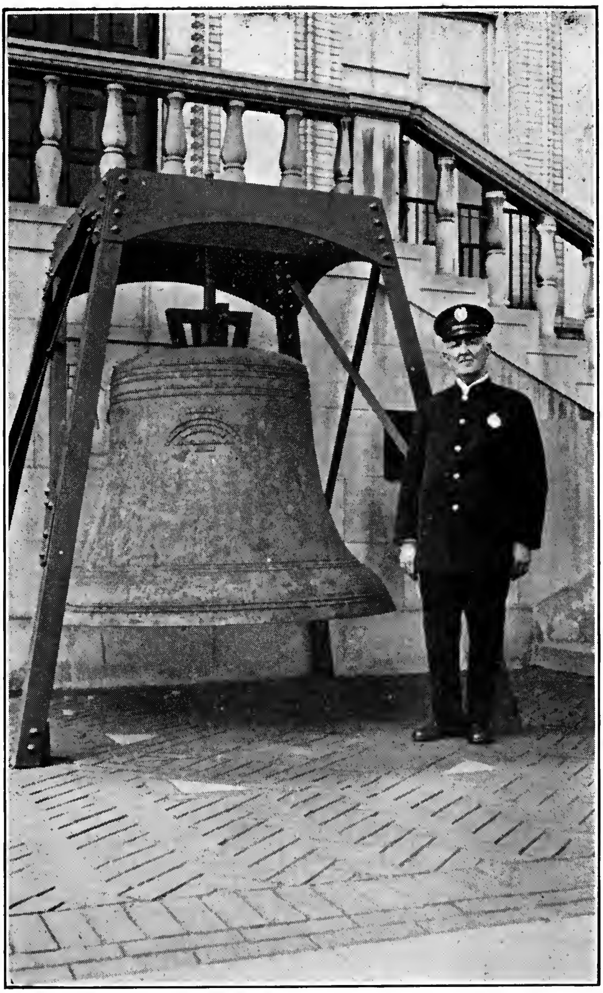
INSTALLATION OF THE OLD CITY HALL BELL IN FRONT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING

The old Pittsburgh city hall fire alarm bell was formally installed on the premises of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at the organization's meeting on Tuesday evening, Oct. 26th. The meeting was the largest the Society has held since the close of the World War. The bell, which was cast in 1866 by A. Fulton and Sons under the personal supervision of Andrew Fulton, the founder of the firm, was taken down some months ago from the tower of the old city hall on Smithfield Street and presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania by the City Council of Pittsburgh and the Allegheny County Commissioners. It was removed to its present location in front of the Society's building and mounted in an iron frame by the John Eichleay Jr. Company without cost to the Society.

William H. Stevenson, the president of the Society, who occupied the chair, presented as the first speaker at the meeting John S. Herron, president of the City Council, who voiced the interest of that body in the Society and promised further cooperation. Next there was read a most interesting history of the bell prepared by Major William H. Davis, director of Public health of Pittsburgh, which is published herewith.

Ex-Mayor Andrew Fulton, of Pittsburgh, a grandson of the man who superintended the casting of the bell, told of the circumstances attending that event. He said the bell was the largest ever cast in Pittsburgh and larger than the Liberty Bell, and that it was the last work of his grandfather, who died shortly after performing it. He also, on behalf of members of the Fulton family presented to the Society a picture of his grandfather, and a medal given him by the Pennsylvania Agriculture Society in 1835, for casting the finest chime of bells.

Addresses and remarks were also made by Marcus Rauh, president and Thomas A. Dunn, director of the Chamber of Commerce, of Pittsburgh, Walter Eichleay,



The old Pittsburgh Fire Bell in its new home in front of the Historical Society Building

Thomas J. Hawkins, chief city assessor of Pittsburgh, Gen. A. J. Logan, Miles S. Humphreys, former chief of the fire department, Major Robert M. Ewing, Charles W. Houston, George T. Fleming, Benjamin Thaw, and Thomas E. Jones.

On motion of Omar S. Decker the thanks of the Society were extended to the Fulton family for the gift of relics. On motion of Gen. Logan the Society's thanks were also tendered to the John Eichleay Jr. Company for moving and erecting the bell. On motion of John E. Potter the following was unanimously adopted.

"Resolved that the members of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania express their appreciation of the kindness, courtesy and patriotism shown by the Council of the City of Pittsburgh and the Board of Commissioners of Allegheny County in donating the Old Fire Bell to the Historical Society. Such action will mean much to future generations in perpetuating the memory of the achievements of the forefathers. The Society hereby formally accepts the bell and agrees to properly care for the same."

MAJOR WILLIAM H. DAVIS' STORY OF THE BELL.

The "Big Bell", made in Pittsburgh, by Pittsburgh men, for Pittsburgh, is the first and only public bell ever owned by the city. The county of Allegheny once owned a public bell. It was secured for the first court house which stood in the Diamond. When the court house was built on Grant Street it was hung in the lantern which surmounted the dome of that building. Beneath it was the inscription, "The First Public Bell Hung West of the Alleghany Mountains." When fire destroyed the court house the bell fell with the dome and that is the last that is known of it. When the debris was removed some months after the fire, the bell was gone, doubtless into the hands of some junk dealer. As a public bell its usefulness had gone many years previously for the city had grown beyond the reach of its tone. Other bells, larger and louder, had been hung on churches, school houses, and fire company houses, and its existence had been practically forgotten.

The growth of the City in the 60's of the last century, forced a movement for the reorganization of the fire department and this led to the hanging of the "Big Bell". The days of the volunteer firemen were passing. Their's had been a long and honorable service but changing conditions demanded new methods and the coming of a paid fire department was certain in a short time. The alarm that sounded from an engine house bell was no longer sufficient and the exactness of the electric alarm system with fixed stations was demanded by public sentiment.

The area of Pittsburgh was then little more than that of the original town laid out by Wood and Vickroy. The city limits had been extended to the top of Minersville hill, out Fifth Avenue to Riceville, and out Penn Avenue to the eastern limit of the Northern Liberties. The annexation of the Oakland, East Liberty, Lawrenceville, and the South Side districts was yet to come, and there were but ten wards when the city authorities decided to install an electric alarm system with the "Big Bell" as its central feature. The work devolved upon a committee from Councils made up of W. R. Brown, of the Wayne Iron Works, who represented the 4th Ward in Select Council; W. N. Ogden, a glass manufacturer who represented the 2nd Ward in Common Council, and J. H. Hare, who kept Hare's Hotel, a noted hostelry on Liberty Avenue, who represented the 4th Ward in Common Council.

In 1866, the year the bell was cast, the firm of A. Fulton & Co. stood pre-eminent as bell founders in the United States. It was an old house, formed in 1828 when Andrew Fulton and Hugh Gallagher became associated in the business. Their plant went down in the fire of 1845. Mr. Fulton at once resumed business as A. Fulton & Co. with a foundry on First Avenue and Chancery Lane, the building extending through to Second Avenue. Incidentally, the old house under the name of the Chaplin-Fulton Manufacturing Company still exists in Pittsburgh with members of the Fulton family in control.

Andrew Fulton retired from active business in 1864, his son and a nephew succeeding him. He took an intense interest in the proposed bell. His handiwork hung in the steeples of churches, in the towers of fire houses, and in the cupolas of school houses all over the country but he had never made as big a bell as Pittsburgh wanted. So, when the firm he had founded was given the contract, back he came and took personal charge of the work. The bell foundry was not equipped to cast a bell as big as this was to be. Its pits were not deep enough, nor wide enough; its cranes were not heavy enough nor strong enough, to handle this great mass of metal. Down on First Avenue, between Short and West streets, opposite the old Duquesne school S. S. Fowler had one of the big machine shops of the day. Among other work done there was the casting of cylinders for steam engines and both pits and cranes were of sufficient size for a job much bigger than the handling of this bell would be. For years Mr. Fulton and Mr. Fowler had been close business and personal friends and Mr. Fulton had no difficulty in arranging to cast his great bell in the Fowler shop. It was there that the work was performed. When the moulds were opened Mr. Fulton saw at a glance that things had gone awry. There had been a blunder in heating the metal and the tin, so necessary to give the desired tone to the bell, had been burned out of the mass of metal and formed on the inside of the mould. Without hesitation Mr. Fulton condemned his own work, broke up the bell, and recast it. This time he gave even closer personal supervision than he had on the first attempt and turned out a piece of work which he looked upon as a fitting finish to a long and useful career. It was the biggest bell that had ever been cast in Pittsburgh and, in all probability, the biggest that ever will be cast here.

In all Pittsburgh there were no buildings of any magnitude strong enough to carry the weight of this bell and abide by the force of the blow required to ring it. The court house stood on the present site, occupying the Grant Street front of the block. In the rear, on the line of Ross Street, was the county jail. The jail building did not run all the way to Diamond Street but in the corner stood the little sun dial which now has a place in the Allegheny parks. The level of the jail yard was probably twenty feet above Diamond Street, a strong retaining wall running around it. In this open space, as close to the corner of Diamond and Ross streets as it could be placed without infringing on the sun dial, a wooden tower was erected running up in the air almost to the court house dome. In shape it was much like an oil derrick, larger at the base, of course, and constructed with greater strength. Four heavy squared beams formed the corners. These were strongly braced and capped with an iron top from which the bell could be suspended. The first 16 feet was enclosed with a board fence, a door providing for ingress and egress. Stairs crossing from one side of the tower to the other provided a passage to enter the enclosed section where the fire alarm operator had a place with his machinery. Just above this the bell was hung. There the bell remained until the new City Hall was erected at Smithfield Street and Oliver Avenue, the latter street then known by its ancient name of Virgin Alley. When the hall was built the center tower was designed to carry the bell and in each floor a movable trap was placed to lift it out, to make a passage for the bell to what was supposed to be its final home. The bell was mounted in 1872 and continued as a fire bell until 1892. Its use as an alarm bell was discontinued for a practical reason. The growth of the city was such, and there were so many people at all hours of the night and day within reach of the sound of the bell that an alarm meant the immediate gathering of a crowd which seriously hampered the efforts of the firemen and frequently made accidents unavoidable. The location of the boxes on the most prominent street corners was known and the striking of the numbers on the bell meant the crowding of the streets in the vicinity of the boxes. For this reason the city discontinued the sounding of the alarm. From that time on the only use made of the bell was as a time-giver, a single stroke at the end of each three hours of the twenty-four being the signal for the examination of thousands of watches.

In addition to being a fire alarm bell, it was used for other public purposes. Always, a few minutes after twelve o'clock on April 10th, it was sounded in commemoration of the big fire of 1845, the signal being 1-8-4-5. It was tolled for the passing of eminent men; it was used to signal the opening of celebrations and to give notice of the approach of trains bearing the remains of public servants who had passed away. As an illustration, when the train bearing the body of President Garfield crossed the city line from the East, the box at Homewood Avenue and the Pennsylvania Rail Road, then the most eastern box in the city, was pulled, and the bell tolled from the time the alarm came in until the train had crossed the Allegheny river and was beyond

Pittsburgh. The same course was pursued when the body of General Sherman passed through Pittsburgh.

The machinery of the operating striker of the bell was very heavy and was so arranged that a weight dropped 2 inches with each tap. In recent years it was believed that the tower was becoming unsafe and in 1909 the ringing of the bell was suspended; but its career was not ended. On the 11th of November, 1918, the Germans signed the armistice which heralded the dawn of peace in the World War. The Council of National Defense of Allegheny County had its offices in the Old City Hall building. William H. Stevenson, the president of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania was the chairman of the Council. When the exhuberant joy of the citizens of Pittsburgh over the return of peace was at its height, Mr. Stevenson ascended the tower of the City Hall building and rang the bell, and its notes joined in the general pandemonium which reigned in the city. The last time that the bell spoke was on April 10, 1920, when it rang out 1-8-4-5, proclaiming the seventy-fifth anniversary of the great Pittsburgh fire.

DR. GOUCHER TELLS HOW HE WON LINCOLN'S BLESSING*

"Love God, obey your parents, serve your country and the world will never forget you." This was the message that President Abraham Lincoln gave to a boy on the eve of his first inauguration. That boy was John Franklin Goucher, later founder of Goucher College, Baltimore. This is the way Dr. Goucher tells the story:

"Lincoln passed through Pittsburgh and stayed at the old Monongahela House on his way to Washington for his first inauguration. Of course, all the boys in the town vied with each other as to who could get nearest the President-elect. I was just a little fellow at the time, frail and delicate, and the youngest of three boys. My older brothers got permission of my father at the breakfast table to go up to the hotel and see if they could get a glimpse of Lincoln.

"Of course, when I knew they were going I had to go—but they wouldn't let me. My eldest brother said I was too little and might get trampled by the crowds. My father just smiled and didn't say anything. I knew by his smile that he intended taking me himself. But I didn't want to go with him. He was a leisurely gentleman of the old school and I was afraid I wouldn't see anything. So I persuaded him to let me go alone.

Followed the Crowd In.

"When I got to the hotel there was a big crowd around it. The Mayor and City Councilmen were marching in to pay their respects to the President-elect. That was what I had come for and I didn't see any reasons why I shouldn't pay my respects when they did. As we were marching in the Councilman ahead of me turned around and looked at the little child in back, but—as I seemed so perfectly unconcerned—I supposed he thought I belonged to the man in back. And the man in back was probably placing me with the man in front. Anyway, no one stopped me.

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*Dr. Goucher was the son of Dr. John M. Goucher, a Pittsburgh physician, who at the time that Lincoln passed through the city, lived with his family at the northwesterly corner of Fifth Street, now Fifth Avenue, and Cherry Alley.

"I followed the procession into the President-elect's private parlor, where he received them, and listened to the Mayor's speech. I caught a few words of his reply, saw him shake hands with a number of the men, and then, with a farewell smile for his guests, he retired into an inner room. The Councilmen filed out. As I had come in with them, I thought it best to go out with them—but first I wanted to get a nearer view of that wonderful man whose kindly smile had thrilled me—child as I was.

"I stepped to the door of his inner room. Lincoln's life had been attempted several times, and, probably with his nerves keyed to an emergency, the President turned around. When he had been speaking to the Councilmen Lincoln's face had been all smiles; those wonderful eyes of his lighted with an inner glow. I was only a child, but something gripped my heart as I caught sight of his face when he thought he was alone.

His Sadness Disappears.

I have never seen such ineffable sadness on the face of any human being. All the sorrows of the world were reflected in his kind eyes. Seeing a little child his face softened marvelously.

"I stuck out my hand as I had seen the Councilmen do and said as I had heard them say: 'It is a great pleasure to shake hands with you, Mr. President.'

"His smile was like benevolent sunshine. He took my hand with both his big, warm ones and, looking down into my face, he said: 'God bless you, my son; love God, obey your parents, serve your country and the world will never forget you.'

"I never saw him again, not until I was a student in Harrisburg. It was after his assassination and his body lay in state for a short time in the state Capitol. It was then I saw him for the second time. I saw the tired-lined face, the eyes closed as if in sleep and the bullet wound in his head. And I thought of that look of weary sadness that I had noticed on his face and of the glorifying smile that had followed it."—From *The Methodist* February 6, 1919.

AN OLD TIME EJECTMENT

BY HON. J. McF. CARPENTER

Through the courtesy of the late Col. W. T. Lindsay and Judge Joseph Buffington, the writer was able some years ago, to obtain temporary possession of the original papers, now on file in the Clerks Office of the United States Circuit Court of the Western District of Pennsylvania, in an action of ejectment brought in 1802, involving the title to a tract of land bounded by the Monongahela and Ohio rivers and Raccoon Creek, and containing about one hundred thousand acres. To the laymen as well as the lawyers of today, the record presents some unique features.

The old time ejectment lawyer necessarily had some knowledge of surveying and a certain degree of familiarity with the old compass and Jacob-staff, the diurnal and annual variation of the magnetic needle and the various marks, blazes, (frequently called "bleezes" by the old farmers,) by which the date of the original survey could be determined, and notches to "witness" the existence of a nearby corner. The city bred attorney, however learned, was no match for the old backwoods lawyer in a controversy involving the age of marks and the various methods of ascertaining the true location of lines. The older members of our bar will recall the face and the movements of the late Robert Woods as he engaged in a fight over the lines of a farm.

The son of a surveyor, he had practical experience in "field work." Aggressive in conducting a trial, ever on the alert to seize and hold what he deemed vantage ground; it was time well spent by young lawyers who watched him in the trial of his favorite law suit—an old fashioned ejectment.

In Warren's famous "Ten Thousand a Year" familiar to lawyers, (I mean the book not the 10,000 per) we are carried through an action of ejectment in which the question was as to ancestry, descent, etc. This story furnishes a complete history of the intricacies and technicalities of the ancient action. No lawyer or intelligent layman can fail to derive instruction and amusement in reading this story of the addlepated fop-doodle, Tittlebat Titmouse, who starved himself during the week that he might dress so as to make a favorable impression on the ladies as he walked out Sunday afternoons. Then we have that delectable trio, Quirk, Gammon and Snap, who discovered Tittlebat and set the legal machinery in motion to recover the estate. To any of our younger attorneys who have not read this story I can only say—read it. Comparing it with the action at No. 7 June Term, 1802, one discovers how prone we are to hold on to ancient precedents in court proceedings. For even as late as the last century, we find that when Augustine wished to eject Joshua from the vast territory described in the action above mentioned, fictitious names were used, as appears by the following:

(COPY of DOCKET ENTRIES)
WESTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA
June Session 1802

Hamilton Dallas Rawle E. Tilgman Ingersoll	Timothy Peaceable, Lessee of Augustine Prevost, a Citizen of the State of New York.	Ejectment
No. 7.	vs.	
Collins McKean	Thomas Troublesome, with notice to Joshua Meeks, tenant in Poss'n., a citizen of Pennsylvania	Served

Mr. Collins appears Pleads noncul: & enters into the Common - and takes defense for 33 acres - Issue & rule for trial.

1803 May 3 Rule by consent To take Depositions on both sides on Twenty Days notice to the opposite Party -

1803 May 5 On Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for Plff. Rule - That surveys be made to ascertain the Lines and Boundaries touching the tracts of Land claimed by the Plaintiff including the Premises in dispute in this Ejectment on twenty days notice to the Defendant or his Attorney.

" Sept. 1 Rule for Trial by special jury.

" Oct. 11 On Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for the Plff. & on reading the affidavit of Charles Morgan - Rule to show cause on the first day of next session why an attachment should not issue against Joshua Meeks for a contempt of this court.

1804 May 5 Continued by consent and on Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for Plff. same Rule as in the preceding action.

" " 7 On Motion of Mr. Dallas - Rule to show cause on the first day of next session why attachments should not issue against West Elliott, John Henry Junr. and Samuel Henry, for obstructing the execution of the Rule of this Court in this cause for making surveys. Depns of H. Baldwin and H. Haslet filed.

1806 Oct. :13 And now a jury being called come to wit - John Conrad, John Thompson, Paul Seeman, John Jackson, Manuel Eyre, jun. James Stokes, Hyman Gratz, James Tatem, Robert Morrell, James Rogers, George Sheaff & William Stothart, who are respectively sworn or affirmed &c. And thereupon Joshua Meeks, who, by a Rule of this Court, was heretofore made Defendant in this cause and entered into the common Rule, refuses to confess the Lease, Entry and Ouster laid in the Declaration whereupon the Plaintiff being unable to prove the same became nonsuit so far as relates to the said Joshua Meeks - and thereupon, on Motion of Mr. Ingersoll for the Plaintiff -

Judgment is entered against Thomas Troublesome the casual Ejector for the Premises in the Declaration mentioned.

The declaration sets out that "Thomas Troublesome, a citizen of the Western District of Pennsylvania, yeoman, residing therein was attached to answer Timothy Peaceable, a citizen of the State of New York, residing therein of a plea wherefore with force and arms he has entered into a tract of land, &c. (here follows a full description) which Augustine Prevost, a citizen of the State of New York, resident therein, to the said Timothy did demise and let for a term which is not yet expired and him from his aforesaid farm did eject and other wrongs to him did to the great damage of said Timothy, &c.

John Doe.
Pleg - Deprof Richard Roe."

Now, as a matter of fact, one Joshua Meeks was the actual tenant in possession, claiming a fee in part of the land. When the summons was issued Thomas Troublesome served notice, that is, in theory he did so, on Meeks, the owner, to appear and defend, otherwise, he, Thomas would suffer judgment by default, as shown by the notice, which reads as follows:

> Sir: You may perceive by this Declaration in Ejectment that I am sued for the Premises in the same Declaration mentioned to which I have no title. If therefore you claim any title thereto and intend to defend it you must appear at the next Circuit Court for the Western District of Pennsylvania to be held at Bedford for the said Western District, on the twenty-fifth day of June next by some Attorney of that Court and make defence, otherwise I shall suffer Judgment to pass against me by Default and you will be turned out of possession.
>
> Your Friend,
> Thomas Troublesome,
> Bedford, 7 May, 1802.
> Tent.
>
> To Mr. Joshua Meeks
> a Citizen of the State
> of Pennsylvania, resident in Allegheny County
> in the said state.
> in possession of the
> Premises or some part
> thereof.

I find among the old papers the affidavit of one Charles Morgan, Surveyor, taken before William Gazzam, in which the affiant says he went upon the land to make a survey, but didn't finish because Meeks and Vance told him to stay off and he didn't think it prudent to disregard the notice. It seems odd that Troublesome should have been joined with Meeks and required to defend against Peaceable, but from

Morgan's affidavit one may infer that Joshua was not as "Meek as Moses," but had more of the qualities of that other ancient leader of Israel, who later entered the promised land, a privilege denied to his great predecessor. It would appear, too, that Mr. Peaceable in his attack upon Mr. Troublesome got into some trouble so far as Joshua was concerned, though as to part of the land he obtained peaceable possession as against the troublesome casual ejector.

In the early days it required two concurrent verdicts to settle title to land, now it requires but one verdict. Actions are now conducted in the names of the real parties. This shows that lawyers and law-makers are not always reactionaries, some prominent politicians to the contrary notwithstanding.

The days of Peaceable vs. Troublesome have passed into history, or, if you prefer, into "innocuous desuetude." We would not revive them. But we would not forget, or should not, that "there were giants in those days" on the Bench and at the Bar.

Very many of them were classic scholars, masters of pure and virile English. Steeped in legal lore and saturated with legal principles, they, like the old surveyors, blazed the line trees and notched the witness trees to guide succeeding generations. And it would be well for the restless, malcontents of the present to heed the injunction of the old BOOK—Remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE GREAT WAR.

By DR. GEORGE P. DONEHOO

What would William Penn have thought if he had been told that one day the decendants of the Lenni Lenape, whom he first met on the shores of the Delaware at Shackamaxon, were to cross the "Great Salt Water" to fight side by side with the Frenchman, the Englishman and the men of every race and creed who believe in justice and truth?

What would have LaSalle, and the countless other voyageurs who carried the Lillies of France from the lakes of Canada to the shores of Louisiana, have thought, had they been told that the descendants of the Chippewas, the Mississaguas, the Iroquois, the Loups and the many other tribes of Red Men, were one day to go to France to protect Paris from the invasion of savagery?

What would the Calvinistic Scotchman, who became a blood-thirsty hunter of the "Injun" along the foothills of the Alleghanies, have thought if he had been told that the descendants of the Senaca and Munsee, whose war whoop he had heard over the smouldering ruins of his log cabin, were one day to die on the fields of Flanders as comrades in arms with the "Ladies of Hell"?

What would have all of these worthy pioneers have deemed such a picture—an impossible one? And when we think of the short time which has passed since the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland were bathed in blood in the Indian Wars—less than 125 years—does not the picture seem a merely imaginary one?

The descendants of Tammany, Tedyuskung, Canassatego and the great host of other Indian chiefs, fighting the Germans as aviators, as artillerymen, as sharpshooters, as "doughboys" and wearing the khaki as defenders of civilization in its great struggle with savagery. Does it not seem like a dream?

The American Indian has been noted as a warrior since his first meeting with the white race. As some one has said "the Indian has a genius for war." He is a born strategist.

He has shown his ability as a warrior in all of his battles with the white race from the time of John Smith to the masterly retreat of Chief Joseph. So far as the writer is aware, the only real battle with white men in which he was out-witted by strategy was at Bushy Run, in Pennsylvania, when Colonel Boquet showed superior ability to Kiasutha as a strategist.

It is small wonder then that the Indian has again made a name for himself in this greatest of all wars, in which the choicest soldiers of all nations have taken part. The extent of his services in this war was little understood or appreciated.

When one realizes the immensity of the injustice done to the Indian by the white race, as well as by the nation, the fact that he offered himself as a volunteer in this war to fight under the flag of the nation which has denied him all rights of citizenship is in itself a thing to be wondered at. The United States entered this war to make the world a safe place for the oppressed of the smaller peoples and make treaties between nations something more than "mere scraps of paper." And yet, the Indian has been denied every right of citizenship by the government and every treaty between his tribes and the United States has been nothing but a "scrap of paper", to be torn up whenever it suited the pleasure of the government, or the avarice of white men, to do so. And no one realizes this fact more fully than does the Indian himself. But, when the United States entered this war to fight for righteousness between nations, the Indian offered himself and his money to the utmost limit. More Indians enlisted, in proportion to population of fighting age, than did any race on the entire continent.

It must be kept in mind that the Indian is neither an alien nor a citizen. He occupies no place whatever in the scheme of governmental affairs. He is nothing but "a perpetual ward of the nation." He has never played a part in the political affairs of the government, simply because he has been ignored as a factor. We have had to meet the desires of the German-American, the Irish-American, the Greek-American, the Russian-American and all other hyphenates. In what political fight has the American-Indian ever been taken into consideration? What party has ever tried to place in its platform some bait to attract the vote of the American-Indian? The Negro vote, the German vote, the Irish vote have all been sought by all sorts of devices. The Indian has never been sought—because it does not exist.

And yet, when the United States called for soldiers to cross the ocean to fight for the preservation of civilization, the Indian left the land of his ancestors to die on foreign soil, fighting side by side with his white brothers under a flag which he had no right to call "my flag" and for a nation which had denied him the right to call "my country". The warriors of nearly every tribe on the American continent are to-day sleeping side by side with the khaki clad Yanks on every battle-field of northern France, from Vimy Ridge to the Argonne Forest.

There were in the army and navy of the United States, in round numbers, about 10,000 Indians. Of this number over 6,000 enlisted as volunteers. According to the figures given in the Second Report of the Provost Marshal General, the total registration of the Indians, under the selective service, was 17,313. Of this number 6,509 were inducted into the army of the United States.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report for 1918 estimates that there were in the military service of the United States 8,000 Indians of all tribes. In his report he says, "Considering the large number of aged and infirm Indians and others not subject under the draft, leaving about 33,000 of military eligibility, I regard the representation of 8,000 in camp and actual warfare, as furnishing a ratio of population unsurpassed, if equaled, by any other race or nation." That is, 28 per cent. of the available man power of the Indian race. If the same percentage had been carried out by the white population of the nation, there would have been an army of 10,000,000 men under arms.

In addition to giving men, the Indians gave of their money, to the Red Cross, Liberty Loans and other war activities. To the First Liberty Loan they subscribed $4,609,850. To the four loans a total of $20,000,000, or an average of $58 for every Indian, man, woman and child, in the United States. In September 1918, there were 10,000 Indians in the American Red Cross. The Indian women and girls worked as faithfully in making hospital supplies as any class of women on the continent.

The Indians of Canada have been equally patriotic and self-sacrificing in their service. According to the "Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs" of Canada, for 1918, more than 3,500 Indians had enlisted. "This number represents approximately 35 per cent of the Indian male population of military age resident in the nine provinces." Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, of Canada, says, "The Indians have established for themselves a magnificent record, which should place their race high in the esteem of their fellow-countrymen and our allies. The manner in which the Indians have responded to the call to the colours appears more especially commendable when it is remembered that they are wards of the government, and have not, therefore, the responsibility of citizenship, that many of them were obliged to make long arduous journeys from remote localities in order to offer their services, and that their disposition renders them naturally averse to leaving their own country and conditions of life."

Some of these Canadian Indians walked 500 miles in order to enlist. One of them travelled 3,000 miles, from the Arctic coast, near Herschel Island, by trail, canoe and boat, to Vancouver in order to enlist. Many of the Canadian Indians have been decorated for unusual bravery. They excelled as sharp-shooters. One of these, named Ballantyne, of the 8th Battalion, before being wounded, killed 50 Germans, the majority of whom were sharp-shooters, or "snipers," as they are now called.

Many of the Indians of the United States and Canada served as commissioned officers. The majority of the officers and non-commissioned officers of "D" Company, 114th Battalion of Canada, were Indians of the Six Nations.

These few facts, gathered from the official reports of the United States and Canada, show a part of the help given by the American Indian to the cause of the Allies.

Does it not seem to be the time, after the injustice of more than "A Century of Dishonor," to grant to this patriotic race a place, side by side with the white man and the negro, in the affairs of the nation? They were deemed worthy of a place by the side of their white brothers in the battles of Vimy Ridge, the Marne, Chateau-Thierry and in the Argonne Forest; they have been deemed worthy to sleep the last long sleep, side by side with their comrades in khaki, in those hallowed spots in France, why then are they not worthy to take a place side by side with the white man and the negro in the battles of peace?

As Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa) says, in the "American Indian Magazine,"

"It is not the fault of the people in a way; not perhaps the fault of any particular administration, that the soldier returning from the Marne or Chateau-Thierry should still find his money and land held by the Indian Bureau. When he asks for freedom, they answer him, 'Can you propose anything better than the present system?' He replies, 'Is there anything better today than American citizenship?'"

Until this blot is cleansed from the "Star Spangled Banner," we had better speak softly about injustice to the weaker races and not talk too loudly about the right of "self-determination." The Indian is not asking for a separate government. All he is asking for it the right to become an American citizen, under the flag for which he fought when all citizenship and government was at stake.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

(Where no Address is given Pittsburgh is intended.)

A

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Acheson, M. W., Jr.
Adams, Mrs. S. Jarvis
Adams, George H.
    Latrobe, Penn'a.
Adler, Louis J.
Albig, W. Espey
Alter, George E.
Alexander, George H.
Allen, Edwin L.
Allen, Mrs. George W.
Allen, George W.
*Allen, Col. Edward J.
Allison, James L.
    Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Ammon, Mrs. Edith Darlington
Anawalt, Mrs. J. W.
Anawalt, J. W.
Anderson, Chas. M.
Anderson, Herbert E.
Anshutz, Lew A.
Ankrom, Miss Anna
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Armstrong, C. D.
Armstrong, Henry W.
Armstrong, Joseph G.
Aronson, J. Leonard
Arthur, H. W., D. D. S.
Ashbrook, Arthur G.
Askin, John M.
*Ashworth, Daniel
    Crafton, Penn'a.

B

Babcock, Hon. E. V.
Bailey, Mrs. Henry J.
Bailey, E. M.
Bailey, Samuel Jr.,
Bane, A. Clarke
Bane John C.
Barbour, George H.
Barbour, John B.
Bardsley, Mrs. Joseph
    Bridgeville, Penn'a.
Barger, Mrs. Louis F.
Barger, Louis F.
Barr, Mrs. Lawrence
Barr, J. Toner
Barto, P. C.
Bate, Mrs. R. C.
    Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Bausman, Cooke
Beal, James H.
Beatty, Lee C.
Becht, J. George
    Clarion, Penn'a.
Bedilion, Thomas P.
    Sewickley, Penn'a.
Beilstein, H J.
Beerbower, Chas. W.
    Castle Shannon, Penn'a.
Bell, Mrs. Sarah Bowman
    Washington, D. C.
Bennett, David P.
Bigham, Kirk Q.
*Bigelow, Edward M.
Bily, John C.
Bindley, John
Bingaman, Mrs. Fannie S.
Binns, Edward H.
*Bissell, Mrs. Frank S.
Bissell, David S.
Black, Mrs. David P.
Black, David P.
Black, Samuel W.
Blackburn, Mrs. James P.
    McKeesport, Penn'a.
Blackburn, James P., M. D.
    McKeesport, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Blackburn, W. W.
Blair, Mrs. F. L.
Blair, F. L.
*Blakely, William A.
Book, Robert D.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Borland, Mrs. Agnes J.
Bothwell, W. Earl
Boyd, Charles N.
Brackenridge, H. M.
Brackenridge, Penn'a.
*Brashear, John Alfred, Sc.D., LL.D.,
Brockett, Z. G.
Charleston, West Virginia.
Brennan, Major James I.
Brooks, J. Twing
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Brown, Charles E.
Brown, Mrs. Robert D.
Brown, Thomas Stephen
Brown, William A. C.
*Bradford, William
Brunot, Hilary B.
Bryar, Miss Henrietta
Bryson, Charles R.
Buchanan, J. J., M. D.
Bucher, R. A.
Buffington, Hon. Joseph
Burchfield, A. H.
*Burchfield, John Patterson, M. D.
Burgwin, George C.
Burns, Miss Marion F.
Burton, J. Campbell
Burke, Wm. J.
Byers, Mrs. Benjamin B.

C

Calderwood, Hugh A.
Callery, Mrs J. Dawson
Calvert, George H.
Calvert, Harry S.
Campbell, A. M.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Campbell, Miss Emily
Campbell, George J.
Campbell, Irwin K.
Cancelliere, Joseph C.
Canfield, A. C.
Verona, Penn'a.
Cain, Hon. Robert S.
Carpenter, Hon. J. McF.
Carnegie, Mrs. Andrew
New York, N. Y.
*Carnegie, Andrew
New York, N. Y.
Carr, Mrs. James S.
Carter, Miss Harriet
Casey, John F.
Chalfant, Henry
Chaplin, James C.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
*Chamberlin, Miss S. Emma
New Brighton, Penn'a.
Chester, John N.
Childers, C. E. E.
Childs, Mrs. Harvey Jr.
Church, Samuel Harden
Clarke, Allan
Clarke, James M.
Clause, W. L.
Clugston, William A.
Edgewood Park, Penn'a.
Coakley, Rev. Thomas F., D.D.
*Collins, Stephen
Connelley, Clifford B.
Harrisburg, Penn'a.
Conner, Rev. W. F., D.D.
Conroy, W. E.
Corrigan, C. E.
Cowan, John P.
Cowan, W. A., Jr.
Butler, Penn'a.
Coyle, Robert J., Jr.
Crago, Hon. Thomas S.
Waynesburg, Penn'a.
Craig, Neville B.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Craig, Edwin S.
Craig, John S.
Craighead, Ernest S.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Cromlish, W. L.
*Crumrine, Boyd
Washington, Penn'a.
Curry, Grant

D

Daggette, A. S., M.D.
Dahlinger, Charles W.
Dailey, John H.
Dangerfield, B., Jr.
Danner, T. J.
Davis, Allan
Davis, Carroll P.
Davis, Herman S.
Davis, Miss Mary A.
Davis, Major William H.
Davis, Mrs. W. L.

***Deceased**

Davis, W. L.
*Davis, Robert S.
Dawson, L. V.
Dean, Arthur R.
Ford City, Penn'a.
Decker, Omar S.
Densmore, Benjamin V.
Dewar, John
Dewhurst, Mrs. A. M.
Dewhurst, Richard M.
Hamilton, Canada.
Diehl, William J.
Diller, Theadore, M. D.
Dilworth, H. P.
Dilworth, John Cadwalader
Dippold, Miss Louise W.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Donaldson, Thomas R.
Donkin, William A.
Douglass, E. P.
McKeesport, Penn'a.
*Draper, James W.
*Dravo, Edward T.
Dresch, Miss Mary
Duffield, C. C.
Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio.
Duff, John D.
*Duff, J. Boyd
Duff, Mrs. Martha
Crafton, Penn'a.
Duff, William M.
Duke, Charles J.
Dunlevy, D. W.
Dunn, T. A.
DuPuy, Herbert
DuShane, J. S.
New Castle, Penn'a.
Duncan, Mrs. John
Dwyer, V. C.

E

Eaton, Miss M. G.
Eaton, Miss Sadie
Edwards, James F., M.D.
Omaha, Nebraska.
Edlis, A.
Egbert, Mrs. Eliza. Phipps
Franklin, Penn'a.
Eggers, Edward E.
Eichbaum, G. R.
Emlenton, Penn'a.
Eichenauer, J. B.
Eichleay, Walter B.
Elder, Miss Marguerite M.
Elliot, Bryon K.
Elliot, Mrs. Mary E.
Avalon, Penn'a.
Ely, Sumner B.
Englert, Edmond
English, W. Y.
Evans, Alan S.
Ewing, John Kennedy, Jr.
Barton, Florida.
Ewing, Major Robert M.
*Ewing, William B., M.D.

F

Fairman, John A.
Felix, Otto F.
Ferree, C. B.
Ferree, Delmont K.
Fetterman, Dean J. C.
Fetterman, J. H.
Fickeisen, Irwin M.
Fisher, Charles A.
Fisher, H. W.
Fitzpatrick, T. J.
Crafton, Penn'a.
Fleming, George T.
Flowers, George W.
Foerster, Adolph M.
Follansbee, B. G.
Follansbee, William U.
Fording, Arthur M.
*Foulk, Wilson M.
Charleston, W. Virginia.
Fraser, Mrs. C. D.
Ardsley-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.
Fraser, John D.
Ben Avon, Penn'a.
Frazer, Hon. Robert S.
*Frank, Lawrence W.
*Frank, John H.
Ligonier, Penn'a.
Frick, Mrs. Ada M. C.
New York, N. Y.
*Frick, Henry Clay
New York, N. Y.
Fuller, Guy N.
Fuller, Miss Lillian R.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Furey, William M.

G

Gallagher, M. J.
Garland, Robert
Garwood, C. H.

*Deceased

Gerry, Roland
Gethoefer, L. H.
Gillespie, T. J.
Glass, George N.
Goerlitz, C. W.
Goehring Hon. John M.
Golden, William A.
Golder, W. J.
Gordon, Allen T. C.
Gordon, George B.
Gosser, George W.
Graham, Albert
Graham, Charles J.
Graham, Miss Martha
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Graham, N. E.
East Brady, Penn'a.
Graham, William C.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Gray, Mrs. Margaret S.
Grayson, H. S.
Gribbon, Ira
Groves, W. W.
Grubbs, T. S.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Grubbs, W. Clyde
Guffey, A. S.
Guffey, Col. James M.
Gumbert, Hon. A. C.
Guthrie, Miss Priscilla S.
*Guthrie, Hon. George W.
Guthrie, R. W.

H

Haddon, James
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Hailman, George L.
Hailman, J. D.
Hagerling, Sidney A.
*Harper, Samuel B., Esq.
Hall, William M.
Hamilton, A. G.
Hammerschlag, A. A., LL.D.
Hammond, James H.
Hanauer, Albert M.
Hanna, Charles A.
Montclair, New Jersey
Hanna, F. R.
Hannah, Thomas
Harbison, Wm. Albert
Harbison, Ralph W.
Harding, Miss Julia Morgan
Hardie, Miss Jessie H.
Harnish, Miss Bess
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Harper, John A.
Hart, Pennock
Hartley, Thomas Reed
Hartman, Galen C.
Harvey, Mrs. Helen Price
Foxburg, Penn'a.
Harvey, Frank L.
Foxburg, Penn'a.
Hatfield, Eugene
Hawkins, Thomas J.
Haworth, Mrs. John
Edgeworth, Penn'a.
Hay, Southard
Hays, Gilbert A.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
*Hayden, Rev. Horace Edwin, D.D.
Wilkes Barre, Penn'a.
Heany, F. Newton
*Heinz, H. J.
Heinz, Fred. J.
Hench, Prof. J. B.
Henderson, James A.
Henderson, J. F.
Henry, David F., Esq.
Henrici, Max
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Herron, John S.
Herron, John W.
Hermes, John R.
Hershberger, Harry S.
Hershman, Oliver S.
Hertz, Julius
Hiller, August
*Hill, Col. W. S.
Holdsworth, J. T., Ph.D.
Holland, William J., Ph.D. LL.D.
Holmes, A. G.
Hoopes, Miss Ellen
New Brighton, Penn'a.
Horne, Albert A.
*Horne, Durbin
Horner, W. S.
Horton, Charles B.
*Houston, James W.
Howard, Miss Bessie M.
Howell, Charles S.
Houlahen, Hon. James
Harper, Sampel B.
Hubbard, Charles S.
Hunt, Roy A.

*Deceased

Hunt, Mrs. Grace O'Neil
Elizabeth, Penn'a.
Hunter, A. S.
Hutchinson, C. R.
Hustead, James Edgar
Uniontown, Penn'a.

I

Iams, Mrs. Franklin P.
Imbrie, A. M.
Insley, Miss Anna W.
Jennette, Penn'a.
Irish, Mrs. Franklin C.
Irish, Franklin C.
Irwin, Edward P.
Irwin, W. G.
Pitcairn, Penn'a.

J

Jackson, Miss Mary L.
Jackson, C. E.
Jackson, S. H.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Jamison, Prof. O. S.
Avalon, Penn'a.
Jarvis, James N.
Jenkins, Mrs. Thomas C.
Jenkinson, A. M.
Jenks, George S.
Jennings, Miss Lou
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Johnson, Carmon C.
*Johnston, John R.
Johnston, John R., Jr.
Johnston, R. W.
Johnston, Stewart
Johnston, Mrs. Paul Stewart
Livingston Manor, N. Y.
Johnston, Paul Stewart,
Livingston Manor, N. Y.
Johns, L. E.
Jones, B. F., Jr.
Jones, C. W.
Jones, William Larimer
Jones, Miss Winifred N.
Jordan, John W., LL.D.,
Philadelphia, Penn'a.

K

*Kammerer, W. S.
Kann, W. L.
*Kane, John E.
Kay, James I.
Keelan, F. L.
Keenan, Col. Thomas J.
Keene, E. L.
Keefer, Miss Iantha D.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Keller, Miss Mary
Keller, Thomas D.
Kelly, A. J., Jr.
Kelly, Joseph A.
*Kemler, Capt. Louis
Kent, E. J.
Kerr, John H.
Kidney, Elmer L.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Kier, S. M.
Kimball, F. A.
Kincaid, Charles W.
King, Major James Edward
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
King, Samuel L., Jr.
Kingan, Mrs. Anna M.
Chevy Chase, Maryland
Kiser, C. W.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Kitsmiller, E. A.
Klee, W. B.
Kline, Hon. Charles H.
Knight, Reeve L.
Avalon, Penn'a.
Kress, F. J.
Kunkle, Mrs. W. H.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Kussart, Mrs. Philip

L

Lacock, Prof. John K.
Amity, Penn'a.
Lanahan, Frank J.
*Landis, H. M.
Lappe, Alexander H.
Lappe, Louis H.
Lauffer, Charles A., M.D.,
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Lambing, Rt. Rev. Mgr. A.A., LL.D.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a
LeMoyne, Francis J.
Lee, Edward B.
*Levy, Rabbi J. Leonard, D.D.
Leonard, McClellan
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Lehman, George M.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Lehmer, George S.
Lichty, John A., M.D.
*Lichliter, Rev., M.D., D.D
Harrisburg, Penna
Liggett, Thomas
Sewickley, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Lincoln, William E.
Linhart, Samuel Black, A.B., A.M., DD.
Lockhart, James H.
Logan, Brigadier General Albert J.
Logan, George B.
*Long, Albert M.
*Long, S. C.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Love, Rev. R. J., Ph.D.
Ocala, Florida.
Lowe, Miss Katherine, D.M.
Lowe, Miss Rachel R.
Little, J. E., Esq.
Braddock, Pennsylvania.
Lustenberger, L. C.
Lutton, Miss Katherine A.
Lyne, W. C.
*Lyon, William T.

M

Magee, Hon. William A.
Marsh, Joseph W.
Marsh, James Ingraham
Marshall, Frederick
Martin, A.M., D.D.S.
Martin, G. Benjamin
Martin, Mrs. John Chambers
Martin, J. William
Elizabeth, Penn'a.
Marvin, Walter R.
*Marvin, Earle R.
Macfarlane, Hon. James R.
MacDonald, Matthew
Mason, H. L., Jr.
Martin, William T.
Mazurie, Henry R.
Mehard, Churchill B.
*Mehard, Hon. S. S.
Mellon, Andrew W.
*Mellon, Mrs. James R.
Mellon, James R.
Mellon, Robert B.
Mellor, Walter C.
Mercur, W. H., M.D.
Meyran, L. A.
Miles, Miss Sarah E.
Miles, J. Walter
Irwin, Penn'a.
Miller, A. D., Jr.
Miller, Mrs. Carroll
Miller, Mrs. Emma R.
Miller, Florence C.
Miller, John F.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Miller, Milo H.
Knoxville, Penn'a.
Miller Robert T., M.D.
*Miller, Reuben
Milligan, Mrs. Robert
Milligan, Robert, M.D.
Mitchell, Walter S.
Molamphy, Mrs. Terese N.
Monro, Mrs. William L.
Mooney, James E.
Moore, Alexander P.
Moore, Arthur A., M.D.
Richmond, Virginia
Moore, Mrs. Eliza. J.
Moore, W. J.
Mossman, B. E., M.D.,
Greenville, Penn'a.
Motheral, George B.
Moyer, I. J., M.D.
Mudge, E. W.
Murdoch, Mrs. Frank H.
Murphy, Mrs. Mary S.
Murphy, Prof. D. C.,
Slippery Rock, Penn'a.
Myers, Clifford R.
Charleston, W. Virginia
McCaffrey, Thomas
McCandless, George M.
McClay, Samuel L.
McClintock, Oliver
McComb, W. B.
McConnell, Miss Bertha
McConway, William
McConway, William, Jr.
McCormick, Samuel Black, A.M., D.D., LL.D.

Mc

McCormick, Roscoe T.,
Irwin, Penn'a.
McCoy, Edward E.
McCrady, Roland A.
McCurdy, Mrs. Susan R.,
Wilkinsburg, Pa.
McCurdy, Stewart L., A.M., M.D.
McCune, Thomas C.,
Bellevue, Penn'a.
McCutcheon, Miss Margaret A.
*McCracken, Miss M. J.
*McDermott, Rev. P.A., D.D., LL.D.

*Deceased

McDonald, Lawrence S.
McDowell, Heber
McCloy, W. L.
Tulsa, Oklahoma.
McConway, William
McGinniss, Miss Margaret
McGovern, Charles C.
McGreary, James E.
McKay, J. Albert
McKay, Thomas J.
McKean, Robert A.
McKeefrey, John M.
Leetonia, Ohio
McKeefrey, W. D.
Leetonia, Ohio
McKenna, Hon. Charles F.
McKeever, Rev. E. M., D.D.
McKinney, Mrs. W. S.
*McKinney, James P.
McKnight, William James
Brookville, Penn'a.
McKnight, Mrs. T. H. B.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
McKnight, T. H. B.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
McMains, S. J., M.D.
Leechburg, Penn'a.
McMeans, Miss Della M.
Munhall, Penna.
McMillen, Miss Belle S.
McMillen, Miss Clara F.
McNaugher, D. W.
McNaughton, Miss Margaret
McSwigan, Andrew S.

N

Nesbit, Harry James
Neel, Mrs. Mary O'Neil
McKeesport, Penn'a.
Neely, Harry W.
Neely, Howard
Negley, Alexander J.
Negley, Miss Alice M.
Negley, Miss Georgina G.
Nesbit, Harrison M.
Nisbet, Edward A.
Nevin, Franklin T.
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Nicola, F. F.
Niebaum, John H.
Nirdlinger, M.
Nordhem, Ivan B.

O

O'Conner, Mrs. P. J.
*O'Donnel, Richard L.
Oliver, Augustus K.
O'Neil, J. Denny
McKeesport, Penn'a.
Orlady, Hon. George B.
Huntingdon, Penn'a.
Orr, Edwin Gilpin
O'Brien, Charles A.
Osburn, Frank C.
*Oliver, George T.

P

Page, Benjamin
Page, Oliver Ormsby
Painter, Joseph
Park, James H.
Parke, W. Howard
Parkin, W. M.
Parvin, Mrs. T. W.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Patterson, Burd Shippen
Patterson, John S.
Patterson, Miss M.
Patterson, P. C.
McKeesport, Penn'a.
Patton, William J.
Patton, J. Howard
Greensburg, Penn'a.
Paul, Mrs. J. W.
Kittanning, Penn'a.
Paul, Harry S.
*Paul, Jacob W.
Oakmont, Penn'a.
Pew, John G.
Philadelphia, Penn'a.
Phillips, C. J., D.D.S.
Phillips, John L., M.D.
Phillips, Mrs John M.
Phillips, Mrs. Lucy F.
Phillips, W. J.
Phipps, Henry Jr.
Pittsburgh Teacher's Ass'n, Inc.
Pickels, Mrs. Margaret
Plumer, L. M.
Pontefract, Mrs. E. M.
Shields, Penn'a.
Porter, John L.
Pollock, A. W.
Potter, John E.
Pinkerton, S. S.
Price, Bert T.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Price, Mrs. A. D.
Price, A. D., M.D.

*Deceased

Price, Charles B.
Price, Phillip W.
Provost, George Watson
*Prugh, Rev. John Gassler, D.D.

Q

Quay, Major Andrew G. C.
Beaver, Penn'a.
Quinon, Stephen
Comfort, Kendall Co., Texas.

R

Ralston, Miss Eleanor B.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Ralston, John M.
Rankin, Mrs. Alfred J.
New Brighton, Penn'a.
Rankin, George H.
Rauh, Mrs. Enoch
*Rauh, Enoch
Rauh, Marcus
Rea, C. S.
Reid, Hon. A. B.
*Reid, A. M., M.D.
Steubenville, Ohio
Reilly, Eugene S.
Reineman, Mrs. Robert T.
Reno, Samuel J., Jr.
Reynolds, C. J., D.D.S.
Rice, Joseph
Richardson, C. D.
Riddle, Charles E.
Ridinger, Charles W.
Rieck, Edward E.
Ritenour, John S.
Roberts, Jesse C.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Robbins, Hon. Edward E.
Greensburg, Penn'a.
Robertson, W. H.
Robinson, Charles K.
Robinson, E. D.
Robinson, Thomas R.
Robinson, W. H.
Rodgers, J. Franklin
Rodgers, W . L.
Rodgers, J. H.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Rodgers, Roland C.
Brownsville, Penn'a.
Rodgers, William B., Jr.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Rodgers, Miss Rachel
Murrysville, Penn'a.
Rook, Col. Charles A.
Rupp, Rev. L. W., D.D.
Tarentum, Pa.
Ryder, E. C.

S

Samson, Harry G.
Sanders, Charles
Sands, Mrs. George
*Sample, James G.
Wildwood, Penn'a.
Scaife, Marvin F.
Scaife, W. Lucien
Schmidt, H. M.
*Schuldenberg, George W
Scott, H. G.
Scott, James H.
Scott, Thomas F.
Scully, Cornelius D.
Scully, Henry R.
Seimon, T. W.
Edgewood, Penn'a.
Semmelrock, John F.
Seymour, Samuel L.
Shafer, Hon. John D.
Shanahan, D. F.
Shaw, D. C.
*Shaw, H. O.
Shaw, George E.
Shaw, Wilson A.
Sheedy, Rev. Morgan M., D.D.,
Altoona, Penn'a.
Siebeneck, H. K.
Simons, C. A.
Aspinwall, Penn'a.
Simpson, James N.
Sims, Wm. Henry
Sipe, Sam. F.
Slack, John C.,
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Sloan, George A., M.D.,
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Smith, E. Z.
*Smith, Charles O.
Smith, Miss Ida
Castle Shannon, Penn'a.
Smith, Miss Sarah Hays,
Castle Shannon, Penn'a.
Smith, Lee S.
Smith, Philip Waddell
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Smith, Mrs. William H.
Smyres, Mrs. B. H.
Bellevue, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Snowden, C. L.
Speer, John Z.
Spencer, Robert L.
Splane, J. G.
Detroit, Michigan
Stagg, Miss Pauline H.
Stark, William
Stephenson, Miss Maude D.
Edgewood Park, Penn'a.
Stevenson, James B.
Stevenson, William H.
Stevenson, Mrs. William H.
Stengel, George H.
Stewart, Mrs. Charles
Stewart, Douglas
Stewart, George W.
Stewart, Hamilton
Stewart, William W.
Glen Osborne, Penn'a.
Stone. Carelon E.
Coraopolis, Penn'a.
Stoner, F. R.
Sunstein, A. J.
Swan, Miss Grace
*Swan, Robert
Sweeny, John F.
Sproull, Theadore

T

Taggart, C. C.
Tate, John M. Jr.,
Sewickley, Penn'a.
Taylor, S. A.
Taylor, William L.
Temple, Hon. Henry W.,
Washington, Penn'a.
Terry, Miss Lillian M.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Thaw, Benjamin
Thaw, Mrs. William
Thaw, H. K.
Thaw, J. C.
New York, N. Y.
Thompson, Mrs. Wm. Reed
Thompson, J. V.
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Thurston, Miss Alice M.
Titterington, J. Clyde
Kittanning, Penn'a.
Tiers, Clarence Van Dyke
Oakmont, Penn'a.
Titzel, Louis B.,
Glenshaw, Penn'a.
Todd, George A.
Braddock, Penn'a.
Todd, William T.
Topp, O. M.
*Thomas, John W.
Tone, S. L.
Torrens, Miss Sarah Bausman
*Torrance, Francis J.
Tranter, Mrs. Henry
Tredway, W. T.

V

Vanosten, Mrs. F. W.
Los Angeles, California
Veech, Miss R. L.
Ventress, G. E.
Von Bonnhorst, W. E.

W

Walker, John
Walker, Mrs. J. D.
Walker, Col. J. D.
Walker, Thomas M.
Bellevue, Penn'a.
Wallace, Miss Isabel
Walter, George L.
Wallace, Richard W.
Walkinshaw, Lewis C.
Greensburg, Penn'a.
Walton, F. L.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
Watson, W. E.
Wattles, Mrs. Harvey J.
Waugh, Miss Edna B.
Wilkinsburg, Penn'a.
*Webster, Homer J., Ph.D.,
Weil, A. Leo
Weixel, William J.
Weldon, Joseph A.
West, Charles H.
Weyman, Mrs. B. Frank
*Weyman, B. Frank
White, Miss Kathryn I.
White B.
*Wilharm, G. F. E., M.D.,
Crafton Heights, Penn'a.
*White, Hon. Harry,
Indiana, Penn'a.
Wilkins, W. Clyde
Wilkinson, Miss Elizabeth H.
Williams, G. W.
Williams, W. H.
Wilson, Erasmus
*Wilson, Robert W.,
Saltsburg, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Wilson, C. J.
Winters, Daniel
Wittmer, Miss Clara
Whigham, Mrs. William
Whyel, George
Uniontown, Penn'a.
Wolff, Paul C.
Wood, Joseph
Woodburn, S. S., M.D.
Woods, Edward A.
Wragg, John U.
*Wray, H. H.
Leechburg, Penn'a.

*Deceased

Wright, George J., M.D.
*Wright, James H., M.D.
*Wrightnour, Rev. J. S., D.D.
Clarion, Penn'a.

Y

Yohe, Isaac
Monongahela, Penn'a.

Z

Zacharias, Howard
*Zeller, August

MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA WHO DIED IN 1920.

John Patterson Burchfield, M.D.
John Albert Brashear, Sc.D., LL.D.
Miss S. Emma Chamberlin,
New Brighton, Penn'a.
J. Boyd Duff
Wilson M. Foulk
James W. Houston
John R. Johnston
William S. Kammerer,
Captain Louis Kemler,
Albert M. Long
Richard L. O'Donnel
Jacob W. Paul
Homer J. Webster, Ph.D.
B. Frank Weyman,
(Life Member)
Hon. Harry White,
Indiana, Penn'a.
H. H. Wray,
Leechburg, Penn'a.
G. F. E. Wilharm, M.D.,
Crafton Heights, Penn'a.
Samuel B. Harper

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

161—Drum

Formerly the property of Co. 10, of the 4th Reg't., 1st Brigade, 15th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. When the Company was disbanded, sometime between 1846 and 1850, this came into the possession of Captain John Love, the former commander, and was by him retained until his death in 1876. During the Civil-War it was used on several occasions in the drilling of Union soldiers. It was also used during the Hayes Campaign in 1876 and the Garfield Campaign in 1880.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

162—Fife

used by the Pennsylvania Militia, in connection with the drum whose history is given above.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

163—Commission

of John Love, as Second Lieutenant of the Tenth Company, 106th Regiment, First Brigade 15th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. Issued in 1841.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

164—Commission

of John Love, Captain of the Tenth Company, 4th Regiment, 1st Brigade, 15th Division, Pennsylvania Militia. Issued in 1846.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

165—Ancient Bible

The property of Thomas Love, one of the pioneers of Allegheny County, and brought by him from Ireland in 1793.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love.

166—Book

of Military Tactics, prepared and arranged by Brevet-Captain S. Cooper, under the supervision of Major General Alexander Macomb, "Commanding the Army of the United States 1836" This book was the property of Captain John Love, and was used by him in the instruction of the Pennsylvania Militia, 1841-1850.

Presented by Rev. R. J. Love

167—Frame 21x23

containing Sampler, made in 1851 by Mary S. C. Burchfield, daughter of the late William H. and Nancy Patterson Burchfield, of East Liberty.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

168—Frame 22x23

containing Sampler, made in 1851 by Isabella P. Burchfield, daughter of the late William H. and Nancy Patterson Burchfield, of East Liberty.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

169—Crayon Sketch

"Visite' la'Evneite' by Mary S. C. Burchfield, 1853.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

170—Pencil Sketch

"The Old Mill" by Mary S. C. Burchfield, 1853.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield

171—Silk Purse

belonging to the Misses Mary S. C. and Isabella P. Burchfield, made in 1850.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

172—Beaded Purse

belonging to the Burchfield family, made in 1835.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

173—Card Basket

made in 1849 by Mary S. C. Burchfield.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

174—Card Basket

made in 1849 by Isabella P. Burchfield.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

175—Cards

presented as a "Reward of Merit" to scholars of the Pittsburgh Public Schools in 1849-1850.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

176—Book Marks

made in 1850 by the Misses Mary S. C. and Isabella P. Burchfield.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

177—Parasol

green-silk ivory and pearl inlaid handle, from the Murphy and Burchfield store, Pittsburgh 1854.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

178—Parasol

black-silk ebony handle, from the Murphy and Burchfield store, Pittsburgh 1854.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

179—Pouch and Shot

used by the late Wm. H. Burchfield while hunting wild game in the Squirrel Hill district in 1835.

Presented by Dr. John P. Burchfield.

180—Daguerreotype

of Mrs. Barbra A. Negley, *nee* Winebiddle, wife of Jacob Negley Sr., who donated the site of the East Liberty Presbyterian Church.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

181—Daguerreotype

of Catherine Roup Negley. daughter of Jacob Negley, Sr.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

182—Daguerreotype

of Barney Burns who kept a grocery and general store on Third Street, now Third Avenue between Grant and Ross Streets, in the early fifties. The following story was told about Daniel Negley storekeeper in the East End, who purchased a grind-stone from Mr. Burns. Burns was always slow in sending bills, he charged Mr. Negley with a cheese, who remonstrated, said he had never bought a cheese, but recollected that long before he had bought a grind-stone. Then Burns recalled that he had forgotten to mark a hole in the middle to show a grind-stone instead of a cheese. Burns had a very poor education, if any, therefore he often drew a circle for a cheese, and a circle with a hole in the center for a grind-stone. This story was told of Burns for many years.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

183—Volume

"Thomas Mellon and His Times" by Thomas Mellon.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

184—Volume

"The Larimer, McMasters and Allied Families" Compiled and Edited by Rachel Hughey Larimer Mellon.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

185—Volume

Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of his son, William H. H. Larimer, two of the founders of Denver City.

Presented by William Larimer Mellon.

186—Daguerreotype

of Ruth Horton Negley, of Tarentum, Penn'a.

Presented by James Ross Mellon.

187—Frame

containing a photograph of Andrew Fulton, Sr.

Presented by his grandchildren,
Mrs. James S. Arnold,
Miss Jane M. Fulton,
Andrew Fulton.

188—Medal

Awarded Andrew Fulton, Sr., in 1835 by the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Society, for the best chime of bells.

Presented by his grandchildren,
Mrs. James S. Arnold,
Miss Jane M. Fulton,
Andrew Fulton.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Order appointing the Guard of Honor for the Philadelphia Obsequies of President Lincoln. The order is signed by Albert M. Harper of Pittsburgh, Captain and Assistant Adjutant General.

Head Quarters,
Department of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa., April 22, 1865.

Special Orders,
No. 95. *Extract:*

IV.—The following named officers will constitute the Guard of Honor to the late President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, whilst his remains are in the city of Philadelphia:

Commodore Henry R. Hoff,-------------------U. S. Navy.
Commodore J. L. Lardner,-------------------U. S. Navy
Commodore T. Turner,-------------------U. S. Navy.
Colonel H. A. Frink,-------------------186th Reg't. Penna. Vols.
Colonel J. G. Johnston,-------------------Chief Q. M. Dep't. of Penna.
Colonel Wm. W. McKim,-------------------Q. M. Dep't.
Brev. Col. C. M. Dougall,-------------------Med. Dep't.
Lieut. Col. W. Davis,-------------------69th Reg't. Pa. Vols.
Lieut. Col. T. C. Moore,-------------------36th Reg't N.J. Vols.
Lieut. Col. John P. Murray,-------------------198th Reg't. Pa. Vols.
Lieut. Chas. C. Cresson,-------------------73rd Reg't. Pa. Vols.
Major John P. Sherburne,-------------------Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.
Major Samuel Bell,-------------------Pay Dep't.
Major John D. Deveraux,-------------------V. R. C.
Major David Foley,-------------------V. R. C.
Major J. E. Montgomery,-------------------Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.
Surgeon R. S. Kenderdine,-------------------U. S. Vols.
Cap't. James Forney,-------------------U. S. Marine Corps.
Cap't. Edwin E. Sellers,-------------------10th U. S. Inf'ty.
Cap't. J. P. Loughead,-------------------C. S.
Cap't H. P. James,-------------------A. Q. M.
Cap't. H. P. Goodrich,-------------------A. Q. M.
Cap't. A. S. Ashmead,-------------------A. Q. M.
Cap't. A. M. Harper,-------------------Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.
1st. Lieut. G. D. Ramsey,-------------------U. S. Ordnance Dep't.
Ass't. Surgeon H. S. Schell,-------------------U. S. A.
1st. Lieut. E. M. Harris,-------------------8th Reg't U. S. C. T.

By Command of Major General Cadwalader.

JOHN S. SCHULTZE,
Assistant Adjutant General.

OFFICIAL
ALBERT M. HARPER,
Cap't. and Ass't. Adj't. Gen'l.

LETTER OF EDWIN M. STANTON

Mr. George W. McCandless has presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania an interesting letter written by Edwin M. Stanton, while a practicing lawyer in Pittsburgh, to former Governor William F. Johnston, and also a copy of the New Testament formerly belonging to Captain Alexander Johnston. Mr. McCandless' letter presenting these articles, together with the letter of Mr. Stanton, and the printed note on the front inside cover of the New Testament, follow.

HOTEL SCHENLEY

July 5, 1920.

The Historical Society
of Western Pennsylvania,
Pittsburgh, Penna.

I beg to enclose herewith a letter from the late Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, to the late Governor Wm. F. Johnston, stating that his son Capt. Alex Johnston was making fine progress as a law student in his office, dated, *Pittsburgh, July 18th, 1855.*

Captain Johnston gave up his law studies, enlisted and served through the Civil War, and I am also enclosing you a small copy of the New Testament, gotten up by "The Ladies of Allegheny City" in 1861 and given to him, as well as other soldiers who went to war."

Thinking this may be of interest to the "Society" I am presenting them for your consideration and would be glad to have you place them among your other records.

Your very truly,
Geo. W. McCandless,
Nephew Cap't. Alex Johnston,
and
Grandson Gov. Wm. F. Johnston.

Hon. Wm. F. Johnston
Dear Sir

I desire to let you know that your Son's attention and apparent progress in his studies give me much satisfaction and such as should be gratifying to you.

While in the office he is diligent, attentive and ready; and evinces in an unusual degree some excellent business qualities with a desire for attainment that cannot fail if cultivated to ensure him success in professional life. Already he is of great service in the transaction of our business, and he bids fair to fulfill the desires of his parents and friends.

Yours truly,
Edwin M. Stanton
Pitt'g 18. July 1855.

NOTE IN NEW TESTAMENT

Will you accept this little memento of Christian love from the Ladies of Allegheny City? May it be your companion and comfort, in Camp and in Battle, and a pledge to assure you that you are remembered by us daily at the Throne of the Great King of kings and the God of Battles.

Pittsburgh, April 20, 1861.

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WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 No. 2 APRIL, 1921 Price 75 Cents

THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR

BY CHARLES W. DAHLINGER

The title of this article, "The Rising Tide of Color", has been adopted from a book recently published under that name, and written by an American named Lothrop Stoddard. It treats of the advance in self-importance of the non-white races, and of the peril to the white race resulting therefrom. A chapter is devoted to the danger of the growing power of the negroes, not with particular reference to the United States, but more especially in Africa, although in his summary the author intimates that even in this country there is a real danger from the negroes here. The book presents a picture of dire possibilities to the white race. While the chapter on the black race can have no effect on any fair-minded person in the United States, it may however, influence those who are naturally prejudiced against negroes.

On the other hand there appeared in England, at about the same time that Stoddard's book was published, a volume by E. D. Morel, which is a complete foil to "The Rising Tide of Color" so far as negroes are concerned. It is called "The Black Man's Burden", and portrays in strong language the wrongs of the negroes in Africa. If the statements of this Englishman can be relied upon the negroes in Africa have some cause for being antagonistic to the white race, as near-

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THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

ly a million black men were taken from their homes, most of them by force, and sent to Europe to fight the white man's battles.

It was France that caused the uproar. It is well known that a few years before the commencement of the World War, France began recruiting negro regiments in its West African colonies, and the Senegal negroes were the first African troops to be sent to the front in Europe. Very soon recruiting stations dotted every French colony. The native chiefs were required to supply a certain percentage of their subjects as soldiers. If they failed, punitive expeditions wasted them with fire and sword. Revolt after revolt ensued but the negroes were torn from their homes, and were brought away from their villages in chains and taken to Europe. The ruthless procedure caused the savages to believe that the slave trade had been re-establishd and a deadly hatred against all white men ensued. The news of the victory of the powers for which the African negroes were fighting spread into far Africa, and helped the rising of the tide of color there. It caused the Africans to firmly believe that their men had won the war, and they have become obsessed with their own importance.

Perhaps it was this condition in Africa that influenced many negroes in the United States to join in the ambitious project for establishing a negro state on that continent, which is to be the asylum for the negroes of the entire world, the scheme being launched in New York about four years ago by a West Indian negro named Marcus Garvey. Africa is to be recovered; the yoke of England, France, Belgium and Italy is to be shaken off. Garvey is at the head of the organization, with the fanciful title of Provisional President of Africa. In furtherance of the cause a newspaper was established called the *Negro World*. The plans contemplate the purchase of buildings in the principal cities of the country to be called Liberty Halls, which are to be used as headquarters, and from which the propaganda of the new gospel of "Back to Africa" is to be sent out. The movement contemplates the establishment and operation of large industrial plants in the United States, the West Indies and Africa; ships are to be built for the South American and African trade, and a two million dollar loan is to be secured for Liberia. And with the money gained in manufacture and trade, and from the loan, Africa is to be redeemed and a great African state established by and for the negroes. The climax was reached in August, 1920, when a convention was held in New York which was attended by three thousand delegates from all parts of the world. In the great parade fifty thousand negroes participated. Their colors—"black for our race, red for our blood, and green for our promise" were everywhere to be seen intertwined with the stars and stripes. And the immense crowd collected in Madison Square Garden was probably the most unique gathering that ever assembled in that vast auditorium.

Garvey appears to be a fanatic and in deadly earnest. He works upon the pride and prejudices of the negroes, and it would be evading the truth to say that he has not made an impression and gained numerous followers, the claim being made that the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Garvey's principal organization, has a membership of nearly four millions. He is but little more than thirty four years of age, coal black, well educated and an orator of unusual force, and appears before his adherents resplendent in a green and crimson robe. By many of these he is regarded as "the greatest Negro whom God has placed upon the face of the earth since the days of Solomon." That he realizes that he is engaged in a high mission is indicated by the remark attributed to him when elected Provisional President of Africa, when he said, "You have given me the job of Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau all in one". But the vast majority of the negroes in the United States remain unmoved. One could as well believe that because Palestine has been recovered, and there is an agitation in favor of the Jews going there to live, that many of the followers of this religion will leave their homes in the United States or elsewhere to seek new ones in that faraway land, as that the grand ideas of Garvey will ever be converted into actualities, or that any considerable number of American negroes will emigrate from the United States to face the uncertainties of life in Africa. The movement is a daring experiment, and whether it succeeds or fails, it has caused a great awakening among the American negroes. They have learned much; they have been made to realize their possibilities as well as their obligations, and although some of the lessons taught them, may in the end, have been dearly paid for, they will result in the negroes becoming better and more useful citizens.

But the tide of color had been steadily rising in the United States many years before Garvey's scheme for a negro millennium was thought of. In 1917 the Interior Department reported that "no other racial group in the country shows a better adjustment in relation to the white natives than the more than ten million negroes. In fifty years illiteracy has decreased from 90 to 30 per cent. One million negroes are now farmers, either as renters or owners, and a fourth of them own more than twenty millions of acres of land. There are fifty thousand negroes in the South in business or professional pursuits, such as banking, law, medicine, and other lines than farming. They own more than a hundred banks." The World War has caused a still further advancement, but there is no reason for believing that any anti-white sentiment has come for it. While the negroes of the United States are naturally elated at the splendid manner in which the men of their color conducted themselves in Europe while fighting in armies of this country, their rise was mainly in peaceful pursuits. Their material prosperity has increased many fold. Many of their race have risen to honorable positions, not only in the learned professions, but in industry and the mechanic arts as well.

The advancement of the negroes has been more than appreciated by their white brethern. An incident which occurred recenty in the city of New York illustrates this sentiment. In that city a play has been running for perhaps two months called, "The Emperor Jones", the leading character in which is taken by a negro named Charles S. Gilpin. His acting of the part has attracted national attention. The Drama League decided to give a dinner at which the ten most distinguished contributors to the dramatic art in the last year were to be the honor guests. In a vote of the League's membership Gilpin was included as one of the ten persons to be thus honored. The directors of the League fearful that unpleasantness might arise if a negro were invited, decided not to ask Gilpin. At once the leaders of the profession rose up in arms and protested, declaring that they would not attend the dinner if Gilpin were not invited. The leading newspapers of New York entered vigorously into the controversy on the side of Gilpin. The *Tribune* referred to it editorially:

"There seems no possible excuse for the Drama League's treatment of Mr. Charles S. Gilpin, the distinguished negro actor, as an impossible guest at a dinner to the notable figures of the season's plays.__To draw the color line in respect to such an event is to insult the artistic integrity of every participant._____The prompt protest of these actors and actresses was a fine gesture, fitly expressing the faith of a true-hearted and generous people. The result should be to transform the Drama League's occasion into a dinner in honor of Mr. Gilpin. The whole community will be glad for any amends that can be made to this admirable artist for a stupid action utterly unrepresentative of the stage or its public".

The matter ended by Gilpin being invited to the dinner. He accepted the invitation and at the dinner, according to the *New York Times*, the feature of the evening was the ovation which he received, being cheered when he rose to speak, by nearly a thousand members of the Drama League who were in attendance, and being forced to respond to their plaudits a second time after he had finished his address. The *New York Evening Post* declared that Gilpin was "the most honored of the ten guests of honor".

Another proof that works of genius are recognized and approved by the white population even though the color of their author be black, is the movement recently inaugurated in Washington County in this state. Here certain well known and philanthropic gentlemen have organized an industrial school for the sons of foreign immigrants which is to be an exact duplication of the plan of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute fathered by that eminent negro educator, Booker T. Washington. Backed by the endorsement of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, these men are about to begin a campaign in this city for securing a million dollars for the purposes of the school.

There is a cynical saying that, "God helps those who help themselves." Even if this observation were true it could hardly apply to a race which less than sixty years ago was held in bondage. Nevertheless the negroes are helping themselves, and the best thought of the country, is lending a sympathetic encouragement.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin", the epic of life among the negroes in slavery days, by calling attention to the barbarity of the institution did much to bring about its abolition. Probably another "Uncle Tom's Cabin" should be written giving an unbiased account of the life and characteristics of the negroes of the present day and describing any injustice which may be done them by the white race, in order that an already awakened public opinion may force a remedy. A clever romance of absorbing interest, called "The Shadow," by Mary White Ovington, has recently appeared which in a measure serves this purpose. It is the story of a white girl in the far South, who as a babe only a few days old, because of the blot on her birth, was cast off by her well-to-do and aristocratic grandparents, the act of killing their daughter, the child's mother, and left in the home of a poor negro Methodist preacher. The negroe's family took the babe to their hearts, treated her as one of their own, and carried her with them in their wanderings wherever their church organization ordered them to go. And the child grew up believing herself to be a negress, loving and cherishing and being loved and cherished by her black foster father and mother, and by the daughter and son of the couple, and sharing their joys and sorrow.

The author paints a vivid picture of the life of the modern negroes; their weaknesses and their strength are sketched; and the new sentiment of the whites toward them, as well as the old spirit of superiority and domination still entertained by many, are set forth in strong colors. All the best traits of the human character, kindness, disinterestedness, self-sacrifice are portrayed as appearing in the humble cabin of the negro preacher. The preacher's daughter, the eldest child of the family, is presented as a young woman of energy and resourcefulness educated in a negro college conducted by white women. On the death of her father she took up his work and organized a school for negroes. Out of her scanty means she sent her young white sister to a negro college which, like the institution of which she was a graduate, had white women teachers; and the girl grew up a refined and gentle-natured young woman.

The girl's grandfather died, and in his last moments, struck with remorse, acknowledged her, and made a will in which he left her a sum of money. It was then that the young woman learned of her origin, and that she belonged to the white race. Now the girl's foster relatives showed their Christian spirit; they rejoiced more than the girl herself, that she was the recognized scion of a prominent white family, and advised her to put aside all thoughts of her life in the negro cabin and begin a new existence as a white person.

And she left her Southern home for the teeming North, with its wealth and its education, its pictured equality of justice and its beckoning opportunity. She stopped in New York, there to work out a career for herself among white people. But she never forgot those to whom she owed so much. Ever and anon her thoughts reverted to the village where she had lived since leaving school, to the beloved black people who remained there, to the winding river, the white sand, the live oaks, the pines, the cypresses, the flowers. She defended the negro race whenever the conversation turned on their alleged short-comings; and once when a crude young Southerner from Georgia, who was desperately in love with her, was particularly abusive of the people among whom she was reared, she turned fiercely on him, denying his statement and declared that he himself was "nothing but a cheap Georgia cracker." Her young black brother came to New York and she found him there at work, and she loved him as of old. One day he sought her out to inform her that his mother was dying. He saw her walking with the Georgian, and in his haste to tell her the sorrowful news, he touched her on the arm. The punishment for his temerity was to be struck down like a dog by the Southerner. Others joined in the attack on the negro boy. Beaten and kicked until he lay unconscious his foster sister only saved his life by declaring that she also was colored and that he was her brother.

She hurried South with her brother, and saw his mother die. Again she entered the white world, this time to be married to a young Southerner, her lover before she went North. Once more her self-sacrificing sister and brother effaced themselves and left their home and the village where thy lived, lest their presence in the neighborhood of their white sister might endanger her new position in the white world.

The war has caused a great shifting of the negro population. The demand for workmen in the industrial centers, and the high wages paid there was the incentive that caused the wholesale migration to more desirable places of residence. The South was the main sufferer and the North the gainer. In only a few other communities of the United States has the tide of color risen higher than in Pittsburgh. Here according to the census of 1920 there is a negro populalation of 37,688, being an increase of 47·1 per cent since 1910. The white population is 550,301, the increase being only 8.3 per cent. This decade has also brought about an advance in the social and economic life of the negroes in Pittsburgh. Activities formerly closed to them have been thrown open; new ambitions have been aroused. They have been drawn into a new mental atmosphere, new channels of thought have developed, an ever increasing number are reading the daily newspapers, more books are being taken by them from the public libraries, more of their children are attending the high schools, the University of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie School of Technology. New leaders have arisen who are pointing the way to the possibilities of the negro race.

Newspapers have been established for them by men of their own race, and there are now two weekly newspapers published in Pittsburgh devoted to their interests, *The Pittsburgh Courier* which was founded in 1910, and *The Pittsburgh American,* the publication of which was begun in 1919. Both papers are edited by men who are either college graduates or attended schools of the higher order. The editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier* is Robert L. Vann who, while a Southerner by birth, is the product of Pittsburgh, having graduated from the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh, as well as from the law department of the last named institution; and he is also a member of the Allegheny County bar, and one of the assistant city solicitors of Pittsburgh. The editorial conduct of *The Pittsburgh American* is in the hands of Robert F. Douglas and William P. Young. The first named was formerly a school teacher, and is a graduate of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute at Petersburg, Virginia, while the latter graduated from Lincoln University at Chester, Pennsylvania, and for some years has been Welfare worker for one of the large steel mills located in this district. And so far as can be observed neither of the papers are following in the train of Garvey, *The Pittsburgh Courier* on the contrary publishing only a few weeks ago, an article criticising certain phases of Garvey's movement.

An air of hopefulness pervades the columns of the two newspapers, and the condition and prospects of the negroes are set forth in glowing colors. The writers are staunch champions of the rights of the people of their race. They realize that an unusual amount of crime is prevalent at this time, but claim, at least by insinuation, that the negroes are not more guilty, in proportion to their numbers, than the whites, and they resent the fact that whenever a negro is guilty of wrong-doing an account of his delinquency is blazoned forth in the daily newspapers in the boldest type and in the most conspicuous place in the paper. A few weeks ago two white women living in the borough of Wilkinsburg claimed to identify a certain negro as having attempted to assault them, and one of them seizing a pistol made an effort to shoot the negro while at the hearing before the Justice of the Peace. The man was spirited away by the officers in charge, as it was feared that his life was in danger, from the mob which had collected. He remained in jail until the day of the trial, when the women admitted that they had been mistaken, and that he was not the man who had wronged them. Here was an occasion for *The Pittsburgh Courier* to vent its wrath. In glaring headlines it set forth an account of the women's retraction and told of the injustice done the accused man.

The Pittsburgh American published an account of a brutal attack by two white men on a fourteen year old negro girl, the white miscreants being arrested, but receiving only comparatively light sentences, the intimation being that if a negro had been accused of committing such a crime against a white woman whether guilty or innocent, he would have at once been lynched. In almost every issue of the paper there are accounts of the lynching of negroes, and in one number there is a poem on the subject. Each verse contains a recital of some act of kindness done by negroes for whites, or of a wrong perpetrated by whites against negroes, the two following verses being characteristic of all:

"When the North came sweeping southward
Our freedom to proclaim,
We stayed home to shield your loved ones;
And you lynch us just the same.

"For the wrongs done in the Congo
Fair Belgium paid in shame;
You saw her sacked and ruined,
But you lynch us just the same."

The tone of injury and complaint disappears when the paper quotes from the sermon delivered by the Right Rev. Troy Beatty, coadjutor bishop of Tennessee, before a recent diocesan convention of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee, in which he said:

"There is no such thing as a color line in Christianity and the colored priest in our church stands before God on the same footing as the white priest. And we must show our Christianity to the Negro."

Reading matter of a somewhat different character is supplied to the negroes of Pittsburgh by *The Competitor*, a monthly magazine, now in its second year. The magazine, like *The Pittsburgh Courier*, is edited by Robert L. Vann. It is said to circulate in nearly every state of the Union. In its pages are detailed the ideals and aspirations of the negroes. The aims of the magazine are proclaimed in the salutatory.

"*The Competitor*" says the editor, "comes before the reading world in answer to a pressing need for a journal national in scope, constructive in policy and replete with matter calculated to inspire the race to its best efforts in everything American.-----The negro----has caught the vision, and that vision must not be eclipsed through any failure of race leaders to lead in the right direction.------ Many are forsaking the older things for something new.---- They are taking journals, magazines, papers and tracts of all kind, and they are reading them.------- He is thinking less of his color and more of his country and its opportunities. He is analyzing things for his own information. He is getting away from superstitions and dreams, he is approaching facts with an anxiety that spells an awakening."

This salutatory appears to be an exemplification of the new creed of the people of color in Pittsburgh.

Among the contributors to the magazine are many of the leading men and women of color in the United States, and the best thought of the race is displayed in the writings and illustrations which appear in its pages. Also there are articles by white men and women. To the white reader the magazine opens a veritable mine of information regarding the activities of the negroes of the United States. In its pages we obtain a view of the colleges, the normal schools, the schools of economic and domestic science, the schools for nurses, in all of which the negro youth may obtain an education. There are pictures of the leaders of the colored race in every walk of life. We learn that the negroes have missionaries in Liberia, in Haiti, in South America; that there are negro business men who are conducting establishments of large proportions, that they conduct insurance companies, that there are scientific farmers among them. We discover that in at least one state, Missouri, there is a negro Industrial Commission, appointed by the Governor in pursuance of an act of the legislature, the purpose being to devise means for the educational, moral and industrial betterment of the negroes; that there are leagues for teaching and developing business methods; that the Baptist negroes have a publishing house; that the negro women have a federation of women's clubs; that in the recent presidential campaign negro women took a leading part on the Republican side, in nearly every state in the Union; also that in conjunction with their white friends the negroes are conducting what they call the National Urban League, with branches in many of the larger cities of the United States, the object of which is to promote the social welfare of their race, by securing work for the unemployed, in improving living conditions, health, education, thrift.

In the magazine there are departments devoted to women, to health, to art, to music, to athletics, to base ball, to basket ball, to theatricals. Articles appear on sanitation. Not the least of the merit of the magazine lies in the character of its fiction. The poetry printed in its pages is more than mere jingle. An exquisite poem by the late Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the negro poet, which appears in one of the numbers of the magazines lends it a distinctive literary flavor and is worth reprinting.

A Death Song.

Lay me down beneaf de willers in de grass,
Whah de branch 'll go a-singin' as it pass;
  An' w'en I 's a-lying low,
  I kin hyeah it as it go,
Singin', "Sleep, my honey; tek yo' res 'at las'."

Lay me nigh to whah hit meks a little pool,
An' de watah stan' so quiet lak an' cool,
  Whah de little birds in spring
  Ust to come an' drink an' sing,
An' de chillen waded on dey way to school.

Let me settle w'en my shouldahs draps dey load
Nigh enough to hyeah de noises in de road;
  Fu' I t'ink de las' long res'
  Gwine to soothe my sperrit bes'
Ef I 's layin' 'mong de t'ings I 's allus knowed.

DAT LIL' BRACK SHEEP

BY

ETHEL M. COLSON*

Po' lil' brack sheep what strayed erway,
Done los' in de win' an' de rain;
An' de Shepherd he say: "O hirelin,'
Go fin' my sheep ergain."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep is brack and bad."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
It de onlies' lam' he had.

An' he say: "O hirelin,' hasten!
For de win' and de rain am col,'
An' dat lil' brack sheep be lonesome
Out dere so far fum de fol',
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep is weak and po'."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
He lub it des' all de mo'.

An' he say: "O hirelin', hasten!
For de frost am' bitin' keen,
An' dat lil' brack sheep des shiv'rin',
De storm an' de blas' between."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep is ol' an' gray."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
Wuz fair as de break ob day.

An' he say: "O hirelin' hasten!
For de hail am beatin' hard,
An' dat lil' brack sheep git bruises
'Way off fum de sheepfol' yard."
An' de hirelin' frown: "Oh Shepherd,
Dat sheep is mos' worn out."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
Des couldn't be done widout.

An' he say: "O hirelin', hasten!
For de winter is a'mos' here,
An' dat lil' brack sheep you shear it
'Till it's po' skin a'mos' clear."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep am a wuthless thing."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
It fair ez a princely king.

An' he say: "O hirelin', hasten!
Lo, here dey ninety an' nine,
But dere, way off fum de sheepfol'
Dat lil' brack sheep ob mine."
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
De rest ob de sheep am here."
But de Shepherd he smile laik dat lil' brack sheep
He hol' it de most'es' dear.

An' he wander out dere in de darkness,
W'ere de night wuz col' an' bleak,
An' dat lil' brack sheep, he fin' it,
An' lay it ergains his cheek.
An' de hirelin' frown: "O Shepherd,
Dat sheep came back ter me!"
But de Shepherd, he smile laik de Lord he wuz—
An' dat lil' brack sheep am me!

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*The poem appeared anonymously in *The Independent* many years ago, and there was considerable controversy as to the authorship before the name of the writer became public. Charles A. Dana, a critic of distinction, pronounced it the finest American poem that had ever come under his observation.

OVER THE OLD ROADS TO PITTSBURGH

BY JOHN S. RITENOUR

Up to 1785 the Forbes military road had been used for traffic and travel between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. It had been constructed to follow as straight a line as possible, without regard to steepness of hills or anything of that sort, and therefore in the course of time it became unsatisfactory as a road for non-military uses. It was altogether too hard on horses and vehicles. So in 1785 the Assembly made provision for a new 60-foot road from the western part of Cumberland county to Pittsburgh, a distance of more than 100 miles, and appropriated $2,000 for the work—less than $20 a mile.

The surveying was done at once, and that part of the road east of Bedford was promptly approved in 1787. But it was not until May 26, 1790, that the survey for the part of the road between Bedford and Pittsburgh was sanctioned. It was opened to public use in 1791. This was known as the State road.

It passed over Laurel Ridge and the Alleghany mountains on a line almost parallel with the later turnpike. Pack horses were used chiefly in traversing its route; and it was during its existence that pack-horse transportation reached its highest point. Nothing much more than merely cutting away the trees had been done in its construction.

But still it was a valuable avenue of intercourse, and many thousands passed over it both ways before it fell into final disuse. A regular mail was carried over it by express riders in 1805. It was never piked, and except in dry seasons could not be used by vehicles. Much of the travel at that time back and forth between this city and Philadelphia, on both the State road and the succeeding turnpike, was done on foot. Covering 30 or more miles daily, a pedestrian could walk from one city to the other in 10 days, which was better time than the average pack horse made. Good inns were numerous along the route, and thus there was no lack of opportunities for food and shelter.

CARRIAGE A CURIOSITY.

The first carriage brought west of the mountains was by Col. Daniel Morgan, whom Congress had appointed Indian agent in this section. The second carriage was brought in 1783, mainly over the Forbes road, by Dr. Schoepf, a German physician and naturalist. He wrote an account of his trip, published in Germany in 1788, in which he said his carriage was a very great curiosity among the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania along his ride. It excited the wonder of the dwellers in lonely cabins along the road, as well as the lively curiosity of the people of Pittsburgh, where it was the principal object of interest.

"Many well-dressed gentlemen and highly adorned ladies came to the tavern to see it," he says.

In 1805-6 there was a regular line of primitive stages over the State road from Pittsburgh by way of Greensburg and Somerset to Chambersburg, there connecting with a stage route to Philadelphia. These carried the mail also, and to many Pittsburghers the line was a great convenience. A letter written in 1808 gives a traveler's diary of his ride from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh over this road, the most curious item of which is that, when he reached Greensburg court was in session, and "an elephant was on exhibition in the town," which was crowded.

The journal of Mrs. Mary Dewees, who came over the State road in 1787, on her way to Kentucky, says of her stop in Pittsburgh: "Called on Mrs. Col. Butler and saw a very handsome parlour, elegantly papered and well furnished."

Mrs. Dewees had undertaken water travel from what is now the site of McKeesport to Kentucky by a boat which, she writes, was 70 feet long. Her room was 6 x 12, with a comfortable fireplace, and a bedroom partitioned off by blankets, "which was far preferable to the conditons in the cabins after crossing the mountains. We are clear of fleas, by which we were almost devoured when on shore."

THEN THE TURNPIKE.

Of her departure from Pittsburgh Mrs. Dewees writes: "At 11 o'clock we dropped down the Ohio, and at a distance of a mile had a full view of Capt. O'Harra's summer house, which stands on the bank of the Allegheny river about 100 yards from the bottom of their garden. It is the finest situation I ever saw. They live in the upper end, or rather out of the town. Their house is in the midst of an orchard of 60 acres, the only one at the place, from the front of which they have a full view of the Monongahela and Ohio rivers. At the close of the day we anchored at the lower point of McKees Rocks, under a large rock nearly 60 feet high having the appearance of just falling into the water."

The State road as an avenue of commerce with the east was followed by the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike, authorized by legislative act of February 24, 1806. The terminii were Pittsburgh and Harrisburg, the road already being in existence between Harrisburg and Philadelphia. It passed through Greensburg, Somerset, Bedford, Chambersburg, Carlisle, Harrisburg, York and Lancaster to Philadelphia.

Another law authorized the Northern turnpike from the east to Pittsburgh. It crossed the mountains from the Frankstown branch of the Juniata river to the Conemaugh river, and thence over Westmoreand county to Pittsburgh. It was opened for travel in 1819, and the route it followed was about that which was known earlier as the Frankstown road.

The rivalry between these two roads delayed the building of both, as at that period the construction of one was about as much as the state should have undertaken. A statute providing generally for turnpikes had existed from 1811, authorizing the governor to subscribe $300,000 to the stock of any turnpike company that should itself have raised $150,000. It was the anxiety chiefly to get this state subscription that caused the unfortunate rivalry between the two companies that were building turnpikes to Pittsburgh, thus holding up the progress of the work. A committee finally named to decide which was the better of the two routes went over both and favored the southernmost. Popular subscriptions were received all along the line. The turnpike was finally completed in its entirety in 1817-18, although it had been used here and there in sections for more than a year.

A FAILURE FINANCIALLY.

It was a toll road, of course, and at each toll house was a pike or pole, swung across the road, to stop traffic. When a traveler paid his toll the pike was lifted and he could go on. This gave rise to the name "turnpike." These tolls were designed, of course, to provide dividends for the stockholders, but there never were any dividends. The state's shares passed eventually to the ownership of private individuals, and at last by an act of 1879, the burden of maintaining the road was put upon the townships through which it passed.

This turnpike was well and carefully built, notwithstanding but $450,000 was spent on its 200 miles, or $2,250 a mile. It was 25 feet wide, with arched stone bridges of masonry over creeks and rivulets, and many of these are still in good condition. The bottom of the road consisted of large stones, laid according to the Telford plan, with a top covering of smaller stones, of blue rock and lime, the entire thickness of stone being about a foot and a half.

This thoroughness of construction and the magnitude of travel over the road thoroughly impressed everyone with the idea of permanence, and hence the population fast increased all along the route. Many prosperous towns and villages sprang up. Houses of stone and brick were constructed, many of which are still in use and most comfortable.

The traffic over this turnpike was very heavy. Forty-three miles east of Pittsburgh, on Chestnut ridge, the gatekeeper reported that the traffic of a year, ending May 31, 1818, which was the first year after the completion of the road, amounted to this:

Single horses	7,112
One-horse vehicles	350
Two-horse vehicles	501
Three-horse vehicles	105
Four-horse vehicles	281
Five-horse vehicles	2,412
Six-horse vehicles	2,696
One-horse sleighs	38
Two-horse sleighs and sleds	201
Total in horses	38,599

On some days as many as 90 wagons passed through one of the toll gates not far from Pittsburgh. Droves of horses, cattle, sheep and hogs went over the road to Philadelphia and Baltimore. The west raised more live stock than it needed, and the only place to market it was in the east, where it always commanded cash. A herd of cattle numbered about 150; sheep from 600 to 1,000; horses 20 to 100. When a drover put up his cattle for the night anywhere on the pike he paid 3 cents a head for their pasture. They traveled from 10 to 12 miles daily, sheep about the same, horses more, hogs 8 to 10 miles.

THE CONESTOGA WAGON

A day's journey for a wagoner with a load averaged 20 miles. He drove what was called a Conestoga wagon, whose bed was low in the center and high at each end. Over the bed were bows covered with canvas. The lower part of the bed was often painted blue and the upper part red. The canvas being white, the entire outfit made the national colors. Many teamsters were very proud of the jingling pear-shaped bells on a bow over the necks of their horses. The word "stogie," describing a popular cheap cigar, is said to be derived from "Conestoga," because it was at first home-made from home-grown tobacco, and being cheap and satisfactory became much in vogue among teamsters. From being a "Conestoga cigar" it became a "stogie." Whisky was plentiful everywhere along the pike, and any one who thirsted for it could quaff all he wanted at three cents a quaff.

It took 56 hours to go from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia by coach, and the traveler was expected to snatch such sleep as he could get in the coach while on the way. The fare was $20; sometimes less, when the rivalry between the competing lines got sharp. For short distances the fare was 8 cents a mile. About every 50 miles coaches were changed, the heavier ones being used on the mountain ridges between Ligonier and Chambersburg and the lighter ones on the levels.

The United States mail line, which carried the mail, and the People's Line, later changed to the Good Intent, were the names of the early companies that ran stages over the turnpike. Two coaches left daily and two arrived. The first to depart in the morning left at 5 or 6 o'clock, and by 10 o'clock was at Greensburg, three relays of horses having been employed. Two hours later Ligonier was reached for dinner; distance, 50 miles. The end of the next 50 miles was Bedford, but the time required to reach that place was greater, because two mountain ridges had to be climbed. The schedule of arrivals and departures all along the route was generally faithfully met, and travelers from Pittsburgh could safely rely on reaching Philadelphia in 56 hours. On the eastern end of the pike, where travel was greater, there were more than two stage lines.

RATES OF TOLL

These stages were often driven at the rate of ten miles an hour, but the usual speed was six to eight miles. There were relays every ten or a dozen miles, when new horses were put in, and these replaced in turn with fresh ones at the next station. No stops were made day or night except at relays, postoffices and taverns.

From Pittsburgh to Philadelphia the toll for a narrow-wheeled wagon and six horses was $29.30; for a broad-wheeled wagon and six horses, $19.20. The distinction was due to the difference in size of wheels. A broad-wheeled vehicle did not cut the pike as much as one with narrow tires.

The coaches were accounted comfortable vehicles of travel, being trimmed, painted and ornamented in fine style. Coach trimmers and painters in those days were artists. When a stage came from their hands its exterior was elegantly and tastefully decorated. The interior cushions and backs were upholstered in leather or plush. There were three seats, each of which would hold three passengers. Beside the driver was a seat, which in fine weather was regarded as the most desirable in the conveyance. On top of the stage, around which was a light iron guard about a foot high, others could sit if they did not mind some discomfort. When passengers were urgent a stage would sometimes accommodate 15, albeit it was designed for but 10, in addition to the driver.

The construction of the vehicle made comparatively easy riding. The body swung on leather supports, called thorough-braces, suspended from jacks on the front and rear axles. There were no springs. At the rear was a "boot" for carrying passengers' baggage. The mail bags were usually under the driver's seat.

The horses for this service were selected with care, regard being had for strength, speed and endurance, as well as for form and showiness. The stronger animals were used in the hill country. The breeds, from which they generally sprung, all now extinct, were the Murat, Winflower, North Star and Hickory.

ENJOYABLE TRAVELING THEN.

The environment of these rides—the splendid vehicle, the dashing horses, the varying scenery, the stops for meals at fine country taverns, the anecdotes of drivers and the notes of their horns, the speed contests between rivals, the long lines of teamsters with freight wagons, the shifting panorama of lively traffic all along the road—made a journey on the old turnpike one of the most enjoyable episodes in life. But all this passed into history when the locomotive pushed its way to the forks of the Ohio. There is no more beautiful road in the country than the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike, and it must have been a charm and a delight, indeed, to the many thousands who passed over it on foot and in vehicles.

The carrying out of Henry Clay's idea of a National pike from Cumberland, on the Potomac river, through Somerset, Fayette and Washington counties, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling, and then on through Ohio to Indiana and Illinois, aroused great opposition in Pittsburgh because it was believed, and rightly, that the construction of this road would damage the trade and traffic of Pittsburgh. Results proved this to be the case. It diverted to Wheeling and Baltimore trade from the southwest that would have passed through this city, and thus justified the opposition which the project received from Henry Baldwin, who represented this county in Congress during the early stages of the scheme. The city sent all kinds of remonstrances to Washington against the construction of the national pike. Hostile meetings were held. But the road was built, all the same, and Wheeling thought "finis" had been written to the development of Pittsburgh. An editor of the time printed in his Wheeling paper:

> "Poor old Pittsburgh! Your day is over. The scepter of influence and wealth is to travel to us."

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

In time the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike succumbed to the canal, and the canal in its turn to the railroad. So the successive routes of transportation from Pittsburgh to the east have been in their order as follows: The Forbes road, the State road, the Turnpike, the canal and the railroad. To the latter will no doubt be added, after awhile, a road for automobiles, to transport both freight and passengers either for long hauls or short hauls, and maybe for both. Who can tell now? Auto transportation is in its infancy. Robert Fulton was pronounced crazy when he declared in Pittsburgh in 1811 that some day carriages would be drawn by steam power over the mountains. And long before that

Shakespeare had written, "There are stranger things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamed of in our philosophy." In the light of the achievements of modern invention no one would dare predict now what the future holds for the auto-carriage when the people have made roads good everywhere.

About 1850, when timber was very plentiful, the building of plank roads got to be quite a fad in this region. Three sleepers of plank 12 to 14 feet long were laid lengthwise. Lumber was so abundant and cheap, and labor likewise, that roads, which were toll roads, of course, were thought to be good investments for capital not otherwise engaged. For awhile this made a fine road, but at last sun and water warped the timbers, and in the end a plank road got to be looked upon as a thing of scorn—nothing meaner for travel. Planks were pulled out and left along the road sides.

The first plank road in this locality was built in 1849, seven miles long, from the head of Federal street, Allegheny, to within a mile of Perrysville. Another was built at the same time between Allegheny and Butler. One in 1851 to Braddock. Others were the Temperanceville and Noblestown road, the Allegheny and Manchester road, the New Brighton road, one through East Liberty north to Apollo, and the longest of all from Pittsburgh up the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers to West Newton, and from there across Westmoreland and Somerset counties to join the National pike at Cumberland.

PETITION ADDRESSED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA ASKING FOR THE CREATION OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

To the Honourable The Representatives Of The Freemen Of The Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania In General Assembly Met. The petition of sundry inhabitants of the Counties of Westmoreland and Washington

Humbly sheweth

that your Petitioners have seen the Bill published for consideration entituled, "An Act for erecting part of Westmoreland and Washington Counties into a seperate county." We are pleased to find the honourable house have given time to those Inhabitants who wish to be included in the new county, to make their sentiments and situation known to the house upon this subject. Your petitioners conceive by the limits specified in the before mentioned bill your honours were not so well acquainted with the situation of the Country adjacent to Pittsburgh as to fix the bounds which ought to designate the new county with that precision the importance of the subject requires, and as we are unanimously of an opinion your honours wish to lay out the county so (torn) make the same convenient to its Inhabitants and without injuring either Washington or Westmoreland Counties. Your petitioners with due submission beg leave to give your honours information of what we humbly conceive to be the proper bounds of the new County VIZ BEGINNING at the mouth of Racoon Creek where it empties into the Ohio, thence up the middle of the said creek to White's Mill, thence along a new cut road to Armstrong's Mill on Miller's Run, thence in a direct line to the mouth Mingoe Creek where it empties into the Monongahela River, thence up the middle of said River to the line of Fayette County, thence along said line to the mouth of Jacob's creek on Youghioganey river, thence in a direct line to Cavet's Mill on Brush creek, from thence a direct line to where Forbes' old road crosses Turtle creek and from thence a direct line to the mouth of the Kiskamenitis where it empties into the Allegany river, thence up to the middle of said River to the line of Northumberland county at the mouth of the Conowago river, thence up the middle of said River to the Northern boundary of this state.

If the said river shall extend so far and if not then from the said River to a line due north to the said Northern boundary, thence along the said Northern boundary westward to the Western boundary of this state thence down the said boundary southerly to the Ohio river aforesaid thence up the middle of the said River to the place of beginning. The above described bounds will give general satisfaction to every Inhabitant in the two Counties, excepting a few interested persons and those who make it their business to object to every measure for the public good, besides it will be much nigher and more convenient for every person living within the before mentioned bounds to go to Pittsburgh to Courts or market than to Washington or Greensborough, having the advantage of the different waters leading to Pittsburgh to transport ourselves and produce. At the same time we are obliged to attend Courts of justice either as suitors, jurors, or witnesses, we can carry our produce with us, with which we can pay our court charges and Tavernkeepers Bills, and also procure such necessaries as we want for the use of our families. This a matter of great importance to us who at present are labouring under many difficulties for the want of Cash to patent our Lands and pay our Taxes. Your petitioners humbly conceive that the laying off a county with respectable bounds will greatly advantage the inhabitants of the three counties, the greater number of Inhabitants in a county makes the county town the Richer. This induces persons of wealth to Become citizens, and consequently a greater consumption of produce. *Pittsburgh* the Capital of the western country is intended by nature for a place of consequence from its situation at the confluence of two large Rivers that glide through an extensive and fertile country. This will induce a great number of persons (mutilated) it, it will also increase the value of all the lands within the reach of that market, and also bring forward at an earlier period the sale of the state lands, and the settlement of that part of the country northward of Pittsburgh. Your petitioners humbly conceive that it is the intention of your honours to accomodate the Inhabitants of the new county with such bounds as will make it more convenient for them to attend the courts of justice at Pittsburgh than at any other place, and we are happy to inform your honours that everyone residing within the before mentioned bounds will find it more convenient to go to Pittsburgh than

to any other place. Your petitioners beg leave to inform your honours that we do not mean to dictate to the honorable House, when we mention the bounds, but only as matter of information, and this we have thought incumbent on us as the persons who are immediately concerned in the consequences that are to ensue from the determination of the house. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honours would be pleased to enact a law for erecting a part of Westmoreland and a part of Washington counties into a seperate county upon the principles of liberality and justice and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray etc.
Westmoreland, February 15th, 1787.

John Ormsby
Samuel Barr
Isaac Craig
Robert Galbraith
Geo. Adams
Rich.d Butler
Geo: Thompson
Wm. Tilton
Hugh Ross
John Scull
Jno. Gibson
David Duncan
John Boyd
Wm. Butler
Jno. Wilkins
Jn: Finley
Stepn Bayard
Geo. Wallace
Wm. Greenough
Nathl. Bedford
A. Fowler
John Brown
Geo. Cochran
Wm. Weisthoff
Adam Sharp
Nehemiah Sharp
John Clark
William Sutton
Bart. Harvey
Samuel Kerr
Adam Waltr
Stephen Cisna
James Scott
Josiah Wynn
Wm. Roseberry
Stephen Cranford
Tho. Jackson
Fauntley Muse
Joseph Philips
Jno. Richardson
Jno. Stokes
Tho. Carter
John Canter
Wm. Cassaday
John Persons
Ezek. Shelkint
Wm. Cecil
Wm. Hawking
George Fraser
Dinnis Feris
Elias Williams
Hugh Hofferman
David Coventry
Wm. McDonald
Johan Rukert
Henry Taylor
Matthew Phoenix
Frederick Retkain
John Ward
Jos. Ashton
Jno. Ward
James Morrison
And. Jeffries
James Grant
Joseph Lowry
Wm. MacMillan
Tho. Hill
Thomas McGinney
Wm. Christofor
P. Murphy
Robert Bratherton
Hugh C. Seeley
Wm. Collins
John Collins
Wm. Lettemy
Wm. Evarts
Joseph Newton
John Bailery
Robart Brotherton
Charles Richards
J. S. Monceau de Brugealt
Philip Eberhart
John Goeer
Benjamin Richards

Gorg Altman
Peter his mark Allon
John Dehuff
John Walton
John Craig
John McClure
Jas. Munrou
John his mark Gordon
Edward Murphy
John Brackney
James Martin
Jas. Beaty
Arthur Withney
Daniel Showhan
John Kennedy
William Kennedy
William Reno
John Kerr
Jas. McDermat
Jas. Richardson
Thomas Williams
Alexr. Long
Daniel Herbert
Martin McKean
Henry Hurst
James (undecipharable)
James Stewart
Robt. Johnson
Henry Meddleswart
Obediah Holmes
Robert Shawhan
Jno. Saviers
Andw. Mitchell
Isaac McMichael
John McMichael
Adam Keller
John Phillips
John Nisbett
Bartholomew Dinnis
Joseph McDowell
Thomas Lownsdale
Jacob Wyant Junr.
Thos. B. Patterson
Charles Smith
Alexander Swan
William Long
Jno. Wallace
Daniel Keisther
Nathaniel Patterson
Robert Thompson
Jas. Hamilton
John McKee
Michael Keisther
John Boggs
Thos. Lapoley
James McKinney
John Wilson
Oliver Elliot
James Muller

Joshua Long
James Buody
Eadward Coile
William Studart
James Erwin
David Kennedy
Henery Shever
Robt. Bryarly
James Rutherford
John Johnston
John Scott
Dunning McNair
Peter Parchment
William Heppner
Saml. Sinclair
James Reed
John Smith
Jacob Hook
James Patten
John Denney
William Orbito
James Henry
Joseph Luistarel
Robert Ramage
James Reed
William Sutton
Thomas Ramage
Thomas Wilson
James Burns
Isaac Bennet
John Tradle
James Casey
James Flacanaghan
Jacob Dixon
Bartholomy Garry
Samuel Sample
Hanes Daussman
Wm. Reed
Abraham Stallions
Geo. Kelly
John Stille
Edward Pall
Thos. Craig
James Wallace
John Bever
*(   ) Crawford
John Gallaher
James Gray
*(   ) McMillan
P. Tannehill
John Hardrin
Jos. Tannehill
Robert Patteson
John Patterson
Cha. Wilkins
John Warner
David Boies
John Rammage
George Sipes

*Original torn.

James (his mark) Reed
William Richey
Petter Cuthwright
Robert McFarland
James Williamson
Arthur Gardner
Jame. Littell
John McElland
John Collons
Alex. Mc.Cadams
Nathaniel Points
Nick Welsh
Geo. Mitchell
Jno. Meek
Timothy Keen
Ephraim Herriott
George Herriott
Allen Boys
Jas. (his mark) Miller
Jost Weibel
Me. Lacasiagne
John Dunning
John Gill
Thomas Gorham, Jr.
Gorg Bromaugh
Nathaniel Cotton
Jas. Thompson
Edw. Thompson
Jno. McGruger
Francis McElwain
William Thompson
Peter Rockafellar
James Hillman
Christian Maurer
Jacob Meyers
Alexander Dunlap
Henry Edwarts
Johannes Bernhart
John Martin
John Clemmens
Elaxander McCaullester
Adam Laten
Wm. McMillen
Johan Georg Lichtenberger
Christoph McMahon?
Eng. Wilkeson
Andreas Trukenbrott
Wm. Boniface
Lang McClara
Adam Matter
John Barr
William Boon
James Farrel
James Fleming
William Funk
Samuel Ferguson
Wc. McCoy
Jas. Dinsmoore
Hugh Knox

Daniel Craig
John Armstrong
Adam Funk
George Fay
Hugh Rippey
Johann Grun
William Jones
Leaven Phillips
Wilhelm Graff
Matthew Deery
Mark Deery
John Dobin
Hugh Gardner
John Cowan
James Gill
Nobel Wilkin
Roger Sweeney
Richard Spence
Jno. Gibson
Jas. Gibson
John Patterson
Joseph Patterson
David Updegraff
Daved Saven
James Williamson
Joh Giben
Samuel Colhoun
Andrew Watson
William Watson
William Rodman
Tho. Martin
James Seal
Denis O Bryan
Robert Burns
Jams Banden
Josef Reed
Saml. Todd
Ebenezer Gallohar
Amos Wilson
Wm. Stall
Michl. Brown
Richard Sparrow
John Ball
William Tiddball
John Clifford
Benj. Kuykendale
Nicholas Bausman
Alex Steel
John Metzger
John Meckcleman
James Bevard
George Adams
Joseph Mcollogh
Robt. Snotgrass
Saml. Blackmore
Charles Allison
Thomas Redmon
Thos. Neilly
William Fife

John Ross
George Justus
Jno. Henry
William Boggs
Samuel Barbur
David Fulton
John Lewis Dupeintheavre
William Sanderson
Jacob Ferree
John McLaughlin
Jacob Miller
William Wightman
Simon Fletcher
John McDowel
David Calhoon
Henry Shavin
John Powel
James Elliott
John Small
Augustin Leibhart
James Coelter
John Forgey
Saml. SinClair Junr.
Samul Glass
Andrew Patterson
Mabray Evans
Andw. McClure
William McKee
Wm. McGill
John Elliot
Matthew Wigfield
Thomas Frauni
Henry Reichard
Thomas Hamilton
Hugh Davidson
William Hamilton
Thomas Murdoch
Hams Murdock
Ebenezer Magoffin
John Kerlisle
Frances Willson
Benjamin Bennit Juner
Benjamin Bennit
Samuel Tailor
Thos. Sands
Hugh McDannall
Stephen Gruner
John Williams
Jno. Carnaghan
John Crowder
Abraham Bennett
Geo. McCully
Nat. Irish
Tho. Marten
Wm. Ryan
James Ryan
Saml. Crage
Steward Wilkins
Jams. Willis
Wm. Wilkins
Thomas Ross
James Ross
John Armstrong
Robt. McMahon
Henry Spicer
Joseph Hunter
Charles Duke
James Ilarosh
Micl. MsAlhaney
Michael Lackgaejagne
Thos. Morten
Richard Sparrow
Charles Durkin
Marmoduke Lochtin
John Smith
*( ) Turck
*( ) McDonald
*( ) eny
*( ) Trotten
*( ) amelon
*( ) Selly
*( ) MacDonald
*( ) Betty
*( ) English
*( )
*( ) Migllan
*( ) McCrary
*( ) Crary
*( ) Brothers
Charles Darner
Richard Flocks
Mathias Broker
William McCoy
Jacob Wise
William Hall
John Morrison
John McNall
Caspear Bowman
Jno. Williams
Jno. Grubbs
Ehli Power
William Lowrey
John Leeth
James Reed
Welden Reagen
Saml. McKay
Abdiel McLure
William Black
Charles Duke
Petter McAcheney
Daniel McDonald
Isaac Young
John Waltor
James Chambers, H. Constable
Isaac Whitaker
Jas. Whitaker
Aaron Whiteker
Jno. Clevedance

*Original torn.

Charls Morgan
Thomas Fisher
Thomas McKuntzer
Geo. Bowers
Thomas Daugherty
James Daugherty
Robert Jackson
John Marie
Tho. Garvin
Jno. Irwin
Wm. Irwin
Jacob Stone
Philip Everhart
Dinnis Kenedy
Alexr. Fife
Robt. Phillip
Isaac Morton
William Hibbs
James Smith
Mich McChristey
Wm. Clererichs
Thos. Wilkins
Saml. Duncan
Ezekiel Boggs
Morris Melone
John Tinny
Allex Downie
Jos. Gardner
William Gill
Patrick Riley
John McClure
Abraham Pyott
Wm. Wilson
Jacob Springer
Geo. Wallace Junr.
Edward Smith
Joseph Couch
Thos. Parker
Andw. Boggs
Wm. Driver
Wm. Chadwick
Thomas Greenough
Devereux Smith
Owen Newman
Wm. Amberson
Saml. Sample
Jaos Colhoon
Joseph Gelln
Alexander Nagely
Thomas Chambers
Alexd. McNickell
James Lucky
David White
David Watson
Willm. Story
Benjamin Chambers
Wm. Christy, Jr.
Jno. Robinson
H. Readmarg
Henry Ewalt
Henry Hoglin
Jacob (his mark) Dixon
James Mellen
Abner McMahan
David Dunfield
Martin Cox
James Semple
Geo. Burns
David Leviston
Thomas Watson
James Hearns
John Hays
Robt. Wilson
Andrew MCausland
John Kinkaid
Thos. Scott
Alexander Watson
Jacob Haymaker
James Kelly
Benjamin Vanderslice
John Millikin
James Kennedy
William Baughan
James McMalluem
David Kennedy
Henry Wolf
John Stewart
Joseph Kerr
James Kennedy
Thomas Hogg
Joseph McDermutt
Isaac Miller
William Davidson
John Stees
John Neel
Abednego Davidson
John Patch
John Carr
William Black
John Kinkead
Robert McKee
James McPherson
Robert Henderson
Henry Wood
Sanders Snoodgrass
James Snoodgrass
William McLaughlin
Waidlock Neges
Thomas Finney
Saml. Cunningham
John Shields
Thos. Dunlap
John Laudbough
William Powell
Joshua Davidson
William Reed
James Turk
Alexr. Barr (his mark)
Wm. Daugherty
Sal. Young

John Miller
James Patton
Robert Berken
Ebenezer Patton
David Hill Senr.
Mikle Strain
Samuel Hill
David Hill
James Rice
Clemens Rice
Daniel Roberts
William Murphy
Jno. Murphy
Patrick McDaneld
Abraham Dean
Samuel Bar
Hugh Quigley
George Bowers
Jno. Rice
William Deen
Jno. Bare
Samuel Barr
Jno. Breckeney
Mathias Breckeney
Robt. Barr
Dal. Lenerd
Robt. Lenerd
David Crutchson
Drenkin Rubsin
Jams. Norish
Isiah Ryan
Samuel McNear
Benjamin Kyzar
Arthur Brown
James Bows
Jacob (his mark) Burkheart
William Black
Thomas Black
Thomas Davidson
Henry Fisher
Robert Black
James Cameron
John McFall
§ Lemon
John (his mark) McDonald
John Cameron
Alexander McDonald
Hennery Small
Henry McElener
James Thompson
Thomas Christy
Hennery Kincaid
William McFarrick
Timothy Bunderskull
John Titus
David Betty
John Walter
James Chambers

William Willson
Charles Willson
Henry McMin
John Edward
Matthew Mcormal
John Jacks
James Wilson
John Duffy
William Broday
Murdeah McLoud
Daniel Grahams
James Willson
Wm. Wilkinson
Nichs. Neil
Matthew Willson
James Colhon
John Saynts
James Lawless
Wm. Irwin
Dinnis Kennedy
John Innes
Saml. Morison
John Reed
Samuel Shreve
Isreal Moorcroft
John Glass
Michel (his mark) McChristhe
Hugh Sterling
Adam Funk
Patrick McFarlen
John Miller
Benjamin Wilson
Robert Shanehan
Isaac Williams
William Redman
George Sill
Jos. Fisher
Isaac Drewmore
Samuel Calhoun
John Smallshott
Frederick Clevedence
William Dick
Willm. Earl
John Boggs
James Robertson
John Plash
Isack McBrice
John Wilson
Thos. Hilldrooth
Robt. Calhoon
Joseph Thornell
Oliver Ormsby
Robt. Thompson
Charles Morgan
Robt. Heaton
Jessie Kirkpatrick
James Pride
Charles Matthews

§In the original the name Lemon appears under the name McFall as is indicated.

Borg. Lippincott
Jonathan Pew
John Shinn
John DeHuff
George Merton
John St. Clair
Daniel McHenry
John Orr
Frederick Byerly
David Morris
Willm. Ludly
Peter Gainer
Jno. Johnston
Mickl. Arclebee
John Housheton
Thos. Wylie
Robt. Hawthorn
Robert Templeton
Robert Cerney
John Connor
James Scott
Thomas Scott
David Scott
Rodrick Fraser
Richard Sparrow
Wm. Clark
Wm. Braden
Joseph Wearholds
Andrew Simons
Edward Watson
James Horner
William Carr
James Hawthorn
Reynard Smith
Andrew Robertson
Jas. Robinson
William Freeman
Simon Small
Philip Fronts
John McCollogh
Rob. (his mark) McGinnes
Benjamin Powell
James Powell
John McKeen
Amos Gristin
James McKeen
Johannes Zartner
Jas. Myar
Robt. Henderson
Arthur Boorns
James Boorns
Patrick Moore
John Thompson
Robert Kinnidy
Danl Carmichael
John Carmichael
Maekel Barckman
Alexander Carson
William Carson
Isaac Williams
John Frew
Thos. Williams
John Williams
Wm. Williams
Alexander Frew
John Boyd
Zac. Burden
John Carle
Isaac Lane
George Gaunce
Joseph Robinson
James Calwell
Patrick Armer
Hackai Sliden
William Wilson
William Daugherty
Jobe Hardy
John Hill
Mat. Hurley
John Barr
John McCormick
Joseph Currey
Thos. Horsfiel
Conrad Neubeidel?
William Boggs
Christian Harseoh
George Evans
Daniel Shewhen
Jno. Shaver
James Finney
William Finney
Hugh McCoy
Francis Kirkpatrick
James Thompson
William Barr
James Richardson
Robert Sanders
John Dull
Joshua Meeks
John Meeks
John Phrdy
William Boyd
Alexander Spiars
Robert Lyons
John Evans
John Morgan
John Ormsby Junr.
Jacob Haymaker Junr.
Charles Brooks
John Willson
Isaac Walker
Robert Holms
Isaac Israel
Robard Hall
Steeven Hol
James Hol
William Holl
John McBride
James Biars
Geeden Miler Junr.

Geeden Miler
Robt. Miler
Robt. Hain
Robt. Hutchuson
William Rast
John McEbeen
Edward McClaughlon
Seth Bryan
Ben Clenenger
William Roberts
Anthony Evens
Samuel Hulen
Samuel Garety
Danel Swany
Jas. Wilkinson
Wm. Asqua
Sam. Martain
James Martain
James Cissna
Eliru Powell
Jas. Anderson
Thomas McKee
James Huey
James Fisher
James Thomson
Samuel McClure
Samuel Ev(ans)?
James Guffy
John McLean
Danl Britt
Edw. Ward
Thos. Gibson
Jno. Lockart
Wm. Duurragh
Wm. Christey
Archd. Reid
James Carr
Charles Bell
Charles Forgu
Jas. McLelland
Pattrick McCartney
Thos. Sampson
Isac McConel
Willm. White
Hugh Nichehole
William Powell
James Wilson

THE PILGRIMS IN AMERICA

BY

DR. SAMUEL B. McCORMICK*

The basic facts upon which rest all the books which have been written concerning the Pilgrims in England, in Holland, and in America, are found in Bradford's "History of the Plymouth Plantation." Every American who cares for his country's history and for his country's future should have some knowledge of these facts. While it is not possible for me to dwell at length upon them this evening, and not desirable if it were possible, yet it is proper to review them briefly in order to understand the historical significance of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth three centuries ago.

I. The Pilgrims in England and in Holland.

The Reformation in Europe in the Sixteenth Century was an epoch in human history. The posting by Luther of the ninety-five theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg in 1517 furnishes a convenient starting point of this great movement, in process many years before and carried on to completion in many years following. The names of Luther and Melancthon, of Erasmus and Zwingli, of Calvin and Knox, together with many others only slightly less familiar, are synonomous with the Reformation. No matter what may be the opinion of any individual regarding the movement, or regarding the character and personalty of any one of the reformers, the movement itself was a tremendous upheaval in both government, society and church, out of which have come conditions governmental, ecclesiastical, educational and social which prevail today. The leaders in this movement were men of marked individuality, both in intellect and in conviction, and the people who followed these leaders out of the Roman Church to form what has ever since been called the Protestant Church, were men of like intellectual and moral conviction. It was inevitable that there should come not only a Protestant Church, but that the very fidelity to conscience which gave these men their power should also result in a splitting up of the Protestant Church into many opposing and warring denominations. The very thing which made the Reformation possible was the thing also which made denominations inevitable. However much we might wish today that these denominations should now come together to form a united Protestant Church, we recognize the fact that as long as these convictions, which are often-times convictions regarding non-essentials, actually continue, it will be difficult to unite sects and groups into one compact and highly organized Protestant Church.

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*Address delivered before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on December 7, 1920.

In England the situation which was general throughout Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, was even more pronounced. The new liturgy adopted in England almost necessarily contained much of what had been familiar in the Roman Church. While this was both natural and harmless, it was certain that the intensity with which men accepted the new faith should make them critical of anything which savored of what they called Popery, and therefore, for them, these things became anathema. As always happens, some of the men who objected to these remnants of Catholicism were content to utter their protest within the body of the established church. Others of them felt that they could not continue conscientiously within the church, and separated themselves, therefore, from it. The one party were known as Puritans, and the second party we know as Separatists—and later as Pilgrims.

As we may fix the beginning of the Reformation in 1517, although it actually began long before, so we may fix the beginning of this Puritan movement in the Act of Uniformity, passed by the English Parliament in 1559, one year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Professor Davis S. Schaff, of our Western Theological Seminary, in an interesting article on "The Pilgrims—Their Spiritual Ancestry and Descendants," published in the Presbyterian Banner of November 18, explains quite clearly the significance of this Act of Uniformity, and its effect upon the development of the church in England.

Queen Elizabeth would tolerate no opposition, even though many of the bishops, including her favorites, were against her. Her personal popularity, her intellectual vigor, and the success of her reign enabled her to carry out her will almost completely. Ministers who refused on the Sabbath to use the exact service prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer were, on the second offense, suspended from the ministry, and on the third, imprisoned for life. Even to speak slightingly of the Book, if persisted in, involved the forfeiture of their goods. It was inevitable, because of the character and highly developed conscience of many of the Protestants, that they should protest vigorously against such high-handed procedure, and a large group of people so protesting became known as the Puritans.

Things moved along until the accession of James VI of Scotland, (James I of England), who not only approved of everything which had been done in the preceding reign, but who heaped ridicule as well as reproaches upon the men in the church who insisted upon thinking for themselves, and upon obeying the dictates of their conscience.

It is unnecessary in this place to follow the streams of dissent. One, Presbyterian, which finally got control in England at the Westminister Assembly, 1643-1648, and the other called Independency in England and known in this country as Congregationalism, both trod a rough and rugged road in England, with the rise of even other denominations, chiefly the Methodists, Baptists, etc., have still to fight for proper recognition in the face of the Established Church.

The little group of Independents, known to us as Pilgrims, had a still more difficult road to travel. Separating themselves from the church as they did, they were subject to every form of espionage, compelled to worship in secret and to endure every form of persecution. The center of these was in that part of England in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, chiefly in the towns of Gainesboro, Austerfield, Bawtry, Scrooby and Babworth. Governor Bradford was born at Austerfield, only a mile from Bawtry, which is on the Great Northern Railway, 150 miles from London. The Pilgrim church may be said to have been born at Scrooby, a mile south of Austerfield. Its founder was Elder William Brewster. The names of Brewster and Bradford figure largely, not only in the beginning in the region of Scrooby, but also in Holland and in America.

William Bradford, yeoman, withdrew from the Established Church at Austerfield because he could not conscientiously remain. He was baptised by Rev. Henry Fletcher about 1590. He was only 17 when the church decided to move to Holland. By the law of 1598 such migration was forbidden. Several attempts were made to leave secretly, but were frustrated. In 1608 the attempt was partially successful, though only a part of those ready to embark actually got on board. The rest were dispersed. One by one, however, they followed, until a goodly number had reached the land of refuge.

Rev. Richard Clyfton and Rev. John Smith, both Cambridge men, were in charge of the congregations in England. Mr. Smith became the pastor at Amsterdam, where dissentions broke out, and where we need not follow. The first gathering place was in Amsterdam, but doubtless because of these dissentions, a group of constantly increasing size came to the historic city of Leyden. There they settled; there they established their homes; there they established their church, and there John Robinson ministered to them. These were largely, perhaps almost wholly, Scrooby people.

We need not spend much time in describing the twelve years of the Pilgrims in Holland. There, after some arrests in the beginning at the instance of England, they enjoyed perfect freedom and perfect security. They were industrious, and they added to the industrial wealth of their adopted country. Holland was the one country of Europe at that time in which religious liberty was nearly perfect. If this had been all the Pilgrims desired, doubtless there they would have remained, would have mingled with the Dutch people, and after a while would have been lost in the current of Dutch national life. It was their very fear of this thing, as well as their love for England and her institutions, which made them dissatisfied in Holland, and caused them to think of finding a new home where they would not only have liberty, but where they could plant the institutions of the country they loved. Nevertheless, the generous welcome Holland extended to them, and the fine toleration of opinion which Holland exhibited to them, left its mark upon the Pilgrims, and continued to be an influence with them throughout the rest of their history.

II. The Pilgrims in America.

It was Carver, Cushman, and Brewster, three of the most influential men of the Leyden church, who were sent to England to negotiate for the migration to America. It was necessary to have money, and therefore it was necessary to make the enterprise a commercial one in this aspect of it. These negotiations were finally successful and the time came, in 1620, when a selected group of the Leyden church prepared to sail for England and thence to America. That last day in Leyden on which John Robinson preached the farewell sermon, a day of prayer and a day of tears, must have remained forever a tender memory, both with those who stayed in Leyden and those who went to America. Ardently as John Robinson wished to go it was his duty to remain. What he did for them, however, noble man and faithful pastor that he was, had much to do with the success of the new settlement across the seas.

At Plymouth several attempts were made to sail with the two vessels, the Mayflower and the Speedwell. Always something happened, however, to the Speedwell, doubtless because the Captain, as well as some of the people were fearful of the voyage across the stormy Atlantic. Finally a selection was made, and those who were determined to go because they wanted to go were crowded upon the Mayflower, which finally sailed on the sixth day of September. The vessel landed at Plymouth on the 11th of November. On April 5, 1621, the Mayflower returned to England. What became of the Mayflower, finally, we do not know. The next November the Fortune arrived, with 35 passengers who, by reason of the scarcity of food, were a liability rather than an asset, but with the bettering of conditions new arrivals continued until the Plymouth plantation was firmly established.

The story of the early days is familiar to all readers of American History, and need not here be recapitulated:—the signing of the compact of government on shipboard on November 11; the expeditions into the interior; the meetings with the Indians, their perils and their friendships; the sickness in the cold and distress of the first winter, carrying off practically one-half of the people; the discovery of corn, which enabled them to plant and gather the first harvest; the more abundant harvest in 1623, celebrated in the now historic Thanksgiving, forerunner of the national Thanksgivings of these latter days; the troubles with the parent company in England in the settlement of indebtedness, which was finally accomplished fully and satisfactorily; the difficulty of the communistic state, which seemed necessary because of the bargain made, no man willing to work when it was for the group rather than for himself, and the quick change to activity and prosperity when the communistic plan was discarded and each man began to toil for himself; the election of Carver as Governor, and on his death in April, 1621, the election of Bradford as his successor—annually elected thereafter until 1657, except '33, '34, '36, '38 and '44.

III. Particular Facts and Incidents of the New Settlement.

Several facts and incidents would be worthy of greater detail if time permitted. The first of these was the signing of the compact of government on shipboard before the landing.

The Plantation had authority from the "President and Council of New England" from whom the Pilgrims had their grant, authorized by royal charter "to make or gain and establish all manner of orders, laws, instructions, directions, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of said colony and Plantation." Moreover, the patent of the Pilgrims, dated June 1, 1621, authorized them "to establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government and the same by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices elect and choose to put into execution."

But it must be remembered that their then Patent was from Virginia and not from New England. Their landing, which was intended to be further south, was therefore, out of the jurisdiction of the authority under which they had come. Perhaps a still more potent reason for this compact, was that crossing the stormy sea, mutinous words were often heard spoken on the ship. A government, therefore, was a necessity, even though the population was scarcely more than one hundred people. This compact is as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread Soveraigne Lord King James by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glorie of God, and advancement of the christian faith and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, Doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another; covenant and combine ourselves togeather into a civil body politick; for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame shuch just and equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the general good of the Colonie: Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap Codd the 11 of November (new style, November 21) in the year of the rainge of our soueraigne Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth and of Scotland the fiftie-fourth Anno Domini 1620."

The second item of interest is the record of the Plantation, written by Governor Bradford, begun immediately and continued for nearly thirty years. The history of the Plymouth Plantation is, as stated in the beginning, the repository of all the facts known of this first settlement. Covering the period 1620-1648, Bradford began to print this record in 1622, perhaps sending some of the manuscript by the Mayflower on its return, April 5, 1621. Of Bradford's original book only seven copies are known to be extant, one in a private library and the other six in the libraries of Harvard, Yale, New York, Pennsylvania, the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, and the British Museum. This was the first book ever written in America. While it has been published many times by societies and individuals (1802 by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1841, by Rev. Alexander Young, 1848, by Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, 1865, by Rev. Harry M. Dexter, 1897, by Edward Arbor) yet the history of the manuscript reads like a romance. It was given by Governor Bradford to his son William; by him to his son, Major John B. Bradford; taken by a Mr. Hutchison, a Loyalist, to England about 1775; found its way into the library of the Bishop of London at Fullham, where it was discovered in 1855, being recognized by John Wingate Thornton as probably the long-lost manuscript by certain references made by Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, in 1844. Through the endeavors of the Ambassador to Great Britain, Mr. Bayard, and others, it was finally delivered to the Governor of Massachusetts on May 26, 1897. It is now in the Massachusetts State Library, kept in a fireproof safe, but under glass exhibited daily to visitors.

The third item of interest is the people who came over on the Mayflower and their general character. In general, most people know that these people numbered 102. Mostly they know that one-half of these died the first year. My account, in Bradford's History, is 104. Doubtless the discrepancy is accounted for by the babies born on shipboard, who were not listed as leaving England, but who did arrive in America. There were 24 married men and 18 married women, explained in part by the fact that some of the wives remained in England, and one or two were widowers. There were 18 sons and 7 daughters. There were 13 men-servants and 1 maid-servant. There was one young maiden, Disare Menter, who returned the next year. There were two cousins of one family, one small boy and one small girl. There were five children, four boys and one girl, assigned to two families. There were 10 unmarried men. There were five, John Alden, a cooper, free to do as he pleased and he pleased to remain; two hired men, John Allerton and Thomas English, and two other men, William Trevore and -------- Ely, both of whom returned to England after one year. The group was therefore made up of 52 men, 20 women, and 32 children, making a total of 104, including the two babies born on shipboard.

Governor and Mrs. Carver and the wife of Captain Standish were among those who quickly passed away. Elder Brewster lived until he was 80. They were not all saints. Some of them drank whisky and engaged in carousals. Some of them gambled. One, John Billinton, was hung ten years after for killing a man. John Alden, hero of the historic courtship, was married to Priscilla Mollines. Thirty of the original number were still living in 1650, showing that the mortality of the first winter did not continue. Twelve were living in 1679; two in 1690, and one, Mary Cushman, wife of one of the original three who negotiated the expedition, was still living in 1698.

The fourth item of interest concerns the notable number of descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers. A clipping from a recent newspaper indicates the following facts concerning those resident in or near Pittsburgh:

"A partial list includes the following who trace their lineage to one of the 21 surviving members of the noted pilgrimage:

"Miss Florence E. Blake, Bellefield Avenue; Mrs. Dewees N. Crawford, Bartlett Street; Mrs. Robert T. Miller, Murray Hill Avenue; Mrs. Charles LeG. Fortescue, North Euclid Avenue; Mrs. Mary C. Walter, North Euclid Avenue; Mrs. William M. Davidson, wife of the superintendent of the Pittsburgh public schools; Frederick L. Weiss, Meadville Theological Seminary; Mrs. John Siggins, Tidioute, Pa.; Howard G. Hodgkins, Butler, Pa., all members of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.

"Others not affiliated with the Massachusetts Society are: S. Jarvis Adams, Marcellin Adams, Miss Alice B. Lothrop, John W. Herron, Ogden Edwards, Mrs. C. D. Armstrong, and many more. Societies with Mayflower descendants on their rolls are The Colonial Dames, The Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and the Men's Society of Colonial Wars.

"Additional certified Mayflower descendants include these Pittsburghers: Mrs. E. E. Phelps, Ruth Alden Phelps and Martha Seymour Phelps. The descent of these is through the second son of John and Priscilla Alden."

Last week the preacher at the Union Thanksgiving services, Prof. Erdman of Princeton, introduced himself as belonging to the relatively small group in America who do not trace their ancestry to the Mayflower. I wonder whether he ought, if he is not a recent comer to America, to be quite sure of the truth of his statement. In 1650, 30 years after the landing, there were alive 160 descendants of those who landed at Plymouth. If there were 160 in 1650 it is quite reasonable to suppose that the number of those able to trace their lineage back must be very large, indeed. In 1820 the population of our country was about nine millions, of which probably not more than 350,000 in the intervening two centuries had come over in ships. It is obvious that the remaining eight and one-half millions were descendants of the 350,000. If this was the proportion after two centuries the proportion would be tremendously larger after the lapse of another century.

IV. Spirit of Pilgrims and Significance of Pilgrimage.

While the limit of this paper has been reached, yet I wish, without amplification, to say something about the spirit of the Pilgrims and the significance of their advent in America.

In the first place the deep underlying motive in the migration to Holland and to America was religious, manifesting itself in almost absolute obedience to conscience. This intense conviction of right caused them to separate from the Established Church, and consequently, as in the case of Governor Bradford, to separate from family and friends. It was this that practically compelled them to leave England for sanctuary in Holland, and ultimately in America. No cost was counted great enough to justify infidelity to conscience. They were men of heroic mold, the blood of martyrs, and they were willing to march to death rather than to be untrue, but glad to live if they could find a place where they could worship God as free men and women.

In the second place, the migration to America was an act indicative of the intense love for England and loyalty to England's institutions. They were Englishmen. In Leyden they remained Englishmen. Moreover, they were free in Leyden and could worship as they pleased, but it was obvious they could not indefinitely continue to be Englishmen in Leyden, nor could they build up a bit of England anywhere in Holland. Persecuted as they were they never swerved in their loyalty to their own land. They must, wherever they should go, carry England with them. The place offering itself was America. There they desired to establish the Church, to establish the school, to establish free government, which should continue to be England.

In the third place the Pilgrims immediately framed a constitution and established a government which formed the beginnings of our Republic. But for the stupidity and obstinacy of the German king of England, America doubtless would have continued as Canada has continued to be a part of the great Anglo-Saxon Empire. The very compact, the method of carrying it out, the establishment of schools, the adoption of the town meeting, all these, however, guaranteed that whether this new country should continue a part of England or should become independent, the institutions of the new country should be free and that the people should absolutely determine for themselves the ultimate constitution, the form of government, and the enlightened institutions of America.

What America has become is simply the development of what the Pilgrim Fathers initiated in the very beginning.

Two or three of the underlying principles in which the Pilgrims implicitly believed were:

1. The founding of a Commonwealth based upon the fundamental principles of the Word of God. The Bible was their supreme authority, higher than priest and prelate, higher than Church or State, the only authority which commanded their conscience. They wanted a state based upon this authority.

2. They wanted a state in which law should be supreme, a commonwealth of law and not of men. Absolutely as they believed in conscience, absolutely as they believed in personal liberty, absolutely as they were determined upon free institutions, they were determined that law, the law of God and the law of the State, should be final and supreme.

3. They wanted a state in which tolerance should be practiced in the fullest measure. Peculiar ideas exist as to the rigidity, harshness and intolerance of the Pilgrims. Nothing could be farther from the fact than this curious popular belief. He who believes in a providence in human affairs must also believe that the Pilgrims were sent to Holland to learn this very lesson. They saw in Holland almost perfect freedom of worship and opinion, in vivid contrast with the intolerance of both the Church and the State in England. They came to America determined to be true to their own interpretation of Scripture, but determined also that the man who differed from them should also be free to exercise the right of judgment and of conscience. Hundreds and thousands of witches were executed in England and on the Continent, and a few among the Puritans of the Massachusetts colony. In the Plymouth colony neither persecution nor execution, but a quick extermination of all charges against witchery was secured by the treatment accorded the first woman who made such charge. Their own pastor conceived the idea that he would not baptise infants but only adults. They even tolerated him, permitting him to hold to his own opinions, and getting their infants baptised as they could. They carried this same tolerant spirit into their relations with the Indians with excellent results. Toleration, therefore, not intolerance, characterized the Pilgrims.

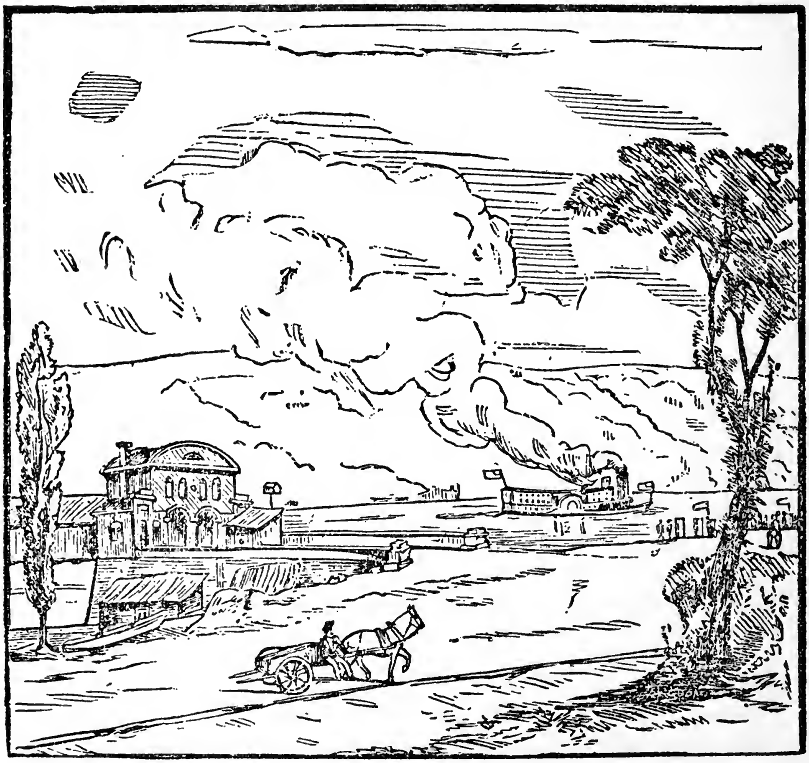
A still further illustration of this fact is the Pilgrim blood running in the veins of the people of Plymouth today, manifesting itself in a Baptist, a Methodist, a Universalist, a Unitarian, an Episcopal, a Congregationalist, and doubtless also in the Roman Catholic Church in Plymouth. Trinitarians and Unitarians, Catholics and Protestants, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, dwell together in unity.

Such, in brief, is the story of the rise of the Pilgrims in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the persecution of them in England, their residence in Holland, the establishment of their settlement in far-off America. What we are today in this land of free institutions we are largely because of the impress made by the Pilgrims upon the life of the nation in its very beginnings. England put the stamp upon America, and while we have had the Dutchman in New York, the Scandanavian in New Jersey, the Quaker, the German, and the Ulster-Scotch in Pennsylvania, the Huguenot and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian in the South, together with those who have come in more recent times, yet back to the Pilgrim we go for the origin and the explanation of much that we value highest in America.

THE OLD MONONGAHELA BRIDGE AND ITS REMINISCENCES.

BY PENDENNIS.

In June I gave a very brief account of the artist who painted the beautiful act drop that has graced Library Hall since 1870, and spoke of the production as one of the finest in the country. A few days ago I was agreeably surprised at receiving the following letter, which will explain the wood cut that appears with this article:



Weldon, Montgomery County, Pa.,
October 1, 1884.

Dear Sir:—My niece, Miss Mary Sample, sent me, some time since, a slip from the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, giving an account of the "Smith family"—of my branch of it. I thought it so well written, and in such good taste, that I was very anxious to ascertain the author, so wrote to my sister, asking her to find who it was that had so kindly mentioned me, stating that I would like to send the writer a little effort in my way in return for his kindness. She soon sent me your address as the author's, and I forward with this a view from the end of the old Monongahela bridge, corner Smithfield and Water streets, which I sketched in 1833, and which I hope may afford you some pleasure, as I believe that the old bridge has long since passed away.

The Lombardy poplar seen on the left is the one which I copied when I made my very first attempt at scene painting. I was then 15 years of age. It was thought by the members of our "Thalia Society" to be "like a tree," and I had, in consequence, all the scenery to paint that was required for the next four years.

Again thanking you for your kindness, I am,
Respectfully yours,
Russell Smith.

* * *

The wood cut fails to show many of the little strange features of the picture, and the beautiful coloring, for which this artist is so noted, must be seen to be appreciated. To those of our people who lived in this city prior to April 10, 1845, the old bridge will be recognized. Its quaint, old-fashioned entrance seems more like the doorway to a country barn than the passage to a bridge crossing an important river. In speaking of it Judge White remarked the other day: "I will never forget the first time I saw the old bridge. I was with my aunt, an old lady, who had long promised to take me in to see the city, and as we reached the top of Coal Hill, coming in from Washington county, where we lived, I first saw the river, and then the bridge. Looking down from the high hill at the two little black holes—as they appeared to me—in the bridge, I said: 'Why, aunt, do horses walk on top of the bridge?' 'No,' said she, 'they go through the bridge.' I told her that I thought she was mistaken, and it was not until we had descended the hill and nearly reached the entrance did I discover that horses could go through it and over it."

Many of the readers of the *Dispatch* will remember the ox roast on the sand bar near the bridge. That was in 1838. The bar at that time was about two or three feet above the water, and the day of the roast a pontoon bridge was constructed of keelboats running from the bar to the shore. The roast was a grand jubilee gotten up by the Democrats, after the election of David R. Porter. If I mistake not, the late Col. Wm. Phillips was then a leader in the ranks of the "unterrified," and dealt out the ribs of the roast with lavish hand. I remember the Colonel, then a young and handsome fellow, handing me a small piece of the half-roasted meat, and, as I gulped it down, I thought I had never tasted anything sweeter. A few hours after the meeting had adjourned, the rain commenced to fall, and next morning not a grain of sand of the bar was to be seen above the surface of the water.

At that time the Southside, from the bridge up the river for a mile or two, was extensive open meadow land, with two or three orchards and a dozen or so of dwellings. It was not until after the fire of 1845, which destroyed the greater portion of the lower part of the city, including the old bridge, that the Southside advanced. The Western University was on what is now Third Avenue, between Smithfield and Grant Streets.

* * *

If I mistake not, in 1845, a hose company had its house on Sixth Street, and among its members was O. H. Rippey, who gave up his life while gallantly leading his men on a charge during the late war. Sam Barr, now a member of Congress from the Dauphin district, was then in his prime and exchanged Munchausen stories with Harry Laubie, who was afterward killed and scalped by the Sioux Indians. Gus Bonafon, Wm. Creighton and others who were members of the company, had their rendezvous at that place, and made night hideous with their yells.

In 1848 the boys in blue, with their stiff stocks that made their necks look as though they were carved out of pine sticks, and who had gone to fight the Mexican greasers, returned home. A grand reception was given them, and in the line could be seen the stately judges, officers of the courts, members of Congress; in fact, the entire populace turned out *en masse* to do honor to the gallant men who had gone to fight for the old flag. Wynkoop's regiment arrived on Saturday amid the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, and on the Sunday following the steamer Jewess arrived, bringing 24 bodies of the dead soldiers, 13 of whom belonged to the Duquesne Grays, Captain Herron commanding. At the grand reception Captain John Birmingham was Chief Marshal and the Hon. Wm. Wilkins orator of the day. Nearly all of those who took prominent part in the procession have since passed beyond the great river. At that time, just where the opera-house now stands—I mean that portion that fronts on Diamond Street—the Presbyterian Church stood, surrounded by what was then a large graveyard. The spot now occupied by the "Howard block" was then a low, marshy frog pond, where the boys after a day's rain "paddled their light canoe," and got well paddled when they returned home. At the corner of Fifth Avenue and Smithfield, Updegraff's little blacksmith shop stood, and many a time and oft did your humble servant receive well-merited chastisement for throwing mud balls at passing wagons.—*The Pittsburgh Dispatch*, October 12, 1884.

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM*

PART I

The Battle of Mississineway.

War was declared on June 18th, 1812, by the Congress of the United States against Great Britain.

President Madison sanctioned the same, and next day made public proclamation. The quota of men assigned to Pennsylvania by the national government was 14,000. Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania stated in his call for troops: "The cup of humiliation and long-suffering has been filled to overflowing, and the indignant arm of an injured people must be raised to dash it to the earth and grasp the avenging sword.

"If ever a nation had motives to fight, we are that people. It would give the Governor inexpressible satisfaction if Pennsylvania would volunteer her quota."

The quota of the state was more than filled. Great Britain had assumed many privileges over the United States, such as numerous unwarranted demands, (through orders in Council), and exercising the "right to search" of American ships for alleged suspected British naval deserters, under cover of which the grossest outrages were committed.

At a large public meeting held in Pittsburgh on August 12th, 1812, resolutions were adopted endorsing the action of the government, and that the appeal to arms was consistent with the maintenance of honor and dignity, and in defense of our sacred rights; and that the letting loose by the British Government of the Indians on the American border deserved the execration of the civilized world; and that the citizens of Pittsburgh, irrespective of party, would obey the laws, and submit to any system of taxation to carry on the struggle; and that the action of Governor

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***Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on January 25, 1916.**

Snyder be approved. The population of Pittsburgh in 1812 was about 5,000.

Previous to this declaration of war, the Pittsburgh Blues were organized under the military laws of the state. Immediately upon commencement of hostilities, filled with becoming zeal and patriotism, they unanimously tendered their services to the general government, which were accepted, and they were ordered into active service and directed to join the Northwestern troops, commanded by Gen. William Henry Harrison.

The company having been previously thoroughly drilled in the science of military movements, by officers well qualified by experience and education, was fully prepared to take the field at a moment's notice. Preparatory to their departure for the seat of war they were mustered into United States service on September 1, 1812, the officers having been sworn in August 14, 1812. They went into camp on the 10th day of September,1812, on Grant's Hill, near where the Court House now stands. On the 20th they were ordered to the north side of the Allegheny River, and there went into camp on the commons, on the ground afterwards occupied by the Western Penitentiary. On the 21st they again struck their tents and went into camp on the bank of the Ohio River, their white tents extending westerly from Belmont Street to a beautiful grove of sugar-trees where Ferry Lane, (now Beaver Avenue), enters the Ohio River. All this territory hallowed by the memory of the past, was embraced in the old Fifth Ward of the former city of Allegheny. Under the shadow of these mafnificent trees the officers' headquarters were established.

The *Pittsburgh Mercury* of August 27, 1812, said: "Capt. Butler's Company, the Pittsburgh Blues, has received orders from the Secretary of War to march. The Blues are a very handsome body of men, completely uniformed, disciplined and equipped, and we have no doubt they will acquit themselves honorably in whatever difficulties await them. The best wishes of their fellow townsmen and their county will accompany them."

The militia laws of the time required the enrollment of every able-bodied man between specified ages, and provided for certain training during each year. These were rather crude performances, but some patriotic spirits organized themselves into volunteer companies, usually adopting a name. They were armed, uniformed and equipped, at their own expense. In 1807 the State Legislature passed a law recognizing these separate companies as a part of the state militia. The Pittsburgh Blues was one of these volunteer companies.

The following list of the officers and men composing the Pittsburgh Blues was copied from the official roll of the company in the War Department, at Washington, D. C.

OFFICERS

Sworn in August 14, 1812

James R. Butler, Captain
Matthew Magee, 1st Lieut.
James Irwin, Ensign
Elijah Trovillo, 1st Sergeant
Isaac Williams, 2nd Sergeant Wounded at Fort Meigs, May 5, 1813.
John Willock, 3rd Sergeant, Wounded at Fort Meigs, May 9, 1813.
George Haven, 4th Sergeant
Nathaniel Patterson, 1st Corporal
John W. Benny, 2nd Corporal
Samuel Elliott, 3rd Corporal Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Israel B. Reed, 4th Corporal, Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec- 18, 1812.

PRIVATES

Mustered in September 1, 1812

Robert Allison
Daniel C. Boss, Wounded at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
Isaac Chess, Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Andrew Clark
John Deal
John Davis
John D. Davis
Andrew Deemer
Joseph Dodd, Wounded at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812. Died June 16, 1813 at Ft. Meigs
Thomas Dobbins, Wounded at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
John Elliott
Oliver English
Enoch Fairfield
Samuel Graham
Nathaniel Hull
Samuel Jones
John Francis, Killed at Mississinewa, Dec. 18, 1812.
Jesse Lewis
Peter S. Orton
George McFall
Thomas McClarnin
Robert McNeal
Norris Mathews
John Maxwell
Oliver McKee, Wounded May 28, 1813. Died May 29, 1813.
John Marcy, discharged for disobedience.
Nathaniel McGiffen, discharged for disability.
Moses Morse
Joseph McMasters
Pressly J. Neville, Promoted to Sergeant.
James Newman, Promoted to Sergeant, killed at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
William Richardson, killed at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
John Park, Wounded at Ft. Meigs May 5, 1813.
Mathew Parker
John Pollard
Charles Pentland
Edward F. Pratt
George V. Robinson
Samuel Swift
homas Sample
Henry Thompson
Nathaniel Vernon
David Watt
Charles Weidner
Charles Wahrendorf, promoted to Q. M. Sergt., Wounded at Ft. Meigs, May 5, 1813.
George S. Wilkins, Promoted on May , 1813.

Two colored men, Frank Richards and William Sidney, went with the Blues in the capacity of servants to the officers; and, when necessity required it, they handled muskets and gained reputations for coolness under fire and unflinching bravery in time of danger.

CASUALTIES

MISSISSINEWAY

John Francis, killed Dec. 18, 1812

Corp. Samuel Elliott, Wounded Dec. 18, 1812.

Corp. Israel B. Reed, Wounded Dec. 18, 1812.

Corp. Isaac Chess, Wounded Dec. 18, 1812.

Corp. Jos. Dodd, Wounded, Dec. 18, 1812.

FORT MEIGS

Sergt. Jas. Newman, killed May 5, 1813.

Wm. Richardson, killed May 5, 1813.

Oliver McKee, wounded May 28; died May 29, 1813.

Jos. Dodd, died June 16, 1813.

Sergt. Isaac Williams, wounded May 5, 1813.

Daniel C. Boss, wounded May 5, 1813.

Thomas Dobbins, wounded May 5, 1813.

John Park, wounded May 5, 1813.

Sergt. Chas. Wahrendorf, wounded May 5, 1813.

Sergt. John Willock, wounded May 9, 1813.

At first it was intended to send the Blues, under Capt. Butler, and the Greensburg Rifle Company, under Capt. Alexander, to the Niagara Department, but the perilous situation of the Northwestern frontier caused the authorities to change their plan, whereupon the two companies were ordered to take boats on September 23rd and move down the Ohio River nearly to Cincinnati, there to join General W. H. Harrison, who had been placed in command of the Army of the Northwest and was preparing to march northward. In fact, General Harrison was then well advanced across Ohio with about 5,000 men to the relief of Fort Wayne. The Westmoreland troop of cavalry, under Capt. Markle, left Pittsburgh for Urbana, Ohio, on September 22nd, 1812, overland.

The call of the Governor for Pennsylvania's quota was for six months' service, but the Pittsburgh Blues, the Greensburg Rifles, and two troops of light dragoons, Capt. Markle's and Capt. McClelland's, all from Western Pennsylvania, volunteered and were enrolled and mustered in for twelve months' service.

Following is a copy of a communication which was procured from a photostat of the original, on file in the War Department in Washington. It is an interesting document and shows the spirit of the Pittsburgh Blues:

"Pittsburgh, September 24, 1812.

Sir:—In conformity of your order I transmit a muster roll of my company, (The Pittsburgh Blues). I hope my company will be paid off immediately on their joining the Northwest Army. I have promised them their pay at that time, and if they are not, I cannot be answerable for the consequences. They consider the government obliged to do so, and I wish they may not be disappointed. They have left homes where they lived in affluence, and are willing to risk everything in defence of their country—they only receive necessary supplies and money to furnish themselves with winter clothing (and pay for the clothing which they have already furnished). Your humble servant.

James R. Butler,
Capt. Pittsburgh Blues.

Honorable Secretary of War, Wm. Eustis.

P. S.—We join the army by the way of Cincinnati."

General Richard Butler was one of the conspicuous figures in the early history of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. First as major of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, and finally as colonel of the Ninth, he served continuously in the Revolution from July, 1776, to the end of the war.

He served also for some time as lieutenant colonel in Morgan's command. General Henry Lee, author of "Memories of the War," etc., speaks of him as "the renowned second and rival of Morgan in the Saratoga encounters." For the five or six years preceding his death he had been Indian Agent at Pittsburgh.

His home was at the corner of Liberty Street and Marbury, now Third Street. He was shot down, tomahawked and scalped, during General Arthur St. Clair's expedition against the Indians in 1791.

Capt. James R. Butler, who commanded the Pittsburgh Blues was the son of General Richard Butler.

The Pittsburgh Blues, and the Greensburg Rifles, embarked on September 23rd, 1812, on keel boats and proceeded down the Ohio river, arriving on successive days at Beaver, Steubenville and Wheeling, reaching Marietta, on October 1st, and Galipolis, on October 6th, and landed two miles above Cincinnati on October 13th. On October 14th, they marched into and through Cincinnati, and encamped below the town until October 28th, when they started their march across the country to join the Northwestern Army, arriving at

Franklinton, Ohio, the headquarters, and remaining there until November 25th, 1812.

Upon their arrival they were assigned with the other Pennsylvania troops to the right wing, under Brigadier General Crooks.

The army moved from Franklinton to Fort Greenville, November 25th. On the 17th of December occurred the preliminary skirmish of Mississineway, and on the 18th the battle of that name. The movement consisted of an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Campbell against the Mississineway villages. Early on the morning of the 18th the troops were furiously attacked by the Indians. The Pittsburgh Blues were employed to reinforce the angle of the camp against which the enemy was thrown, and they fought gallantly for about an hour. Two corporals of the company, Elliott and Read, were wounded; one private, Francis, was killed, and two privates, Chess and Dodd, were wounded. The company was specifically noticed for its gallant conduct in the official report.

The *Pittsburgh Gazette* of January 22, 1813, published the appended story:

"Dayton, O., December 31, 1812.

On the 25th of November a detachment under the command of Lt. Col. Campbell left Franklinton on a tour which was then a secret. This detachment consisted of a regiment of Light Horse (6 mos. Vols.) of Kentucky, Col. Simeral, U. S. Regulars, and U. S. Volunteers, commanded by Major Ball, a company of regular infantry, the Pittsburgh Blues and Capt. Alexander's Riflemen, amounting in the whole to upwards of 600 men. We proceeded to this place. We here left all our tents and all our baggage. From this we marched to Greenville, the extreme frontier settlement. Previous to our arrival here the object of our expedition was made known to us. We were informed in general orders that it was against the Miami Indians whose towns and settlements lay on the Mississineway River.

"The whole of the 'foot' being mounted on pack horses at Dayton, in order to expedite our march, we proceeded with considerable rapidity. Our march after we left Greenville lay through a dreary wilderness, and never saw a house nor the trace of a human being, except savages, for the distance of 85 miles, the whole of our march from Franklinton being about 200 miles. Every man carried his own provisions on his horse, which consisted of nothing but biscuit and pork. As we had no camp equipage of any kind, our only means of cooking was by broiling our meat on the coals, or roasting it on a stock before the fire.

"On the morning of the third day's march from the settlement, we were within 40 miles of the Indians towns. We proceeded that day, and the whole of the next night, and halted at about 4 o'clock in the morning a few miles from the town. After refreshing ourselves for about an hour, we took up our line of march, which was in ten columns of single file, the order observed during the whole expedition, and moved with the greatest silence, our object being to take them by surprise. When we were within half a mile of the town our guides gave direction to move up as briskly as possible. Here a scene of tumult and confusion ensued. Every man put spurs to his horse, the yell was raised by the whole army, the ranks were broken, and we entered the town in the utmost confusion and disorder.

"The infantry and riflemen, who were mounted on pack horses, and were left in the rear when the race began, dismounted and entered the town regularly formed. There were not more than 12 or 15 warriors in the town. These, on the approach of our men, fled across the river without making any resistence. We fired on them and killed 6 or 7. Between 30 and 40 prisoners were taken, men, women and children, and the town burnt. Had we entered the town in regular order, every Indian might have been taken without firing a gun. The prisoners were left in the care of the infantry and riflemen, and the light horse proceeded to destroy another town a few miles lower down the river, which they accomplished, there being only two or three old men and a squaw in it. The light horse returned in the afternoon.

"Our loss in the attack consisted of two men—one killed by accident by our own men in the general confusion; the other had strolled some distance from the town and was shot by an Indian who was lurking about. We were informed by the Indian prisoners that there were 500 warriors at a town 15 miles below, at the junction of the Mississineway and Wabash. From this information we had every reason to apprehend an attack next morning. The result justified our suspicions.

"The object of the expedition being accomplished, which was to take prisoners and destroy the Indian towns, we had received orders to prepare for our return next morning. We encamped that night in our usual order, which was a hollow square.

"After revielle in the morning and about half an hour before daylight, just as the moon had set, and while we were cooking our breakfast and preparing for our march, we were assailed by the yells of the savages.

"The attack commenced on the right rear angle of the camp with greatest fury, and was sustained by part of Major Ball's Squadron of horse who were on that quarter. The guards were immediately driven in—every man was under arms in a minute. Our company, together with the rest of the infantry and riflemen, formed the front side of the square, instantly formed on our ground where we waited for orders. In a short time, and while the battle raged with great fury on the quarter where it commenced, Col. Campbell rode to Captain Butler and ordered him to reinforce that quarter or we should be cut off. The company immediately marched to the spot directed and poured in so furious and well directed a fire that in a short time the fire of the enemy was almost totally silenced.

"Soon after this daylight began to appear, and our party proving too powerful the savages began to retreat. They were pursued some distance by a troop of horse and routed with considerable slaughter. The action continued about an hour. Our loss was eight killed and about 45 wounded. Of the wounded, two died on our return and one at this place. These, together with the two killed the day of the attack on the town, makes our loss in killed 12.

"The greatest part of the battle being fought in the dark, renders it impossible to form a correct idea of the number of the enemy. It is the general opinion, however, that their force was about 300. Neither are we able to ascertain correctly their loss, but from the number we found dead on the field, from the trails in the snow of those who had been dragged off, and from the reports of the Indians who have since come in, we calculate their loss to be about 100 killed and wounded.

"In the action our Pittsburgh boys behaved with the greatest courage. It is impossible to say too much in their praise. On the first alarm they were formed with the utmost alacrity and marched to the ground in the best order, where they fought with the coolness and intrepedity of veterans, and although two of the men were wounded in the commencement of the action they refused to leave the ranks but fought until the action was over. In short, our company contributed more than any other to decide the fate of the day. They were in the hottest of the action for a considerable time, yet there was not the smallest indication of fear discernible in a single man. We had one killed, one dangerously wounded, but who is now recovering, one severely and two slightly wounded.

"No less can be said in praise of Captain Markle's troop. His loss in killed and wounded was considerable. Among the killed was his second lieutenant, Waltz. He was wounded in the arm at the commencement of the action, but fought until near its close, when he received a ball through his forehead, which terminated his life in about five hours. Of the whole detachment, not more than four companies can properly be said to have been engaged. These were Markle's, Garrard's and Hopkins' troops of horse and Butler's company of infantry—the Pittsburgh Blues.

"The attack was made on the three first mentioned troops, who sustained the shock until they were reinforced by our company. Other parts of the army had some slight skirmishing but were not drawn into the regular line of battle. All the cavalry were armed with rifles and muskets and fought on foot until daylight.

"Burying the dead and making preparation for transporting our wounded procrastinated our departure till late in the afternoon. The dead were buried in one of the houses, which was torn down and burned over the graves to prevent any trace of their deposit being discovered by the Indians. All the wounded, who were not able to ride, were carried on litters by horses. This necessarily retarded our movements greatly, and we were every night under the continual apprehension of an attack from the savages. We every night fortified ourselves by throwing up a strong breastwork around our encampment. The men slept on their arms. One-third of the detachment was detailed every night for guard. Fortunately, however, the reception we gave them at Mississineway deterred them from again attacking us.

"After a tedious march of seven days we arrived at Greenville. From that place we sent the prisoners under a militia guard to Piqua. Fortune favored us with respect to weather, which was extremely cold. Had it been otherwise, the difficulties from the number of creeks and the great swamps we had to cross would have rendered it almost impossible. The detachment is very much broken down from the severity of the weather. Nearly one half have their feet frost bitten, which renders them incapable of doing duty.

"To add to our misfortunes, when within two days march of Greenville our provisions were exhausted. This, to troops so much reduced by fatigue and hardships, as we were, was sufficient to damp the spirits of any men. The second night before our arrival at the settlement we encamped on the same ground we had occupied on our march out. Here our men were glad to gather the grains of corn from the ground where the horses had fed, and parch and boil it for their sustenance. The next day we met a reinforcement of militia from Greenville. They brought six packhorse loads of provisions, which afforded about half a ration a man. This kept us from starving till we arrived at the settlement, where we got everything necessary for our relief.

"I can scarcely believe any men suffered more than we did from fatigue and hunger. Indeed, the result proves it, as there is not more than one-fourth of the detachment fit for duty. Notwithstanding all this, I scarcely ever heard a man complain."

The following items are from the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of February 12, 1813.

"We have the pleasing information from Franklinton that the Pittsburgh Blues had perfectly recovered from the effects of the frost, and the fatigue and hardships they underwent in the late expedition to the Mississineway; that they were to march in a few days to join General Harrison. May honor and victory attend them."

"Greensburg, January 7th, 1813.

The following letter was received in town by Monday evening's mail from Capt. Alexander, of the Greensburg volunteers. Though written in haste, and not intended for publication, we have requested and procured a copy for insertion. We like the generous and handsome manner in which the

Captain speaks of his brother officers. The letter is dated Munceytown, four miles from Mississineway town, 18th December.

'We arrived here yesterday morning, attacked and took this town. This morning we were attacked before day, had hard fighting, were victorious. Markle has distinguished himself; his company has suffered. Waltz is killed, also two or three others-about 13 of his men wounded; some severely. Captain Butler's men fought bravely. Their fire was destructive; so of Captain Hopkins and every other that fought. Captain Butler had one man killed and four wounded. My men had little share in the fight, owing to our station—but they will fight. We have 37 prisoners. I think the enemy suffered greatly. Behind almost every tree blood is seen. I think they have lost 50 or 60. We will march on our return this morning. We have no forage for our horses, and are scarce of provisions. I think we will be able to make good our way.

'At night the camp was fortified with logs and brush, and fires were kept burning because of the bitter cold weather. 130 of the men were frost bitten. They were 96 miles from a settlement. The 27 wounded were carried on litters. They arrived at Dayton, on December 24th, after a two weeks hard campaign.' "

OFFICIAL DISPATCH TO GENERAL HARRISON

Camp Mississineway, two miles above Silver Heels,
December 12, 1812

Dear General—After a fatiguing march of 3 days and one night from Greenville, O., I arrived with the detachment under my command at a town on the Mississineway, thought by the spies to be Silver Heels town; but proved to be a town settled by a mixture of Delaware and Miami Indians.

About 8 o'clock in the morning of the 17th, undiscovered, a charge was made upon the town, when many fled over the river. Thirty-seven prisoners are taken, whom I shall bring in with me, including men, women, and children. Seven warriors were killed. After disposing of the prisoners I marched a part of the detachment down the river and burned three villages without resistance. I then returned and encamped on the ground where stood the first village attacked.

This morning about daylight, or a little before, my camp was attacked by a party of Indians (the number unknown, but supposed to be between 2 and 3 hundred), on my right line, occupied by Maj. Ball's squadron, who gallantly resisted them for about an hour, when the Indians retreated, after being most gallantly charged by Captain Trotter at the head of his troop of cavalry.

We lost in the action one killed and one wounded, (by accident the last.) In the action this morning we have 8 killed, and about 25 or 30 wounded. Not having yet gotten a report, I am unable to state the number exactly. The Indians have lost about 40 killed, from the discoveries now made. The spies are out at present ascertaining the number.

I have sent to Greenville for reinforcements and send you this hasty sketch. A detailed report shall hereafter be made known to you, noticing particularly those companies and individuals who have distinguished themselves signally.

I anticipate another attack before I reach Greenville, but rest assured, my dear General, they shall be warmly received. I have a detachment composed of the bravest fellows, both officers and soldiers, in the world. Our return will be commenced this morning. Among the killed I have to deplore the loss of brave Captain Pierce. Lieut. Waltz, of Captain Markle's troop of cavalry, is also mortally wounded. Their gallant conduct shall be noticed hereafter.

Yours with the greatest respect and esteem,
John B. Campbell, Lt. Col. 19th Regt.,
United States Infantry

General W. H. Harrison,
Commanding N. W. Army

It may be proper to note here that Col. Campbell died July 5, 1814, of wounds received in the battle of Chippewa.

Gen. Harrison in transmitting Col. Campbell's report to the War Department expressed the following sentiment respecting the observance of humanity in this expedition:

"The character of this gallant detachment, exhibiting as it did perseverance, patience, fortitude and bravery, would however, have been incomplete if in the midst of victory they had forgotten the feelings of humanity. It is with the sincerest pleasure that the General has heard that the most punctual obedience was paid to his orders; not only in saving the women and children but in sparing all the warriors who ceased to resist; and that even when vigorously attacked by the enemy, the claims of mercy prevailed over every sense of their own danger; and this heroic band respected the lives of their prisoners. The General believes that humanity and true bravery are inseparable."

The *Pittsburgh Gazette* of January 29, 1813 contained the following note:

"Capt. Jno. B. Alexander has been promoted to rank of Major. His command is composed of Pittsburgh Blues, Greensburg Rifles, and Capt. McCray's company of U. S. Volunteers of Virginia."

(*To be continued*)

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

189—Piano

presented by General Richard Butler to his daughter Mary. General Butler in his day was the most noted character in Pittsburgh. He had been Indian trader and Indian agent. In the Revolution he was second in command to General Daniel Morgan at Saratoga, and second in command to General Anthony Wayne at Stony Point. He was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County and was the first lieutenant of the county, the officer who at that time was commander of the militia. He was a member of the General Assembly, and met a glorious death during St. Clair's unfortunate expedition against the Indians on the Miami River, on November 4, 1791. His name has been commemorated in that of Butler County, in this state. His home was in the log house situated on the east side of Marbury, now Third street, one door south of Penn street, now Penn avenue.

Presented by Isaac Meason Sowers and Mrs. Gertrude Sowers McCalmont, the latter a great-great- granddaughter of General Butler.

Presented by Mrs. E. J. Wyatt.

190—Military Cape

worn by Captain Stanton Sholes at the battle of Lake Erie in the War of 1812.

191—Volume of Manuscripts

of Captain Stanton Sholes, giving accounts of various incidents in the war of 1812, in which the author participated.

192—Photograph

of the grave and monument of Captain Stanton Sholes.

Presented by Adolph M. Forester.

193—Autograph

of Edward Alexander MacDowell, composer and pianist.

194—Autograph

of Arthur Foot, musician.

195—Autograph

of Edgar Stillman Kelley, composer, conductor and lecturer on musical topics.

196—Letter of Henry W. Longfellow to Adolph M. Foerster:

"Cambridge, April 17, 1879.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your kindness in sending me your music to the Serenade of the Spanish Student. I shall take the earliest opportunity to hear it sung. Meanwhile I hasten to acknowledge the compliment you paid me, and am,

Yours very truly,

Henry W. Longfellow."

Presented by Mrs. R. A. McKee.

(Once the property of the late Jacob Reel)

197—Music Book

"The Easy Instructor," or a new method of teaching Sacred Harmony. With a choice Collection of Psalm Tunes and Anthems, from celebrated Authors, with a number composed in Europe and America, entirely new; suited to all the Metres sung in the different Churches in the United States.

Published by William Little and William Smith, Albany, New York, 1807.

198—Music Book

"Bright Jewels;" for the Sunday School. A new collection of Sunday school songs written expressly for this work, many of which are the latest compositions of William B. Bradbury, and have never before been published.

Published by Bigelow & Main, (successors to Wm. B. Bradbury), New York, N. Y., 1869.

199—"Book of Psalms"

An imitation of the Psalms of David; carefully suited to the Christian Worship; being an improvement of the former versions of the Psalms.

Published by Whiting, Backus & Whiting, Albany, N. Y. 1804.

Presented by the late Dr. John P. Burchfield.

200—Music Book

"The New Carmina Sacra;" or Boston Collection of Church Music.

Published by Lowell Mason, Boston, Mass., 1850.

201—Music Book

"The Western Harp;" containing a Collection of Sacred Music. Original and Selected; by Samuel Wakefield.

Published by Charles H. Kay, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1846.

202—Music Book

"Evangelical Music;" or The Sacred Minstrel and Sacred Harp United; consisting of a great variety of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Set Pieces, Anthems, by J. H. Hickok and George Fleming.

Published by L. Loomis, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1836.

203—Music Book

"The Beauties of Harmony;" containing the rudiments of music on an improved plan. A Musical dictionary, or glossary of musical terms, with their explanations, and an extensive collection of Sacred Music, consisting of Short Tunes, Fuges, and Anthems. By Freeman Lewis.

Published by Johnston & Stockton, 27 Market street, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1831.

Presented by Mrs. N. W. Shafer.

204—Pamphlet

"The life of Husti-Coluc-Chee, a Seminole Missionary, as delivered by him in the several churches of the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, in December, 1845, by J. W. Weaver. Printed by Victor Scriba, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1846.

Presented by Alexander Johnson Negley.

205—Volume

"East Liberty Presbyterian Church," with historical setting and a narrative of the Centennial Celebration, April 12-20, 1919. Compiled by Miss Georgina G. Negley, A. B.

Notes and Queries

BATHTUBS AND PROGRESS

It seems that the bathtub may be a measure of civilization and progress. In the classical days of Greco-Roman grandeur, bathing was a fine art, and its rites were performed amid luxurious surroundings. But when the world reeled backward into the chaos of the Dark Ages, the refinements of the bath, with its perfumes and anointings, passed out of vogue. Pious hermits, devoted to mystic contemplation, gave slight care to the perishable body. The rabble has been cynically said to have been distinguished by its fear of learning, perdition, and the bathtub. Cleanliness and sanitation received scant recognition from either public or private persons. The world was ravaged by plague and pestilence.

Finally inspired by the discoveries of science, governments began to promulgate and enforce sanitary regulations. As stated in Volume 12, Ruling Case Law: "The health of the people has long been recognized as an economic asset and a social blessing. It was a subject of ancient literature and philosophy, and never, perhaps, has civilized man been oblivious to its importance. Yet it has remained for our own times, which might be styled the age of conservation, to take practical cognizance of the matter. As our population has increased and our civilization has become more complex, there has been a steady tendency toward a code of rules to guard against illness, disease, and pestilence. Health officers and boards have been appointed for the purpose of devising and enforcing sanitary measures, and there has been much litigation in respect of particular matters affecting health."

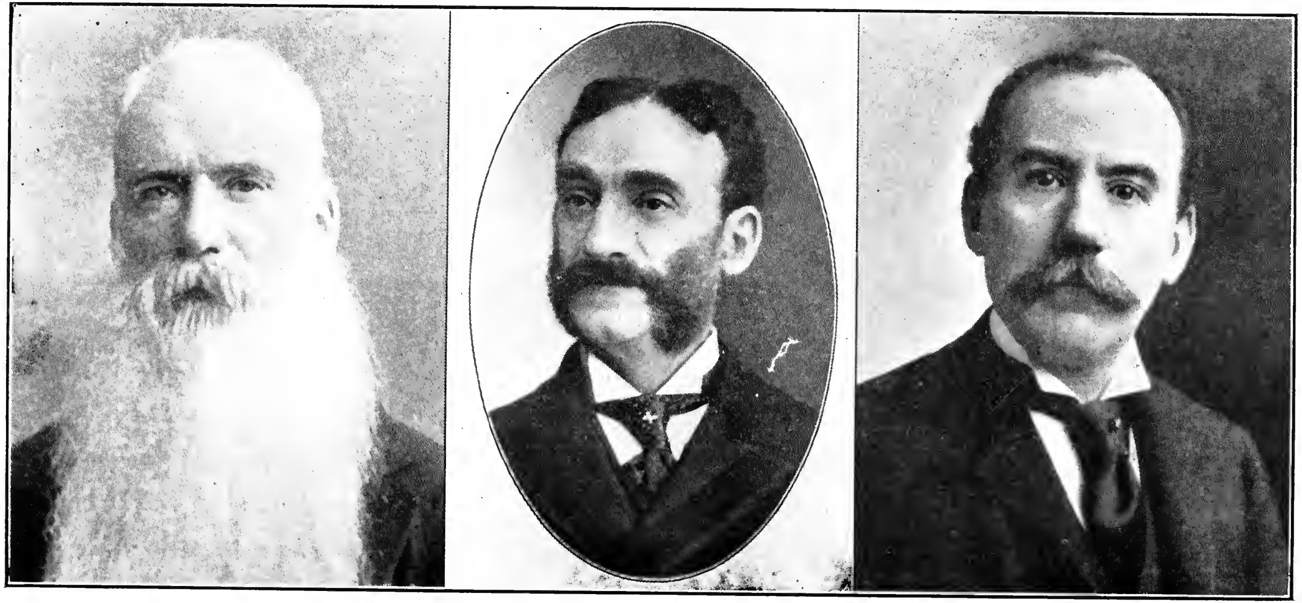
"The first bathtub in the United States," records a writer in the *Omaha Bee*, "was built in Cincinnati, and installed in a home there in 1842. It was made of mahogany, lined with sheet lead, and was proudly exhibited by its owner at a Christmas party. Next day it was denounced in the Cincinnati papers as a luxurious, undemocratic vanity. Then came the medical men and declared it a menace to health. In 1843, Philadelphia tried to prohibit bathing between November 1 and March 15, by ordinance. In 1845, Boston made bathing unlawful except when prescribed by a physician. Virginia taxed bathtubs $30 a year. President Fillmore installed the first one ever in the White House.

"These things seem incredible in an age when transient hotel accommodations include a bathroom, but sanitation is a recent development. A southern Ohio lawyer went to Columbus a few years ago, and when he registered at the hotel the clerk asked him if he wanted a room with bath. The guest thoughtfully rubbed the stubble on his chin, and replied: 'No; I'll be home by Saturday.' A similar story is told of a newly rich lady who was showing a friend of her days of poverty the very elaborate bathroom in her new home. It was a sizzling hot August night. 'La! how you must enjoy that tub!' she exclaimed. 'Indeed I do,' was the response; 'I can hardly wait for Saturday night to come.'" To these may be added the incident of the man who was persuaded to order a bathtub during the heat of August, but refused to accept a delayed October shipment on the ground that the article was now of no use to him, "since the bathing season was over."

It is stated that the senatorial baths at Washington, which of recent years have been undeveloped and deserted, are again to be put to use. Perhaps our wearers of the toga will lead the way in a revival of the best classical traditions.

Legislation making bathing compulsory has not been suggested, probably because Americans have voluntarily shown themselves to be reasonably civilized in this regard. The thousands who throng the bathing beaches are evidently not in sympathy with the man who thanked God he had never insulted his skin by putting cold water on it; still less would they approve of the unkempt vagrant, who misunderstood his sentence of thirty days to be for "fragrancy."—*Case and Comment.*

THREE VETERANS OF THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY BAR



JOSEPH FORSYTHE HON. JOSIAH COHEN JOHN H. KERR

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 No. 3 JULY. 1921 Price 75 Cents

HALF A CENTURY OF THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION

On March 6, 1921, the Allegheny County Bar Association celebrated its half century of existence by giving a banquet at the Hotel Schenley. The organization came into existence by virtue of the passage on February 28, 1870, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, of the act creating it. It was originally intended to celebrate the founding of the organization on February 28, 1920, but the date of the creation of the association was overlooked and the event was not commemorated until this year. Only two of the original members, John H. Kerr and Joseph Forsythe, are alive today, and they were both present at the dinner and delivered addresses. Hon. Josiah Cohen, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, and one of the oldest members of the bar of this county, was toastmaster. Rowland A. Balph*, the President of the Bar Association, called the meeting to order and in a few felicitous words introduced Judge Cohen. Judge Cohen opened the proceedings with the following address:

Emotions that can find no expression are the silent witnesses of the gratification I experience at the undeserved honor conferred upon me by your admirable presiding officer. I feel, however, that I am quite unequal to the occasion, by reason of a physical indisposition under which I have labored for the past two months.

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*Mr. Balph died May 3, 1921.

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

I am indeed proud to function as toastmaster on this occasion, in the presence of a most—if not the most—distinguished body of jurists in this or any other state. You succeed and represent, as you are assembled here tonight, some of the greatest lawyers that have ever shone in the diadem of the judicial crown. The giants of yore have passed away. Nature, however, abhors a vacuum, and no man is so great that his sphere cannot be filled by his successors. The young men of today, in our profession, have stepped into the breach caused by death, and are nobly maintaining the reputation of those great advocates who have passed from our midst to "the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns."

Notwithstanding Judge Sharwood's remark in his Blackstone in which he says: "The fame of a lawyer, however much he may live in the public eye, and however large may seem the space he occupies in the public consideration, is nevertheless very narrow and very circumscribed. He is prominently useful in his own day and generation and among his contemporaries. He supports and defends the accused and oppressed; he maintains the cause of the poor and friendless; he assists those that are ready to perish; he counsels the ignorant, he guides and saves those who are wandering and out of the way, and when 'he has run his course and sleeps in blessings,' his bones 'have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on them.' How much untold good is done by an honest, wise, and generous man, in the full practice of this profession, which even those to whom he has consecrated his time and thoughts without the hope of adequate compensation never appreciate. How often, contrary to his own interest, does he succeed in calming the surges of passion, and leading the bitter partisan to measures of peace and compromise. How often does his beneficence possess that best and purest characteristic of the heavenly grace, that his right hand knoweth not what his left hand doeth. And yet—beyond the circle of his own profession, the student of which may occasionally meet with a few brief evidences of his learning and industry in print on the pages of some dusty-report book, and pause to spell his name and wonder who he was—yet posterity will scarcely ever hear of him, and his severest efforts, his brightest intellectual achievements will sing forever into the night of oblivion."

Remember, young men, that the genuine advocate achieves a nobler conquest, himself impressed with the truth of the cause he pleads, his conviction lends dignity to his language and force of his arguments. What he says comes from the heart and goes to the heart of his hearers. Doing the duty of neither a hireling nor a partisan, he personifies his own views, and, if these be really honorable, he cannot fail to succeed.

In the whirligig of time, what changes! "When I remember all the friends so linked together, I've seen around me fall like leaves in wintry weather", I feel

> "Like one who treads alone some banquet hall
> deserted,
> Whose lights are gone, whose garlands fled,
> And all but he departed."

Yes, they are all dead and have passed away. But, after all, what is Life?

> "It is the wink of an eye, the draught of the breath
> From the bosom of health to the paleness of death,
> From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud,
> Then why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"

What a wonderful transformation of the bench and bar from the year 1866 to that of 1921! Mighty men have passed over our judicial stage but I cannot remember them all.

I was admitted to the bar in January, 1866, after having pursued the study of law in the offices of Kirkpatrick & Mellon, which were located in the building which stood at the southeast corner of Grant and Diamond streets, the site being now occupied by a part of the City-County Building. It subsequently was transformed into Maloney's saloon, which I have no doubt many of you remember.

Shortly after my admission that famous character, that man of wonderfully magnetic personality, Thomas M. Marshall, who was then a leading member of the bar, sent for me. I was at that time teaching school. He said, "I understand you have been admitted to the bar." I replied, "Yes, sir." "Well, why don't you go into the practice?" said he; to which I replied, "While the grass grows the horse starves."

"What do you mean," said he. "Why, I mean, I am earning $700 a year as a teacher." To which he responded, "Come into my office and I will pay you $1,000 a year."

I did so. I learned much from that remarkable man, a man who, at times without system, or discipline, would rush into the trial of a case, sometimes without preparation, and overcome his antagonist by the very force of his genius, for he was indeed a perfect wilderness of talent.

Associated with him at that time, was Major A. M. Brown, the father of our present Judge Marshall Brown, and John D. Brown and Thomas Brown, distinguished members of this bar. Major Brown was a brilliant lawyer, but still more wonderful was the energy, activity, and learning that he displayed in the trial of cases. The record of the firm of Marshall & Brown will be found running through the Pennsylvania Reports from about the period of my admission to the time of its dissolution.

I found an abundance of work to do in that office, especially on Saturday afternoons, when the clients of the firm would come in by dozens inquiring into the progress of their several cases. Mr. Marshall would arrive after clients had been waiting from about one to three o'clock. Flushed and with a power worthy of a magician he would, in almost the twinkling of an eye, satisfy all of those clients and discharge them with a gentle wave of the hand, notifying them either that the papers had been lost, or that the case had been continued, or that the lawyer on the other side was sick, or that the Judge was considering his case, and make a multitude of other excuses, which enabled him to enjoy a rest on those Saturday afternoons after long days of arduous and energetic labor.

I was examined for admission to the bar by the venerable ExJustice of the Supreme Court of the United States, George Shiras, Jr., the lamented and distinguished Thomas Lazear, Judge Veach and, I believe, the elder Chas. F. Fetterman.

Among the questions propounded to me by Mr. Shiras, was the following:

"Mr. Cohen, what remedy would you employ in the case of a tenant for life who held over?"

I was stumped. I couldn't answer that question. But in the agony of my distress I said, "I believe I would kill him."

I remember the first petition that I presented in the Court of Common Pleas at a time when his Honor, Judge Mellon, the father of the present able Secretary of the Treasury A. W. Mellon, was sitting on the bench. He was engaged in writing, as he usually was. He lifted his eyes and said, "What did you say that petition is for?"

I said, "For a charter, your Honor, a charter for a Jewish burial ground."

"A place to bury Jews?" said he.

"Yes sir," I replied.

"With pleasure, with pleasure," responded the Judge as he signed the petition.

I oft-times at first felt strange when pursuing my duties as a lawyer, and frequently felt that I had found my way into the wrong place.

The practice of our profession has proven through the ages that "new occasions teach new duties", that "time makes ancient good uncouth," that "he must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of truth, nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key."

In the light of these truths legislation and judicial decisions are constantly creating new methods of procedure, until we are at last arriving at the ascertainment of substantial justice in the trial of cases with the minimum of those legal technicalities which were engrafted on legal procedure—for a wise purpose, no doubt, then—but the reason for their introduction having perished the method must gradually yield to the more modern system of blending exact equity in the disposition of common law proceedings.

But it is not my province as toastmaster longer to detain you, for the eminent speakers of the evening will better be enabled to emphasize the importance of this occasion.

In conclusion I would say let us never forget that after all, we must so conduct the duties of our profession that we may be enabled to meet the great mystery of mysteries without shame for the past or terror for the future.

John H. Kerr, spoke on "The Origin and Founder of the Bar Association." He said:

"When I remember all the friends so linked
together
I've seen around me fall, like leaves in wintry
weather,"—

I am reminded that I am growing old, and, bereft as I am of so many of my former associates, I feel a deep sense of my loneliness this evening. Victor Hugo has given us a beautiful description of old age. In referring to his own age and experience in life, he said that when he reached the age of seventy he felt the burden of increasing years, but when he reached the age of eighty he felt the return of the buoyancy of youth, and a new zest in life and life's activities, and he, reflecting upon this, had come to the conclusion that at seventy he had entered upon the old age of youth, but at eighty he was entering upon the youth of old age. This coincides with my own experience and views of life in my early and later years.

When I returned home, in June, 1865, after serving three years in the Union Army in the Civil War, it was my good fortune to be taken as a law student into the office of John H. Hampton, one of the great lawyers of his time. John Dalzell, whom I had known as a friend of my boyhood days, had returned the same year from Yale University, with merited honors. So we began the same week our studies together. John Dalzell, by reason of earlier registration, was admitted to the bar on February 6, 1867, and I was admitted June 6, 1867. John Dalzell, the same day he was admitted, became the partner of Mr. Hampton, and achieved a reputation as a lawyer, only less lustrous than his fame as a statesman in his twenty or more years as a member of Congress.

Mr. Hampton was the founder of our Bar Association. He drafted the bill incorporating the "Pittsburgh Law Association," and as I happened to be a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania in 1870, and the only lawyer in the delegation of six members from the county, he gave me the bill to introduce and have passed. As it was my first bill, I rushed it through the House, and had Senator Howard rush it through the Senate, and then I took it over to Governor John W. Geary and had him approve it on February 28, 1870. So you will see I lost no time in having it enacted into a law.

On May 6, 1882, the name of the Association was changed to the "Allegheny County Bar Association."

Out of forty-one charter members, Joseph Forsythe and I are the only survivors, and we are still in practice.

John H. Hampton was a son of Moses Hampton, President Judge of the District Court of this county, and was born on the 25th of October, 1828. He graduated from Washington College, Pennsylvania, in the class of 1847, James G. Blaine being a classmate. He was admitted to our bar on December 23, 1850. At the age of thirty he was made the Pittsburgh solicitor of the Pennsylvania Railroad and all the branches of the Pennsylvania System, and continued as such to the day of his death on April 11, 1891. Besides his railroad business he had a large general practice.

He was a great lawyer among great lawyers of his day; a brilliant orator, and the greatest cross-examiner of witnesses in Pennsylvania. He was noted for imperturbability and presence of mind in court, and nothing that arose in the trial ever disconcerted him or ruffled his temper; his self-reliance sometimes amounted to audacity, but never arrogance, as he was under all circumstances a gentleman. This I can illustrate by an accident that happened in our state Supreme Court. He had a case involving the question as to whether Caveat Venditor, the rule of the Civil Law, or Caveat Emptor, the rule of the Common Law, applied to the facts of the case. Just as he was closing his argument, Justice Sharswood asked him this question: "What is the literal meaning of caveat?" Mr. Hampton walked up close to the bench, and pointing with his finger to Justice Sharswood, uttered just one word, "Beware!" The learned Justice asked no more questions, and Mr. Hampton took his seat. Those in the court room who saw and heard Mr. Hampton, including judges, pronounced this one of the finest pieces of acting they had ever witnessed.

I remember Mr. Hampton, at the close of his work one day, coming into the room, where we students were pouring over our books, and asking what we were reading. John Dalzell replied that we were reading "Greenleaf on Evidence." Then he told us some of his rules in examining witnesses. He said: "Never assume a hostile attitude towards the witnesses of the other side, nor brow-beat them; never cross-examine the too willing witness of the other side, except in criminal cases where the prosecutor and the defendant are the only persons cognizant of the facts, and, as under the law at that time (since changed) the defendant could not be a witness for himself, then in such cases cross-examine the prosecuting witness at length. In a notable case in 1863, Mr. Hampton kept the prosecuting witness on the stand two whole days under cross-examination, and won a verdict for the defendant on that cross-examination alone.

Among the great lawyers of our bar with whom Mr. Hampton practiced, though he was younger than most of them, yet was the peer of any, I might mention, of those practicing in the civil branch of the law: Judge Charles Shaler; Edwin M. Stanton, afterwards President Lincoln's great War Secretary; Judge Hopewell Hepburn, Hon. Thomas Williams, Hon. Andrew W. Loomis; George P. Hamilton, and his law partner, Marcus W. Acheson, afterwards Judge of the United States Court; George Shiras, Jr., afterwards Justice of the United States Supreme Court; C. B. M. Smith, Robert Woods, David D. Bruce, Hon. Samuel A. Purviance, Major A. M. Brown, and in later years, David T. Watson, of international fame. And of the criminal lawyers: Col. Samuel W. Black, Thomas M. Marshall, Sr., Marshall Swartzwelder, H. Bucher Swoope, William D. Moore and Robert M. Gibson. All of these are now dead, with the exception of Justice Shiras, retired, who is still living in his eighty-ninth year.

Col. Samuel W. Black was the son of the Rev. John Black, D.D.; and David D. Bruce was the son of the Rev. Robert Bruce, D.D. Dr. Black and Dr. Bruce were the founders of the Western University of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pittsburgh.

Though Mr. Hampton was a very busy man, he always took a great interest in all matters relating to our bar. In addition to being the founder of our Bar Association in 1870, he was also the founder of our Law Library in 1867. I remember that in response to his invitation to the lawyers and to his students, I was present at its opening, in the two small rooms, 15 feet by 15 feet each, on the ground floor of the building known as Tilgman Hall, which stood at the corner of Grant and Diamond streets, now covered by the end of the Bakewell Building. There were two bookcases, containing the Pennsylvania State Reports, Purdon's and Brightley's digests, and the Massachusetts State Reports with digests, some of the leading text books, and Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, making about 500 volumes in all; a hat rack and towel rack; a table and a half dozen chairs in each room completed the outfit. Mr. Hampton drafted, and had the act passed by the Legislature, entitled: "An

Act relative to the purchase of a Law Library in the County of Allegheny," approved April 15, 1867.

By the provisions of the act a certain portion of the fines and forfeitures to which the county was entitled by existing law was set apart for the purchase of books and the maintenance of the Library. By subsequent acts of the Legislature the amount of the fund for the use and maintenance of the Library was increased from time to time.

We are admonished by Holy Writ to "Despise not the day of small things," and from this humble beginning our Law Library has grown to 46,465 volumes, and while not the largest, it ranks second to none in the whole country as a working library. Under the efficient management and methods of Mr. J. Oscar Emrich, the Librarian, and his staff, and with the beautiful rooms in which the Library is housed, there remains nothing further to be desired.

I might turn aside here to contrast the great increase in the business of our courts at the present time with that when I was admitted to the bar on June 6, 1867; and the change in the methods and facilities which we have now as compared with those which we had in the earlier period.

In 1867 there were three judges of the Common Pleas Court, whose jurisdiction embraced all the civil and criminal cases, and all the business of the Orphans' Court, and two judges of the District Court having concurrent jurisdiction with the Common Pleas Court over civil cases.

We have now fourteen judges of the Common Pleas Court, three judges of the Orphans' Court, and five judges of the County Court; and the criminal business has become so great that two additional judges from adjacent counties have been called in to assist in the trials during the most of each year.

In 1867 there were about 300 attorneys practicing at our bar; now we have about 1840. In 1867 there were 200 Deed Books in the Recorder's Office, and 75 Mortgage Books; now there are 2110 Deed Books and 1816 Mortgage Books. In 1867 there were 21 Appearance Dockets in the office of the Clerk of the Orphans' Court; now there are 255.

From 1867 to 1873 we had no official stenographic reporters in our courts, and the judges had to write the records of the trials laboriously in longhand; some judges using a quill with which to write, and the sand box for blotter; I believe that Captain Edward Y. Breck was the first official reporter appointed for the Court of Common Pleas,, in 1873, coming from the state of New York.

The lawyers of the early days had their offices in the front rooms of the first floor of their residences. The first office building specially constructed with safes, and provided with wash-stands, etc., in each room, was one built by Mr. James I. Kuhn, about the year 1862, at the corner of Diamond Street and Scrip Alley, where the Frick Annex is now. This building was of three stories, containing 20 offices, 10 on the first floor and 10 on the second floor. Mr. Kuhn occupied the third floor as his living apartment, he being a bachelor. Such a thing as a skyscraper or an elevator was not dreamed of at this time.

Mr. Hampton, Mr. C. B. M. Smith, Capt. Samuel Harper, Mr. Alexander Miller and Mr. John M. Kennedy had offices on the first floor; and Messrs. Kuhn and Cassidy were the only lawyers who occupied the second floor, as lawyers were averse at that day to renting offices above the first floor.

Typewriters and telephones have only come into general use within the last thirty years. The improved Index System, in the Recorder's Office, has been introduced and put in full operation within the last ten years, and is just now being extended to the Prothonotary's and other offices.

When I was admitted to the bar, 53 years ago, and for some ten years thereafter, all the offices were kept open until 6:00 P. M. And, as the officers were entitled to all the fees, they were willing to remain beyond the closing hour. I have known that you could go into the Prothonotary's Office as late as 6:30 P. M. and have judgment entered by confession on a judgment note, and have execution issued, and take the writ to the Sheriff's Office and find a Deputy Sheriff who would take it and make a levy on the goods of the defendant the same night. The courts opened at 9:00 A. M., ran to 12:00 noon; adjourned for lunch to 1:00 P. M., and then ran until 6:00 P. M.

Chief Justice Daniel Agnew, in his address at the Banquet in 1878, given for him by the bar of Allegheny County, on his retiring from the Bench, spoke thus of the reciprocal relations of the Bench and Bar:

"It is often said the judiciary is the conservative branch of our government, yet few fathom the true depth of this remark. It is so, but why? Its conservation and correction are found in the bar. They make the bench what it is;

whether we regard its learning, its research, its profundity, or its love of liberty and law. What error of the bench has ever stood against the keen analysis and the united opinion of the bar? The bar leads the judiciary, while the latter in legal form conserves the state, and in its reflex action again refines the bar. They act and react upon each other, just as the images in opposite mirrors are seen in long lines of reproduction, until they fade and disappear in the distance. How much the judge owes the counsel is seldom seen in his judgment, yet, behind what is often termed the learned opinion of the court, stands the research and solid argument of counsel, like the prompter behind the scene."

On the same occasion, Mr. John H. Hampton, my revered preceptor, paid this tribute to the bench:

"The highest judicial tribunal of a government is the embodiment of its power to maintain the legal rights, defend the property, and promote the welfare of its citizens. It represents, too, the learning, the purity, and honor of our noble profession. Many who have given their lives to its duties, live, in history, as much adorning its pages as victorious leaders of armies, or statesmen who were the glory and strength of their age. The ministers of the law wear not laurels dipped in blood, nor win renown by the wiles of diplomacy; to them comes fame by the power to clearly comprehend and firmly place on enduring foundations the great principles which support the fabric of society, and so to administer the law that it becomes a buckler and shield to him whose cause is just.

"How gratifying to all the people of Pennsylvania, that we can point with pride to it's Supreme Court, as worthy of the highest commendation, as representing the majesty of the law, and a purity of judicial history that casts a fadeless lustre on the bench, and on all who have been upon it."

Let such noble sentiments animate us in elevating still higher the standard of professional excellence, and in maintaining the purity, integrity and honor of our whole bar. Let us keep before us that ideal of JUSTICE apostrophized by Sydney Smith:

"Justice is the great interest of man on earth. Truth is its handmaid, freedom is its child, peace is its companion, safety walks in its steps, victory follows in its train; it is the brightest emanation from the Gospel; it is the attribute of God."

My limited time will not permit me to speak at length upon the splendid war record of our bar. From the 250 members who composed it from 1861 to 1865, 106 went into the Union Army in the Civil War, or 40 per cent. of the whole number. One hundred eighty-nine of our attorneys entered the United States Army in the World War, of less than two years duration from our nation's entry therein. I regret that I have been unable to ascertain the number that participated in the Spanish-American War.

In closing, my feelings urge me to offer a few words as my personal tribute to the patriotism and valor of those of our bar who went down to glorious death and up to deathless glory from the battlefields where they fought and died, and whose names and deeds are inscribed in never fading letters upon our Roll of Honor.

To the brave and eloquent Colonel Samuel W. Black, who served in the Mexican War as lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment, and who, in response to President Lincoln's first call for volunteers, resigned as governor of Nebraska, came home and raised the 62nd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. He went to the front and fell at Gaines' Mill, Virginia on June 27, 1862, leading his men in a gallant charge against the enemy.

To Colonel Oliver H. Rippey, who served as a private under Colonel Samuel W. Black in the Mexican War, and, like him, in response to President Lincoln's first call for volunteers, raised the 61st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and, at the battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia, on May 31, 1862, was killed while rallying his men against the assault of a vastly superior force.

To the youthful Lieutenant, James P. Over, who, in leading a detachment to drive out a nest of German machine gunners, met his death on July 30, 1918, at Sergy Heights, France. He was a brave son of a patriotic sire, Judge James W. Over of the Orphans' Court, who himself had carried a saber for three years in the Civil War, and whose own death was hastened by the sad news borne to him from across the seas.

And now:

"Their good swords are rust,
Their bodies are dust,
But their souls are with their God, we trust."

Joseph Forsythe had as his subject "Some of My Recollections of the Early Bar." After referring to his ancestors and how they had originally come from Virginia, he continued:

As they came from Virginia in 1774, I went to Virginia in 1861. Lincoln's first call for volunteers was so soon filled in Pennsylvania that Governor Curtin could not accept the "Pittsburgh Plummer Guards" of which I was a member. We went to Wheeling on June 10, 1861, Virginia having seceded in April we cast in our lot with the loyal West Virginians. When that government was organized we became G. Co. of the 2nd Loyal Virginians. When that government gave its consent to the erection of a new state, out of the territory of the Old Dominion, we became G. Co. of 2nd West Virginia Infantry. Later our company became G. Co. of the 1st West Virginia Light Artillery,—still later Horse Artillery attached to General W. W. Averell's mounted brigade. Our Captain was Chatham T. Ewing of this bar. In our company was William Shields of this bar, and Charles McClure Hays also of this bar,—he became adjutant of the 2nd Infantry when the regiment was organized. In that service, and field, I saw or met other members of this bar in various commands. I recall Captain Robert Pollock, Marshall Johnston, S. A. Johnston, Lt. Col. William Blakely, and Arch. Roward, one of Sheridan's scouts.

When I came back from the army I read law with "Glorious Old Tom," and was admitted to the bar on October 10, 1867. Thomas M. Marshall was then associated in practice with Major A. M. Brown in McTighe's Block at the southwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Grant Street. Our entrance to the 2nd story was on Fifth Avenue opposite St. Paul's Cathedral. At the head of the stairs we entered on the left. In our office Josiah Cohen had begun practicing; W. P. Miller, J. P. Johnston, Wm. Carr, Walter S. McCune and myself were students. On the right at the head of the stairway Samuel A. Purviance and his son Winfield S. Purviance had offices. With them was James W. Murray, who later took over the *Legal Journal* from Thomas J. Keenan. On the Grant Street front were Samuel Fulton, H. H. McCormick, John S. Robb, Chris. Snively, John Mitchell, and others. Below Cherry Alley on the other side of Fifth Avenue were F. H. Collier, later a judge of the Common Pleas Court; Jacob Miller, Archibald McBride, and a student with them, W. D. Porter, now a judge of the Superior Court. To name everybody seems a religious duty but, as usual, I can't do it. There was Marcus W. Acheson, who assisted me in my first ejectment. I am indebted to him for many kindnesses. There was George Shiras, Jr., born in 1832 who became a justice of the United States Supreme Court and is still living in his 90th year,—the Hamiltons, Fettermans, Watsons, Robbs, Veeches, Schoyers, Woodses, Bells, Morrisons, Montooths, Mellons, Reardons, W. B. Rodgers, Arch. Blakely, W. D. Moore, Stephen Geyer—I cannot name or order them. To those I omit I apologize. As the kaleidoscope turns with revolving years all changes—the town changes—I grow a stranger in it—the people change—I change. There is nothing else to do. The grandfathers are gone, the grand old forests are gone, the game that fed us before we supplanted it with other games; the Iroquois, the French, the English, Virginia's claims of jurisdiction running successively through Spottsylvania, Orange, Augusta, West Augusta, to Youghioghenia—the lost county. In Pennsylvania, jurisdiction successively passed from Chester County through Lancaster, Cumberland, Bedford, Westmoreland and Washington to Allegheny since September 24, 1788.

On December 24, 1768, the Indian title was purchased. The Land Office was opened April 3, 1769. Even before the purchase there were squatters intruding on the Indians, but then began a swarming of speculators, and squatters or actual settlers. Anybody with a tomahawk, hatchet, or axe, could blaze lines about choice spots, but the squatter or settler cleared, planted, fenced, built, and lived on the premises. A fine crop of litigation was sown. But with the law came the lawyer. In 1774 James Forsythe came from Virginia, squatted, cleared, planted, built, and lived on a tract apparently vacant, but subsequently a claim of entry was made on some part of it in 1769. Under the advice of David Redick, one of the first crop of lawyers here, James Forsythe bought the claim in 1783 and through Redick purchased a warrant of survey in 1784 which was executed in 1785, the year the boundary question was adjusted with Virginia, and procured his patent in 1787 for 328 acres and allowance. A resurvey in 1789 showed the actual settlement embraced 362 acres and allowance.

The laws of nature and natures God inhere in all things from the smallest to the largest, even in human beings, and are automatically executed. Blackstone's definition of law as a rule of conduct prescribed by a superior for an inferior, fits better to an autocracy than to a democracy, where all have equal rights to life, liberty, property and the pursuit of happiness, and governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Only as a government approximates democracy is there a place, use, power, or influence for a professional class of lawyers. With the pioneers they came, were themselves pioneers in settling the land, as well as the law, until a subdivision of labor made it necessary for everybody to attend to his own particular business,—then the lawyers came to their own.

The bar is only a small part of
"Being's ceaseless tide,

Which ever flowing runs, linked like a river,
By ripple following ripple fast or slow,
The same, yet not the same, from far off fountain,
To where its waters flow into the seas.—into eternity."

Of the men of the olden time, of the individual emanations and materializations evolved by the Master Thaumaturgist, and made visible and audible in this community fifty, sixty, seventy years ago,—spirits that appeared for a little, and faded, and vanished and returned whence they came, I would I could give you pictures, as in a movie show with a phonographic annex, that you might see, and hear them as they were, and acted, and spoke. But my photographic and audiphonic records are imperfect, my pictures faded, and my records dulled with my hearing.

Like the gravedigger I might dig up skulls; like Hamlet I might say of a particular one, "Alas poor Yordick! I knew him well, Horatio. He was a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy." But I have no witchery to raise them as she of Endor did the shade of Samuel. Even the resurrectionists raise only dead bodies; and it is the living, moving, acting, and speaking men of the past I would fain place before you. In all their pride of health, strength, achievement, hope, and courage, as on the stage of life, they acted their parts heroic, comic, or tragic. Like the Cliff Dwellers—

"They were but they are not, the ages
Are dumb, but their pleasure or pain,
Are scrolled on the unwritten pages
We search for in nature in vain.

* * * * *

They were young, they grew old. In their
fashion
They laughed, and they sighed, and they
wept .
They were eager for fame, and for riches,
Their altars with gifts were aglow,
But their ashes are heaped in the niches
And their fires flickered out long ago."

"Thou knowest 'tis common, all that live must die. Passing through nature to eternity." Manfully they dared, and endured the dangers and hardships of life, and with the cheerfulness of women, and children, and inferior creatures, approached their graves—

"Like one that wraps the drapery of his couch
about him
And lies down to pleasant dreams."

Theirs was the courage to live, and love, and to work, and to fight for their loved ones and for their country. Theirs, too, the selfishness without which life perishes, and cannot support a family. (I will ask you here to refrain from ill-natured reflections on bachelors.)

They were good sports and had they thought of it would have said as some one has said:

"When I am gone,
I would not have the song birds hushed
Nor turnips cease their growth,
I would not have the earth stopped in its course
Lest too one sided baking should result
And, let the moon play round,
She'll not annoy me romping with the waves
When I am gone."

Mark Antony said, "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is oft interred with their bones." There is truth in that, but not the whole truth. As surely the good influence of our dead is with us, as is that of the Barons who from King John wrung the great charter of our liberties; as surely as is that of those who shaped and signed the Declaration of Independance, and the constitution of the United States. Just so surely is that of every one who in civil or military life lived or died for that constitution and the principles embodied in it.

In conclusion, I know this comes short of what might naturally be hoped in the way of reminiscences personal to the members of the bar whom I have seen and known in over 53 years of pleasant association with the profession,—but I am growing forgetful. Only recently, when Professor Thorp addressed you, I wanted very much to see and hear him, but I quite forgot the meeting, and I will ask you, if I shall be absent when you meet to celebrate the 100th anniversary of this association to remember my weakness.

The other speakers were the Hon. John D. Shafer, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny County, and Charles A. O'Brien.

A VISIT TO ECONOMY IN THE SPRING OF 1840.

By

REV. WILLIAM A. PASSAVANT

After a tedious ride of several hours through the oak ridges of the northeastern part of Beaver County, the monotony of leafless hills and poorly cultivated farms, gave place to the beautiful scenery in the valley of the Ohio River. Here, vegetation was already far advanced and presented a striking contrast to the country in the rear. After gaining the open lands of the river bottom our road led us through the rich and level plantations which line its banks. On the opposite side of the Ohio a lofty ridge covered with oaks and pines followed the windings of the river as far as the eye could reach. Clumps of sugar maple clothed in a livery of the richest green which had survived the destruction of their fellows, were scattered over the valley in every direction, while fields of grain on the uplands often surrounded by primative forests, presented a quiet yet beautiful scene which wanted only the painters skill to be eternalized on canvas. The bottoms along the Ohio are principally rich alluvium and the different layers of soil as they were successively deposited during some mighty convulsion of nature may be distinctly traced to those rivulets, which in the course of years, have won for themselves a passage to the river. The alluvium often to a considerable distance up the hills is mingled with round stones called by geologists *boulders*. These are often of granite, selenite, and other rocks which belong to the primary formation. How these were conveyed to a secondary formation by the waters of the Ohio is not for us to say—but this is certain, there has not been a rise in its waters of three hundred feet above its present level, within the recollection of man—and at this height they may be found along the entire course of the river. The very first field of the Economites was used as a camp by the army of General Anthony Wayne for the whole winter previous to his expedition against the Indian tribes of the West. The field contains about ten acres and was defended on two sides by the nature of the ground, the other two were surrounded by an embankment of earth eight feet high and a ditch which are still visible. At a distance of half a mile from Economy, our attention was arrested by observing a clump of hickory saplings growing on a small elevation in a clover field off the road. On examination it proved to be one of those tumuli which are so frequently met with in the Western country. It was one of the common sized mounds but perfectly circular and oval and exhibited more regularity and care in its construction, than is commonly the case. The situation of this mound could not but strike the mind as indicative of that noble and poetical spirit, which these rude children of nature manifested in selecting some beautiful spot to bury their dead. It overlooks the Ohio for several miles of its course and its majestic flow of waters has lost nothing of its grandeur, nor does it move onward with less of beauty though a new race has succeeded the children of nature, and the steamboat has usurped the place of the bark canoe.

The first impression made on the stranger at his entrance into Economy is rather favorable. It lies on the right bank of the Ohio and is eighteen miles distant from Pittsburgh and ten from the town of Beaver. The town is divided into regular squares by three streets running due north and south, which are again intersected by five others lying east and west. Of these the principal one, being the one on which the house of Rapp and all the public buildings are placed, is situated in the centre of the place. It is worthy of notice that on this street the most influential members, and those who originally invested the largest capital in the concern reside, while those on the other hand whose interest was little or nothing, inhabit the squares most distant from the centre. The dwelling houses are generally of brick or frame, painted white or yellow, and it does not fail to strike the traveller as singular to see the doors of the houses opening toward the garden or yard, instead of on the street. A large garden is attached to every dwelling and these, besides the greatest abundance and variety of kitchen plants, are filled with the most beautiful flowers and shrubs. Besides the garden every family has a small yard which is planted with the finest plum and pear trees, and most of the houses have grapevines trained on the sunny side. Long rows of mulberry trees are planted on both sides of the streets, and the grass which is growing in the public ways, gives you at once an idea of the quiet and secluded habits of the Economites.

The original members of the community headed by the elder Rapp, were dissenters from the Lutheran church and emigrated from Wurtemberg to America on account of their religious opinions. Their first settlement was made near Zelienople, in Butler County, in this state, where they founded the town of Harmony. After a residence of a number of years in that place, during which time substantial brick houses had taken the place of thatched cabins, they sold their property and moved to the Wabash River. Here they erected another town likewise called Harmony, and which in later times was the scene of the unsuccessful experiment in socialism with Robert Owen for its patron saint. From this place they again removed on account of the prevalence of malarial fevers which carried off one-third of their number, and they finally settled in the place they now occupy.

It might perhaps be interesting to know something of the religious tenets of this singular people, but on this point very little information can be given. They read the Scriptures and I think believe in what they call the great doctrines of the Bible, but their ideas even on the essential truths of the Gospel, are exceedingly mystical and wild. It would not be out of place here to mention Rapp's views on the subject of marriage. When the sect first arrived in the country, the majority were in very indigent circumstances. In order to support themselves with more ease they voluntarily resolved to abstain from marriage and all intercourse with each other for seven years after their arrival. But the argus eyed Rapp quickly perceived that this was a prosperous business and before the seven years seige was over, he had plied them so closely with scripture, omens, dreams, etc. that with very few exceptions the community of seven hundred persons voluntarily resisted the promptings of nature and merged into a society of bachelors and old maids.

It is true that some more romantic stripling than his phlegmatic fellow, would now and then make love to some plump German maiden, and like Adam and his partner, take their solitary way from this abode of dry bones—this desert of affection, into the wide world, but as was mentioned before these instances of romantic love are by no means frequent. Such offenders are only too quickly handed over to the safe keeping of the devil, to suffer their example to exert any influences on others who might also have a soft heart toward the other sex. Through the influence of an acquaintance I was permitted to attend church on Wednesday evening, a time at which no strangers are suffered to be present. For some time before the bell rang for worship there might be seen numbers of aged women dressed in dark clothes, and walking at a snail's pace and leaning on their staffs. After these come the other females of the society and at the first notes of the bell the men old and young were seen collecting from all quarters. Presently old Mr. Rapp, supported by two of the members, entered the church and took his seat directly before the Bible which was placed on a desk on the platform. He was dressed in the common garb of the society and wore a woolen night cap which he always removed before praying. His sermon was excellent and he enforced the duty of following the Saviour and of living near the cross, with great earnestness. He remained seated during the whole discourse and when the subject seemed to demand greater animation, his eyes flashed with intelligence and his voice was raised to a pitch that would be deemed almost incredible for a man in his ninetieth year. During the course of the discourse he took occasion to introduce his favorite doctrines and asked with seeming indignation, "Was Christ married?" His stupid congregation had not the sense to see through his empty reasoning and swallowed the remark entire. It would seem that one who strenuously insists on following Christ in his habits of love, would not enter so deeply into the whisky business—but precept and practice are two different things in his creed. The appearance of Rapp is well calculated to the situation he occupied. Though his age is now ninety, his step is still firm and a snow white beard reaching down to his waist gives him the appearance of a venerable prophet. Long before this time his name and that of his society had become known, not only in the United States, but in Europe as well. Lord Byron in his "Don Juan" has this to say of Rapp and the community which he governs.

"When Rapp the Harmonist embargo'd marriage
In his harmonious settlement(which flourishes
Strangely enough as yet without miscarriage,

> Because it breeds no more mouths than it nourishes,
> Without those sad expenses which disparage
> What Nature naturally most encourages)—
> Why call'd he 'Harmony' a state sans wedlock?
> Now here I've got the preacher at a dead lock."

Though we cannot but censure his tyranny, yet it must be said that very few indeed whose education is superior to the acquirements of this illiterate weaver could govern such a community under the same restrictions for a single day. His time is spent for the most part in reading the latest religious works from the press in Germany. He says that he is obliged to do this on account of his want of education. It is scarcely necessary to mention that Rapp's system is that of a community of goods and that all members of the society work together for the common interest, by which the welfare of each individual is secured. The amount of land owned by the society amounts to two thousand acres and without doubt is among the best on the Ohio. A large part of this is what might be called high river bottom land which runs back to the hills, and is in many places a mile in breadth. This part is all cleared and cultivated, while on the hills there are yet large tracts of woodland. It is really a pleasure to walk over this immense plantation and see the perfection to which farming is carried. Some of the fields contain fifty or a hundred acres, and are surrounded by the best fences, and on their entire surface not a stump is to be seen. If the land is too steep for the plough, it is covered with rows of white mulberry trees to supply the silk worms with leaves. If there is danger of a run washing away, its banks are lined with willows. Should the ground prove too marshy for the purposes of agriculture, it is planted with a species of osiers for the manufacture of baskets, and a deep ravine between sand hills which would otherwise be of no value has been chosen as the pleasure ground of their herd of hogs, where they may exercise their rooting propensities to their hearts desire, without injury to the soil. In this manner everything is arranged, the different grains and plants are adapted to their appropriate soils, everything receives a proper degree of attention and shows what can be done by a community of common interests properly governed. The number of farmers is very large and often in harvest fifty reapers may be seen in a single field. The women who are not otherwise employed often work in the field during harvest, and with their sleeves rolled up, and broad rimmed bonnets on their heads present a very picturesque appearance. It must not be forgotten that they are always in a separate company by themselves. Much attention is paid to the raising of fruit trees, and in the fall of the year every variety of apple, pear, plum, peach, quince, etc., may be had for the asking. Some of their orchards are very extensive, especially the apple which covers several hills. The trees are grafted and produce every variety from the Rambo to the juicy Pippin. From the inferior kinds vast quantities of cider are made. The hardest kind of cider too, and hence the reason why the Economites are all Harrison men. This is served out every day from a cellar to the families in proportion to their numbers.

The flock of sheep belonging to the society is very large and numbers many thousands; they are pastured by shepherds during the summer who with their dogs lead a solitary life watching their flocks.

In An Old Street

David Morton

The twilight gathers here like brooding thought
    Haunting each shadowed dooryard and its door,
With gone, forgotten beauty that was wrought
    Of hands and hearts that come this way no more.
Here an intenser quiet stills the air
    With old remembering of what is not:
Of silver slippers gone from every stair,
    And silver laughter long and long forgot.

Deeper and deeper where this dusk is drifted,
    Gathers a sense of waiting through the night,
About old doors whose latch is never lifted,
    And dusty windows vacant of a light.
Deeper and deeper, till the grey turns blue,
    And one by one the patient stars peer through.—*The Bookman.*

THE OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, FROM 1850 to 1860

By

IRENE E. WILLIAMS*

Negro slavery engrossed the whole attention of the country during the decade from 1850 to 1860. The "Underground Railroad" was a form of combined defiance of national laws on the ground that they were unjust and oppressive. The Underground Railroad was the opportunity for the bold and adventurous; it had the excitement of piracy, the secrecy of burglarly, the daring of insurrection; it developed coolness, indifference to danger and quickness of resource." (1)

In the course of the sixty years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Rebellion, the Northern states became traversed by numerous secret pathways leading from Southern bondage to Canadian liberty. Even in colonial times there was difficulty in recovering fugitive slaves because of the aid rendered them by friends. (2)

For the acceptance and adoption of the ordinance of 1787 and the United States constitution, clauses relative to the rendition of fugitive slaves were necessary. In 1793 the first Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. This was rendered nugatory in 1842, by the judicial decision in the famous case of "Prigg versus Pennsylvania." Incorporated in the compromise measures of 1850 was the Fugitive Slave Law. (3)

Under this law the alleged fugitive was denied trial by jury; was forbidden to testify in his own behalf; could not summon witnesses, and was subject to the law though he might have escaped years before it was enacted. Should the judge decide against the negro his fee was ten dollars; should he decide for the accused it was but five. To "hinder or prevent the arrest" or to "harbor or conceal a fugitive" was punishable with a fine of one thousand dollars or six months imprisonment. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 stimulated the work of secret emancipation. The Underground Railroad alone serves to explain the enactment of that most remarkable piece of legislation, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. (4)

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*The author, a student in the University of Pittsburgh, read the above article before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on June 1, 1920.

The origin of the name Underground Railroad came into use first among the slave-hunters in the neighborhood of Columbia, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. The pursuers seem to have had little difficulty in tracking slaves as far as Columbia, but beyond that point all track of them was lost. The slave-owners are said to have declared that "there must be an underground railroad somewhere." (5)

In 1851 a serious riot occurred at Christiania in Lancaster county, one of the stations of the Underground Railroad, which caused a profound sensation all over the country. The Quakers definitely aided fugitives and maintained numerous Underground Railroad centers in Southeastern Pennsylvania. (6) The Western part of the state also contained regular routes of travel. The most important of these roads resulted from the convergance of at least three well-defined lines of escape at Uniontown, from Virginia and Maryland. Two courses led northward, both of which terminated at Pittsburgh. From this place fugitives seem to have been sent to Cleveland by rail, or to have been directed to follow the Allegheny River and its tributaries north. Friends were not lacking at convenient points to help them along to the main terminals for this region, namely Erie, Buffalo or across the state line to the much used routes of the Western Reserve in Ohio. East of the Allegheny River significant traces of the Underground Railroad were found running in a northeasterly direction from Greensburg, through Indiana County to Clearfield, a distance of seventy-five miles. From Clearfield an important branch ran northwest to Franklin and Shippensville and thence to Erie. (7)

Many of the communications relating to fugitive slaves were couched in guarded words. There were messages written in figurative language. The following are examples:

"Please forward immediately the U. G. baggage sent to you this day."

"Dear Sir:—By tomorrow evening's mail you will receive two volumes of the "Irrepressible Conflict" bound in black. After perusal, please forward."

Another message was in these words:

"Uncle Tom says if the roads are not too bad, you can look for those fleece of wool, by tomorrow. Send them on to test the market, no back charges." (8)

Characteristic of the Underground Railroad were the covered wagons, closed carriages and deep-bedded farm wagons, which hid the passengers. The routes were far from straight. They are best described as zigzag. The ultimate goal was Canada. (9)

In September after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law the colored people of Pittsburgh and vicinity who had escaped from Southern masters, began to leave in squads for Canada. On the twenty-fourth of that month, forty negroes left the Third Ward, Allegheny (now part of Pittsburgh) in one squad for that haven of safety. By the twenty-sixth over two hundred fugitives had departed from Pittsburgh. The newspapers expressed great surprise that there should be in the city so many fugitive slaves. The negroes were well-armed with rifles, revolvers and knives. Each company had a captain, and before starting all made a firm resolve to die rather than be taken back into slavery. (10) Both the Whig *Gazette* and the Democratic *Post* in editorials declared that the effect of this law would be the strengthening of the anti-slavery sentiment in the North. The *Commercial Journal* another Whig paper said: "The passage of the Slave Bill has caused more excitement than we anticipated. The opinion that the law must be repealed seems to be universal in this neighborhood." (11)

The situation at this time was exciting in the extreme and numerous meetings were held denouncing the enactment of the law. On September 28, 1850 a meeting of colored people and their friends opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law was held in the Pittsburgh Diamond. A tremendous concourse of people assembled. Rev. Charles Avery, who presided made an eloquent address. He said that the Fugitive Slave Law was calculated to suspend both the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury; that good citizens would never suffer such a law to go into effect in Pennsylvania. Thomas M. Howe, a candidate for Congress, also spoke, and expressed strong anti-slavery sentiments saying: "Our constitution otherwise so perfect contains one blot, and we should not allow ourselves to be turned from men into slave-catchers." His remarks were greeted with tremendous applause and cries of, "We'll send you to Congress!" Other speakers were; John Farral, John A. Willis and General William Larimer. The following resolutions were adopted by the meeting.

FIRST: That the editors of the newspapers be requested to publish in a conspicuous place the names of all persons who accept nominations as commissioners under the Fugitive Slave Law.

SECOND: Members of the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress, who voted for the passage of the Slave Bill are unworthy of the support of their friends.

THIRD: The Fugitive Slave Bill recently passed by Congress is unconstitutional, and aims a deadly blow at Liberty under the pretext of vested rights.

FOURTH: We will unite and stand shoulder to shoulder until with the blessing of God, the Fugitive Slave Bill shall be expunged from the statute books, and every supporter of the abominations be driven from the national councils." (12)

Two days later a meeting was held in the Allegheny market-house at which Hugh S. Fleming, the mayor of Allegheny, presided, and made a forcible speech in favor of the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. Thomas M. Howe, Mr. Salisbury, the Democratic-workingman's candidate for Congress, and Israel Cullen, also spoke in opposition to the law. Strong resolutions were passed denouncing slavery in the severest terms. (13). The *Commercial Journal* said of the gathering: "We have never seen a larger or more enthusiastic meeting in Allegheny. The demonstration is proof that the indignation of the people is deeply aroused." (14)

The first case to arise in Pittsburgh under the Fugitive Slave Law was that of George White, a mulatto boy. On January 14, 1851, he was apprehended at the instance of a Mr. Rose of Wellsburg, Virginia, who recognized the lad as his former slave. At this time he was apprenticed to J. B. Vashon, a barber, who paid the owner two hundred dollars rather than see the boy taken back into slavery. (15) The *Post* commended Mr. Vashon in these words: "This act of Mr. Vashon's is that of a good law-abiding citizen, and is more praiseworthy and more philanthropic than the coined professions that emanate from mad fanaticism, whose great love for the colored race begins and ends in words, words, words. (16)

Robert M. Riddle, the editor of *The Commercial Journal* held much the same views as the editor of the *Post*, and while he deprecated the existence of the law, yet counseled obedience to its mandate. The Rev. Dr. David H. Riddle, the pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church preached a sermon to the same effect, which was printed in pamphlet form and largely distributed. The stand taken by the two Riddles aroused the ire of Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, who commented sarcastically on their effusions in her anti-slavery paper, the *Saturday Visitor*, part of her diatribe being republished by the *Commercial Journal*, prefaced by the following explanation:

"Alluding to the fact that some acquaintance has applied to us for assistance to a Southern gentleman in catching a slave, she says:

'Any of our Southern friends, who want business done in their line in our dirty city, should direct their communications to our good friend, Robert M. Riddle, or Judge Baird, with a special request for prayers for their success from Rev. Dr. Riddle.'" (17)

The first case to be tried in Pittsburgh under the Fugitive Slave Law was called before Judge Irwin on March 13, 1851. It was claimed that a colored man, named Woodson, was the slave of Mrs. Byers of Kentucky, and that he had escaped two years before. The defense tried to establish a different identity but the case was decided in favor of Mrs. Byers, and the slave was ordered kept in irons until delivered to the owner. As soon as the decree was handed down Mr. Sproul the clerk of United States Court headed a subscription for the release of the negro. Several other subscription papers were circulated, and it was evident that if Woodson could be retained a few hours, the requisite sum would soon be obtained to purchase his freedom. When the prisoner was taken to the boat, a crowd gathered until from two hundred to three hundred persons had collected. A guard accompanied the slave to the boat. The newspapers generally insisted that the law must be maintained. (18) The *Post* said: "Contrary to the expectations of many persons, the case was determined without the slightest effort being made to resist the law of the land. The claimant fully proved title to the fugitive slave, and after a fair hearing, he was given up, and taken to Kentucky by his owner. We think the result of this case will show that the citizens of Pittsburgh are not disposed to follow the example of the fanatics of Boston and other places in a treasonable opposition to the law of the land." (19)

The slave Woodson had been captured at Beaver, where he had preached for two years. He had bought a house, and was a thrifty mechanic. He was finally freed by subscriptions raised in Pittsburgh and Beaver. The people in Beaver alone collected two hundred and fifty dollars for the purpose. (20)

On August 1, 1851, the colored people of the vicinity celebrated in Oakland, the emancipation of eight hundred thousand negroes in the West Indies. Woodson, the former slave, was the orator of the day. The meeting was held in a beautiful grove, on the property of James Craft. (21)

The newspapers readily acknowledged the existence of the Underground Railroad. The *Gazette* which appears to have been the only Pittsburgh newspaper which was sincerely anti-slavery in sentiment, spoke sarcastically on the subject: "The Underground Railroad seems to be doing a good business. Southern chattles seem disposed to imitate their masters, and migrate to a cool climate before dog-days. It is wonderful that chattelized humanity is so foolish as to wish for the privilege of taking care of itself when it has such kind, tender masters to take care of it." (22)

In March, 1855 Leonard Boyd accompanied by his wife and a colored nurse, stopped at the St. Charles Hotel. The servants attempted to liberate the girl, but were prevented from doing so. Mr. Boyd had intended to remain in Pittsburgh three days, but fearing the loss of his property, left by boat at once. On the way to the landing, desperate attempts at rescue were again made, but upon the presentation of arms by the police, the rescuers were driven back and the slave was safely placed on the boat. During the progress of the last attempt, severe struggling and rioting occurred. It was stated that the undertaking for boldness had never been surpassed in Pittsburgh. The *Post* made the disparaging comment: "The character of this city should not be stained, nor its business injured by negro mobs. Its business has suffered severely enough from other causes within the last year, without adding the curse and disgrace of negro riots. We hope that the next riot of the kind will be met with plenty of well charged revolvers in ready and resolute hands." (23)

"The Wind blowsfrom the South today,"was the unique heading of an article in the *Gazette* of June 20, 1855. It appears that a Southern planter had freed his slaves and sent them in care of an agent to a place of safety. While in Pittsburgh the agent having them in charge refused to make known their destination. In the minds of the officers of the Underground Railroad, a suspicion arose that the agent might take the negroes beyond the place designated in the will. So they were induced to leave the boat, and their agent. The *Gazette* said of the negroes: "They had more sense than to trust themselves and their liberty to the uncertainty of a trip on a Western steamboat bound for the Southwest." (24)

The Slaymaker case was a notable one. Colonel Slaymaker's wife visited friends here on March 6, 1855, accompanied by a colored female, presumed to be a slave. However the information was given out that she was free. This was denied by the colored people who attempted a rescue in the diningroom of the hotel, one morning at breakfast. The colored waiters and a colored barber seized the girl and hurried her out through the rear of the hotel. A meeting was held to consult about the girl, the following being the account of the gathering which appeared in the *Gazette*. (25) "As far as we can learn, it was a meeting of an organization, which has for its object the seizure of slaves passing through the city, and is probably what it known as the Underground Railroad. At the assemblage it was decided that the woman should be rescued at the hotel."

The Slaymakers declared that the girl was already free, and produced papers showing such to be the case. In two hours time the girl was reproduced and returned to Mr. Slaymaker.

On July 14, 1855 a report to the effect that a slave-catcher was stopping at the Monongahela House, occasioned great excitement among the colored people. The abolitionists and colored people called meetings and appointed a committee to wait upon the gentleman to ascertain the nature of his visit. He proved to be H. B. Northrup of New York, one of the most active anti-slavery agitators of the day. He had rescued from slavery the colored man, Solomon Northrup, author of "Twelve Years of Slavery." So great was the fear at this time that slave-owners and slave-catchers would descend upon the community that Mr. Northrup had great difficulty in convincing the people of his identity. In fact, so obstinate were the anti-slavery people that Mr. Northrup finally took offense and declared it was mortifying to him, who had spent so many years in the cause of anti-slavery to be so considered. But he declared that Pittsburgh, at least, was on the right side of the question. What made the excitement greater was the fact that two runaway slaves had reached the city the day before the arrival of Mr. Northrup, and the fears of the community led to the conclusion that the stranger at the hotel might be a slave-catcher in pursuit of them. The *Gazette* in commenting on the matter, said: "The prompt action taken by our anti-slavery friends, shows that the mass of our citizens are sound on the slavery question, and are fully resolved that no fugitive slave shall be taken from this city without an effort to resist it." (26)

The *Post* took a different view of the occurrence and published a leading article headed *"Great Cry, and No Wool, another Nigger."* "The select committee of the Underground Railroad appear to think they are a smart set of fellows—, but it is about time they began to profit by the old law, look before you leap. Several of the committee heard of Mr. Northrup's visit to the city, and conceived at once there was a "nigger in the wood-pile," and quickly sent word to their brethren in all parts of town that there was a negro-catcher in our midst. The excitement ran high and some of the colored preachers even went so far as to announce the news from the pulpits accompanied by the warning that if any fugitives were present they should conceal themselves. After hearing Mr. Northrup's statement they went away with a very big flea in each of their ears." (27)

The *Gazette* of July 13, 1855 announced that six fugitive slaves had a few days previous been in the city, and had then taken a train on the Ohio and Pennsylvania (now the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago) Railroad *enroute* for Canada. (28)

In July, 1855, George Ferris who had left Pittsburgh for St. Louis with a band of singers was captured by a Mr. Shaw and returned to Mr. Raglan, who claimed to be his owner. A short time after this Mr. Shaw, who turned out to be a professional slave-catcher, was arrested here while trying to kidnap Ferris' three year old child. Five informations were on file at Pittsburgh at one time against Shaw. (29)

The famous Dred Scott Case attracted great interest in Pittsburgh. Meetings were held denouncing the decision. In an editorial published in the *Gazette* on March 7, 1857, the editor commented on the decision as follows: "The Supreme Court has aimed a blow at state sovereignty, which is baser and more iniquitous than anything we had before conceived of. It is not law and it has no binding force on either the people or the government. It is not an authoritative interpretation of the constitution, nor is it legally a decision entitled to any weight whatever. The constitution was ordained to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to the people, and it will be worth one struggle at least to prevent it from thus being turned from its high aims to subserve the lust of tyranny. The constitution was made by the people and for the people, and to the people, the sovereign power in this Confederacy, we appeal from this decision. They understand the charter of liberties, we hope, well enough to rebuke and defeat this effort to give the whole country up to the domination of the slave power." (30)

Pittsburgh was renowned both in the North and South for the care it took of fugitive slaves coming within its limits. Various devices were resorted to by the abolitionists to conceal them. There were in and about the city immense hollows and ravines with steep banks overgrown with underbrush and vines, and the surrounding hills were covered with tall trees, some of which may yet be seen in Schenley Park. Many a slave was concealed in these ravines and with meals carried to him by members of the Abolition societies, he was able to evade the watchful eye of the slave-catcher, until pursuit was abandoned. They were then driven through the city in carriages with double bottoms, under which the slave lay on his back, and to all appearances the carriage was empty, save for the driver. There were secret recesses built in houses, with the entrance so thoroughly concealed, that it required an accurate eye to discover them. Into these, the slaves were thrust in an emergency. Pittsburgh because of the strong abolition sentiment was the one place a slave-catcher feared to enter, and the fugitive felt that "as soon as he entered the city on his way towards the North Star," he was safe.

William Stewart, a prominent business man of sixty years ago has written a description of how the Underground Railroad was operated; “The bridge at Niagara Falls is the haven to which we send all hunted slaves,” said Mr. Stewart. “On a Sunday morning I was just starting for church when a well known knock touched my door. I knew at once that church for me was in another direction. I opened my door leisurely, went out and turned to the right towards the east. About a block away, there was a little covered carriage that was very much in use in Pittsburgh at that time. They were called dearborns. When I left my own house there was a gentleman walking between the carriage and me. We did not speak to each other, but he turned down the first street. The curtains of the dearborn were all rolled up, and no person but the driver could be seen. It was made with a double bottom and the slave was lying flat between the upper and lower bottoms. The driver kept going on very leisurely. There was a ferry about where the Fortieth Street bridge is. We all got on the same ferry, but the driver never exchanged words with us. He was one of our wealthiest citizens and was wearing a fine pair of false whiskers. After we crossed the river the driver drove on the tow path of the canal. Finally the dearborn turned on a road running across Pine Creek below Sharpsburg. There another man came out of a house. The new man took the driver’s place, while the other man took another direction, no one having spoken a word since we started. The dearborn was then driven into a lonely place in the woods, where there was a “station” provided with all manner of disguises. Provided with these the slave was started on his way to Niagara. After leaving Pittsburgh, they were scarcely ever captured.” (31)

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EXCERPTS FROM OLD TIME PRIMARY SCHOOL BOOKS

Death

Youth, I am come to fetch thy breath,
And carry thee to th' shades of death,
No pity on thee can I show,
Thou hast thy God offended so.
Thy soul and body I'll divide,
Thy body in the grave I'll hide,
And thy dear soul in hell must lie
With Devils to eternity.

Thus end the days of woeful youth,
Who won't obey nor mind the truth;
Nor hearken to what preachers say,
But do their parents disobey.
They in their youth go down to hell,
Under eternal wrath to dwell.
Many don't live out half of their days,
For cleaving unto sinful ways.
"The New England Primer." Published 1777.

Against Evil Company

Why should I join them in play,
In whom I've no delight;
Who curse and swear, but never pray.
Who call ill names, and fight?

I hate to hear a wanton song;
The words offend my ears;
I should not dare defile my tongue
With language such as theirs.

My God, I hate to walk or dwell
With sinful children here;
Then let me not be sent to hell,
Where none but sinners are.

This is the day when Christ arose
So early from the dead;
Why should I keep my eyelids clos'd,
And waste my hours in bed?

Today with pleasure Christians meet,
To pray, and hear thy word;
And I will go with cheerful feet
To learn thy will, O Lord.

I'll leave my sport and read and pray,
And so prepare for heaven;
O may I love this blessed day,
The best of all the seven.
"The Young Ladies' and Gentlemen's
Spelling Book." Published 1799.

Lessons in Verse

When the Sun doth rise you must go up each day,
And fall on your knees, and to God humbly pray:
Then kneel to your parents, their blessing implore,
And when you have money, give some to the poor.
Your hands and your face, in the next place wash fair,
And brush your apparel and comb out your hair.

Then wish a good morning to all in your view,
And bow to your parents, and bid them adieu;
Salute every person as to school you go;
When at school, to your master due reverence show.
And if you can't read, pray endeavor to spell,
For by frequently spelling you'll learn to read well.

Shun all idle boys, and the wicked and rude;
And pray, only play with those boys who are good.
To church you must every Sunday repair,
And behave yourself decently while you are there.
At the close of the day, ere you go to your rest,
Kneel again to your parents, and be again blest;
And to the Almighty again humbly pray,
That he may preserve you by night and by day.
"The Franklin Primer." Published 1802.

The Little Girl, The Sparrow, The Bee, and The Ant.

Who'll come and play with me here under the tree
My sisters have left me alone;
My sweet little Sparrow come hither to me,
And play with me while they are gone.

O no, little lady, I can't come, indeed,
I've no time to idle away;
I've got all my dear little children to feed,
And my nest to new cover with hay.

My sweet pretty Bee, do not buzz in that flower,
But come here and play with me, do;
The Sparrow won't come and stay with me an hour,
But say, pretty Bee—will not you?

O no, little lady, for do not you see,
Those must work who would prosper and thrive;
If I play they would call me a sad idle Bee,
And perhaps turn me out of the hive.

Stop! Stop! little Ant, do not run off so fast.
Wait with me a little and play;
I hope I shall find a companion at last,
You are not so busy as they.

O no, little lady, I can't stay with you,
We're not made to play but to labour;
I always have something or other to do,
If not for myself, for a neighbour.

What then, have they all some employment but me,
Who lie lounging here like a dunce?
O then, like the Ant, the Sparrow, and Bee,
I'll go to my lesson at once.

"The United States Spelling Book." Published 1818.

Little Charles

Well, Charles is highly pleased today,
I gave him leave to go and play
Upon the green, with bat and ball;
And when he heard his playmates call,
Away he sprang across the plain,
To join the little merry train,
But here he comes—why, what means this?
I wonder what has gone amiss,—
Why, Charles, how came you back so soon?
I gave you leave to stay till noon.

I know it, sir, and I intended
To play till every game was ended;
But, to say truth, I could not bear
To hear those little fellows swear—
They cursed so bold and fearlessly
That the cold chills ran over me—
For I was seized with awful dread
That some of them would drop down dead—
And so I turned and came away,
For, Pa, I was afraid to stay!
"The Fourth Class Book." Published 1827.

Lesson

The bad man who is in the way of sin, will go to the pit;
and so will the bad boy too.
But the good boy who does no ill, will go to joy;
for joy is to be the lot of all who do well.
"The Ohio Primer." Published 1829.

REMINISCENCES OF JANE GREY SWISSHELM

By

REV. S. J. FISHER, D. D.*

One pleasant Sabbath morning in the late "seventies," or early "eighties" of the last century, the congregation of the Swissvale Presbyterian Church were gathering, as usual, for worship. The last sounds of the sweet-toned church bell were dying across the lawns and gardens and groves of the attractive suburb, and being succeeded by the notes of the organ prelude, when the youthful pastor noticed a stranger walking up the side aisle, unattended, yet apparently indifferent to the eyes or attentions of others. Entering a pew, and seating herself next to the aisle, she responded with a gentle nod to the friendly smile of the prominent lawyer who sat in the adjoining pew, and then removing her very plain bonnet, placed it on the floor of the aisle, and with an air of absorption, awaited the opening hymn. Her dress was exceedingly plain, and her whole appearance was that of one to whom fashion or the desire of personal adornment made no appeal.

She was then, probably, about 65 years of age, and her dark hair touched with gray, her face somewhat lined with years of an active life, and her slight yet vigorous form, were attractive or unusual only because of an indescribable air of self satisfaction. She was an attentive worshiper,and,whatever her comparative judgment of sermon or music, was refined in manner and unobstrusive in attitude. At the close of the service it was evident that she was no stranger to many of the congregation, for she was soon greeted by friends and acquaintances,as one returning to her old home. It was at this time that the young pastor was introduced to Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, of whom he had heard, and at whose suggestion the name of the suburb was created. She was pleasant in manner and appreciative of her friendly neighbors, to whom she owed many acts of kindness. She was whimsical in speech, alert, gifted with humor, and easily sarcastic. She was at this time nearing the end of a very peculiar life, an experience greatly varied both in her personal and domestic relations, and the newspaper activities and reforms. Rather thin or spare in figure, she gave one the impression of a bird by her alert and changeful movements. She was sojourning in the old log cabin which had been her husband's home, and now had become her own property, and here she was preparing her autobiography under the title "Half A Century." With some corrections I shall rely upon this volume for the data and facts concerning her varied life.

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*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on March 29, 1921.

At this point let me say that few persons are qualified to write an autobiography. There is at times a lack of perspective, and, in some natures an unwillingness to recognize defaults or mistakes, which destroys accuracy. Then, too, there may be the tendency to let distance lend enchantment, and trust to the partial memories of loving friends for flattering reminiscences of childhood. In this respect Mrs. Swisshelm was apt to be credulous, and the story of her life is clothed with a glamour which her hardships probably led her to enjoy. She was born in 1815 on Water Street, Pittsburgh, and it is to be remembered that at that date this city had less than 5,000 inhabitants.

An enthusiastic reporter claimed, at the time of her death, that she was a lineal descendant of Lady Jane Grey, but his historic knowledge was not sufficient to inform him, that Lady Jane Grey was married in May, was arrested by Queen Mary and sent to the Tower in November, and was executed, in February, never having known the responsibilities of motherhood. Mrs. Swisshelm speaks of her family as Scotch in descent, and connected with royalty through the Grey family. It is more than probable that here romance attracted her, though the Grey family is an extensive one, and such feudal relations are numerous; and we have heard that while Charles the Second left no legitimate children, he might be called in a special sense the father of his people.

Mrs. Swisshelm emphasizes her relations to the Covenanters, and her thorough doctrinal training under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Black of the Covenanter Church in this city. Her childhood was spent in this city and Wilkinsburg, to which place the family removed, returning to a house on Sixth Avenue, opposite Trinity Church, whose grounds she remembered as enclosed with a board fence. While quite young she was sent to a girl's boarding school near Braddock, a training she enjoyed for about a year.

In her story we gain an interesting glimpse of the scenes which were to be associated with her early married life, and which recall for some of us the changes wrought in later years. She describes her journey from Pittsburgh to Braddock by wagon, turning from the road, the old Greensburg Pike, now Penn Avenue, at the old Yellow Tavern, which in its ruins some of us recall, and following the rough road now named Braddock Avenue, rode on in the dark night, descending into what we know as Nine Mile Run, and while crossing the depths of the dark ravine, was endangered by the overflowing stream. Harm might have followed if she had not been rescued by a powerful youth, who carried her in his arms to his log house home at the roadside. Subsequently he became her husband, the log house the scene of the trials of her early married life, and eventually the resting place for her last years.

Let us remember that at this time, about 1827 this deep ravine as it ran back from the Monongahela River became Y-like in shape, one branch running northwest to Wilkinsburg, and the other northeast to what is now Edgewood, and, as yet, open and unobstructed by the huge fills made necessary, when a quarter century later the Pennsylvania Railroad was completed.

Mrs. Swisshelm is not quite correct concerning the age of the log house and the adjoining mill. The date of the house was probably about 1813, while the stone barn opposite carried in its gable end a stone with date, 1814, cut in it. Near it was a mill which, despite Mrs. Swisshelm's belief that to it the Indians came for flour, is of later date than such customers could need.

After a childhood in which she finds herself, as an infant, unusually gifted, and a varied schooling, she was married at the age of 21 to James Swisshelm. At the very beginning she seems disillusionized. She finds this large framed, black bearded and gigantic bridegroom entirely dependent upon, and submissive to his mother, whose religious affiliations prejudiced her against the little bride, and whose control of the property produced an irritation and unhappiness which never wholly ceased. Mrs. Swisshelm's tendency to over emphasize all she was or possessed, leads her at times to describe her husband as remarkable in appearance, and possessed of masculine beauty and grace, though she realized, that for much of her unhappiness he was measurably responsible. But those who knew all the circumstances judged, that the marriage was truly an unequal yoking, that physically, mentally, aesthetically, and to a degree religiously they were antipodal. You read between the lines her realization that he was unfitted for such a wife, and lacking in all the requirements to be a true companion or consort.

The conditions of married life, so lacking in comfort and satisfaction, made her restless, and drove her out of her ordinary circumstances. She says of herself that in her early days she was diffident and unreliant, and fearful of publicity. But she was to pass through such experiences that publicity became a delight, public debate a joy, and fierce verbal debate like the trumpet to the war horse. Her early training in the Covenanter Church had given her a horror of slavery, as a theory. A sojourn in Louisville, Kentucky, where her husband took her in a vain attempt at a new method of livelihood, intensified her anti-slavery zeal. She had begun to write letters in the newspapers, and slavery became her theme.

Let us remember that at this time, 1840, the population of Pittsburgh was only 21,115, and a bright and energetic writer soon attracted attention in this region. This letter-writing, which at first was over an assumed name, furnished an outlet for her literary tastes, and gave variety to an otherwise limited and almost sordid life. It is pathetic to note how she craved contact with the aesthetic and artistic phases of living. It is not too much to say that during most of the period preceding the midcentury, this region was very crude and narrow in many ways. Reflect that until 1852 there was no Pennsylvania Railroad; that in 1860 there were less people in Pittsburgh than there are today in McKeesport, and that while the larger element of the city's population were moral, energetic and reliable, it was a population in which the higher culture was not greatly realized, and an atmosphere in which art did not spontaneously flourish. Mrs. Swisshelm tells of meeting a painter and obtaining from him some materials, and thus inspired setting to work upon her own task, and reveling in the new realm of art. Despite her satisfaction with her skill, it does not seem unkind to say, that her genius was not marked, but her enjoyment of this outlet for thought and aspiration is very evident. Her home life was lacking in almost everything that such an active mind and spirited nature craved. Her husband and relatives were unsympathetic, and even the ordinary conditions of the household were unsatisfying to such an eager nature and widening vision.

Upon returning from the sojourn at Louisville, where her husband's business difficulties drove her to dressmaking and other tasks for a livelihood, all that this husband possessed of material resources were represented by a panther, two bears, and a deer, which this strange couple harbored in and around the log house. Was there ever a stranger or more amazing fancy, a more astonishing revelation of character in mature people, than this pleasure in a miniature menagerie, which consumed pigs and poultry, and terrorized the little settlement? Just across the road from the site of the log house, still may be seen a cave in the hillside, at the end of the former Edgewood Golf grounds, in which, tradition says, this panther or the bears were confined. Here where the road to Braddock passes, lived this strange household, elements almost as diverse as the fiery panther, the somnolent bears and the timid deer.

The anonymous newspaper work was giving her an unrecognized training for the part she was to assume in the anti-slavery conflict. As yet she discussed the legal disabilities of women, the denial of property rights to her sex, and became a champion for remedial legislation. Her own experience gave point to her criticisms and appeals. To the end of her married life, and even beyond, she was oppressed by her husband's assertion of his property control and mastery of her physical conditions. He never ceased to assert with an unconscious harshness his ownership and mastery, even while she was contributing to household support by her own inherited income, and the compensation derived from her newspaper work. Ultimately he became the owner of a considerable tract of land, but he was far from generous or considerate.

Yet, while contending for better legislation, and those better judicial decisions for the relief of her sex, it is interesting to note that she was but little concerned with schemes of so called women's rights. She was never an ardent suffragist. She looked with mild interest upon the efforts of Miss Anthony, Lucy Stone and that line of reformers, who today gaze with triumph upon those changes which they regard as so promising. It is to be said of her that she was never dissatisfied with her sex, and never blamed the Creator for her feminism, nor lost her admiration for the true and worthy exponent of manhood, or regarded man as her enemy. She ridiculed the idea that difference of sex was a matter of education. She smiled pityingly upon the bloomerites, even while she was attacking unfair legislation. It seemed to be her opinion, and, I think that opinion was justified by her experience, that while reforms were necessary, true argument and appeals and publicity would accomplish them, and were more to be relied upon, than votes or political threats.

She had already begun to write over her own name when the Mexican war began. She regarded this invasion as entirely unjustified, and unpatriotic, and she therefore wrote against it, with her natural vigor and the conviction of righteousness. She had begun the publication of a weekly journal called the *Visiter*, which she spelled with an "e." As time passed she wrote with a greater vehemence on the subject of slavery. This was to her, as it was to John Wesley, "the sum of all wickedness," and whenever "she mused the fire burned." She wielded a very caustic and pointed pen. She was intensely personal. Her wit was mordant, her invective biting, her ridicule unlimited. Judges, ministers, lawyers, editors and others were assailed without reserve or disguise. The pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, and his brother, also Judge Grier and others were pilloried by her sarcasm, and assailed by her argument.

It is interesting to observe how her sex seemed to protect her. If she had been a man she might have shared the fate of Sumner in the Senate and Lovejoy in the West, for violence would have been the resource of her enemies. Even when she went to Minnesota, and in that region of an incomplete civilization began her attacks upon the advocates of slavery, while she suffered the loss of her printing press, she was rarely in danger of her life.

In 1857 she felt compelled to leave her husband, and with her infant child journey to the Northwest. It was while she was thus absent that she received the tidings of his securing a divorce, and she remarks in a spirit of retrospection, that if her husband had been willing in their earlier married life to have gone with her to the West, or to some place where they could have established a home untroubled by his relatives, much of their differences and sorrow might never have been known.

In the Northwest she entered on a new experience, that of addressing public meetings. She regards this as remarkable, for she tells of her early timidity and weakness in public. But here the very qualities of her newspaper work came into play. Her sense of right, her sarcasm, her power of ridicule, her personalities attracted the crowd, encouraged her associates, and discomfited her enemies. Here again her weakness was her strength. Her womanhood was her defence. Until a mob is overwhelmingly passionate it respects womanhood. And it is to be considered whether the advocates of the new regime of women's rights, and equality with men, realize that they may lose a large influence, and special weapons, if they discard the fact of sex, and despise the law of compensation.

Going to Washington in 1850, Mrs. Swisshelm became a contributor to the *New York Tribune*, receiving five dollars for every letter. Rightly or wrongly she regarded herself as wielding a great influence, and assumed a marked prominence. Newspaper notoriety is very appealing. The love of public notice is for many very strong. Many are susceptible to the desire for some kind of publicity, as the photographs of so many in our daily press, without the slightest excuse, make us wonder what kind of home life is prevalent, and what ideas of refinement and privacy are taught. This delight in publicity grows by what it feeds on. It came to Mrs. Swisshelm, and it is ever apparent in her autobiography.

It was her boast that by her statements in a letter to the *Tribune* concerning the private life of Daniel Webster she defeated his attempt to reach the Presidency. She found pleasure in the statement of a friend, that she was another Jael, the destroyer of another leader. This is, of course, no place for controversy; but as we desire to be accurate, we may well ask what candidate for the Presidency was ever set aside for personal immorality? History, in explanation of Webster's failure and blighted ambition, lays greater and plainer stress upon his decline from anti-slavery principles and his bargaining with Southern leaders for place and power. This decadence and change were more in the minds of the public than private peccadilloes. As was natural, Mrs. Swisshelm's self-confidence grew with her publicity. She seems never to have been conscious of a mistake. Lincoln was regarded by her as unworthy, and commercializing the War, when he recalled the proclamation of emancipation issued by one of his generals, and postponed emancipation to a later day. She had no confidence in Grant's patriotism or sincerity. As the war went on she entered the hospitals and camps as a nurse. Here again her self-confidence never fails. With repeated stories of what she accomplished she criticizes surgeons, generals, administration, nurses, and makes biting personal comment on the leader, Miss Dorothy Dix. She was undoubtedly useful and kindly, but her very virtues must have been trying .

Meanwhile her child was approaching womanhood. The war was over. The position she held as a clerk in Washington was lost. Ere long she planned a musical career for her daughter. For her she craved prominence, and the public eye, and so she took her to the master-teachers of the piano abroad, and sought the training which would qualify her child for a professional career. The life in Europe gave a new bent to her mind.

I doubt if she ever had much interest in the temperance reform. But consorting with Germans and French persuaded her, that total abstinence was unwise, and the use of beer and light wines desirable. She never was a student or investigator. And thus on her return she began to write letters assailing the reform, and employing some of her old vigor of language. She had many readers, even of those who disagreed with her. Then, too, she loved to discharge her invectives at St. Paul, and assail his comments upon the actions of women. In her wandering life something of her reverence for the Bible, and confidence in Christian principles had been dimmed. But it was never totally lost. When she found Episcopalians in their conventions, and Presbyterians like Van Dyke, Plummer and Palmer, and Methodists justifying slavery, and in some cases asserting its divine authority, her orthodoxy was shaken and, as she says, she had sympathy with unbelievers who were abolitionists. She did not realize the large number of Christians who were seeking her ends, quietly undermining the slave power, and seeking a true overthrow of the iniquity.

At last her active work seemed ended, and she returned to the community where her early womanhood had been spent. There she found true and reliable friends, sympathetic acquaintances, those who had known her for years and been loyal in all her days of trial. There, among the cultured and kindhearted, she found those whose sympathy was increased by the sense of the humorous, friends who, knowing all, were able to appreciate her really fine qualities, and also enjoy her eccentricities, and smile at her kindly wit. Thus, ere the long day closed, she found friendships which never varied or ceased, and a welcome to the most delightful homes. It was a happy condition that she could thus spend her last years in a great satisfaction. We felt that she was privileged to review her life and find much to please and read. She could see our land free from a great curse, and feel that in that victory she had a part. She had done something to remove from the life of her sex unwise and oppressive legal limitations, and, like Luther in the Castle of Wartburg, she had by her ink bottle exercised the devil of injustice and cruelty.

She dwelt in the old house, which had come to be her own property, despite her husband's claims, and from her porch she could see that husband's newer home on the crest of the hill above the shadowed vale. Sometimes she passed the weeks of summer in a cottage in the Alleghanies, for she loved the forests. One afternoon three of us took a friend, who had expressed a desire to meet our famous neighbor, to her log house home. It was not many months before Mrs. Swisshelm's death, and when we entered we found her practically alone, reclining upon an old couch in the large living room with its rude old-fashioned fireplace. The house was distressingly bare. There was little furniture, and this most plain. We were cordially welcomed, and in a quaint and interesting way were entertained by her talk. Her varied life and contact with the world, her worthy purposes and aims in life, had given her a real culture, and attractiveness of manner. Though years were burdening her, she retained the old gentleness and quietness, for it was only in her letters that she was robust or assertive. When she noticed our eyes directed to a large black canvas, without a frame, which rested against the stone chimney, she explained with a shrewd smile, that some time before, while roaming in the Alleghany forest, she had found a very large fungis, which was so round and beautiful, that she felt she could almost fall down and worship. So great was its charm to her, that seizing her paints she had transferred its likeness to this canvas to preserve its memory and grace. I am sure she did not resent our smiles, for while the painting was far from a work of art, or a satisfying reproduction of nature, the enthusiasm of the artist, the joy in the forest glades, and the whimsical pleasure in the memory were delightful to us all. Thus she spent in quietness her remaining years. Her daughter, preferring a home with her husband and children to all the presumed attractions of a public career, had given some disappointment to the mother's plans, but the daughter's happiness was her solace.

It was a strange running of the full circle, that the very house and room, to which she had been carried as a girl of twelve in the stormy night by the muscular youth who became her husband, was her last earthly home, and the place from which she was borne to her grave. Despite all her changes, I like to believe she obeyed at eve the voice obeyed at prime.

The number of those who either personally or by family tradition are familiar with the great anti-slavery conflict is fast decreasing. It will soon be for many a spent fact of history, as remote in interest as the Whisky Rebellion in our country, or the Corn law troubles of England. To me personally this tremendous controversy has an especial interest, because my father in his intimacy with Salmon P. Chase, Prof. O. McK. Mitchell, Harriet Beecher Stowe and others at Cincinnati, was a patron of the Underground Railroad stretching from the Ohio to Canada. He was a participant in the decision of the New School Presbyterian Church to seek the abolition of slavery, which led to the division of that Church.

There is no usefulness in merely reviving a dead controversy, or preserving old bitternesses. But it is well for us to be so familiar with our history that we can recognize and admire those ardent and highminded men and women, who could not be at ease in Zion, and strove even through sacrifice and possible martyrdom to destroy slavery, and make the principles of the Declaration of Independence something more than "glittering generalities."

In that struggle Mrs. Swisshelm was a prominent and wholehearted participant, and her aims should be admired, and her name treasured by us who dwell in a land no longer "half slave and half free," and where we can truthfully sing of the land of the free, as well as the home of the brave.

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

By

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM

(Continued from the April, 1921 number)

PART II

THE STORY OF FORT MEIGS

General W. H. Harrison had set out early in 1813 to recover Michigan, which had been surrendered to the British by General Hull. General Winchester, with 800 volunteers, was sent to Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, 25 miles south of Detroit. He sent a detachment to engage the British and Indians. The British colonel, later general, Henry Proctor, advanced rapidly to Frenchtown with 1500 British and Indians, and surprised and defeated the Americans on January 22, 1813. General Winchester was captured, and fearing a general massacre ordered his successor, Colonel Madison, to surrender, under pledge of protection from the Indians. Colonel Proctor, under the pretext of fearing the advance of General Harrison, left Malden. The Indians attacked the wounded prisoners left behind, torturing and massacreing them. The army of General Harrison, which included the Pennsylvania soldiers under command of Brigadier General Crooks, was marched northward to the Maumee River, during the month of January, 1813, where Fort Meigs was erected, the location being about eight miles out from the present city of Toledo.

Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Eleazer D. Wood, captain of the corps of engineers, of the United States Army, and in honor of whom Wood county, Ohio, was named, was with Gen. Harrison at Fort Meigs as constructing engineer. He continued with Harrison into Canada, and was finally killed at Erie. He has left a most interesting journal of the scenes and incidents in which he participated in the Northwestern campaign of 1812-1818. The student of history is much indebted to Brevet Major General George W. Cullum, colonel of the corps of engineers, for rescuing from oblivion and giving to the world the journal of this brave officer, from which the following synopsis cannot fail to prove of interest:

Major General William H. Harrison, having been appointed to the command of the Northwestern army, arrived at Upper Sandusky early in January, 1813, with two brigades of militia, together with a few regulars and volunteers, in all about 1500 men. This force of raw troops was to be licked into shape and discipline. It was also necessary to await the arrival of the field battering train of artillery, the latter consisting of five 18-pounders, together with provisions, forage and ordnance stores. He remained at the portage from the 24th of January to the 1st of February, when the artillery and reinforcements having arrived the army returned to the Maumee.

There General Harrison, with his command, encamped on a beautiful ridge near the foot of the Rapids, on the right bank of the river and about 150 yards distant from it. The camp was situated about two miles above Fort Miami, and about three miles below the site on which General Wayne gave the Indians such a bitter drubbing in 1794. It was a wise choice made by General Harrison and Captains Gratiot and Wood of the engineers. Here lay the army with its rear to the river, covered by the considerable ravine in front, which extended around and communicated with another very deep and wide one, which passed the left and entirely secured it.

Here General Harrison directed that a camp for 2,000 men should be laid out and strongly fortified with block houses, batteries and palisades, in such manner as to withstand the test of British artillery. This work was continued in a state of progression, the lines of construction were at once designated, and a large portion of labor assigned among every corps or regiment in the army. Each brigade or regiment commenced that particular portion of work assigned it with patriotic vigor and spirit. A fine train of artillery, consisting of five 18-pounders, six 12-pounders, six 6-pounders and three howitzers, together with a small supply of ammunition, having arrived in camp, the little army brightened in appearance and began to feel encouraged.

The camp was about 2500 yards in circumference, which, with the exception of several small intervals, left for the block houses and batteries, was every foot picketed with timber, 15 feet long from ten to twelve inches in diameter, and set three feet in the ground. To complete this picketing, to put up eight block houses of double timber, to elevate four large batteries, to build all the store houses and magazines required for the supplies of the army, together with the ordinary duties and fatigues of the camp, was an undertaking of no small magnitude. Aside from all this, an immense deal of labor was performed in excavating ditches, making abatis and clearing away the wood about the camp; and all this was done, too, when the weather was intensely cold, and the ground frozen so hard that it required the most strenuous labor to open it with spade and pick-axe.

It seemed that the use of axe, mattock and spade, comprised all the military knowledge of the army. The men continued to work and bury themselves as rapidly as possible, and still heard nothing of the expected army. At this time the army enjoyed a fair degree of health, and was well provided with food.

Toward the latter end of March it was learned through a trustworthy source that the British general, Proctor, had issued a proclamation directing his militia to assemble at Sandwich on the 7th of April, for the purpose of aiding in an expedition against Camp Meigs. It was further learned that the principal plan of attack was as follows: On arriving before the camp the Indians were to be immediately thrown in our rear, or rather they were to invest the camp, and cut off at once all communication, while the troops were to be employed on the opposite side of the river in preparing the batteries and mounting the guns in order to cannonade and bombard the camp; and that in a very few hours after the batteries were opened upon the Americans they would be compelled to seek safety by flying to the swamps, when the Indians would accomplish the rest of the engagement.

It was now the 1st of April, when all were convinced that in a very few days a visit might be expected from General Proctor, accompanied by the great Tecumseh and their retinue. On the 8th Lieut-Colonel Ball, with about 200 dragoons, arrived at the Rapids, and in fine time to afford the assistance, very much wanted, in the completion of the works. Soon afterwards General Harrison arrived with a small corps of regulars and militia. The whole number of troops in camp at this time was about 1200 or 1300, of which not more than 850 were reported fit for duty. They were better than half regulars and volunteers, and the rest Kentucky and Ohio militia, who had just been drafted into service, and of course were quite ignorant of their duties.

Our block-houses, batteries, magazines and connecting lines of defense were now generally completed, and the appearance of the camp in its every feature was such as to inspire confidence in those who were to defend it against the assault of the invaders of our country. Fuel for the garrison and timber to repair breaches and to make bombproofs, should it be found necessary, were brought into camp in great abundance. Also, two or three wells were instantly commenced—in fact everything was done that possibly could be thought of to place the camp in the best situation to sustain a long siege.

On the 25th the combined British and Indian forces, consisting of 800 militia, 500 regulars and 1500 Indians, all under command of General Proctor, arrived at the mouth and landed on the left shore of the Maumee, and instantly a party of Indians was thrown across the river to observe and watch the conduct of our troops, should any of them be sent out to reconnoitre, as was the constant practice.

The following day Proctor's army was put in motion, keeping its left to the river, and arriving with the gun boats and batteries, in which were the artillery and ordnance stores, and advanced until it arrived on the 27th at old Fort Miami. The batteaux were at once unloaded and employed in conveying the balance of the Indians to our side of the river. The following night the enemy broke ground in four different places, and were very industriously employed until morning, when their works showed good progress. When these nocturnal works were discovered such of our guns as could be brought to bear opened upon them, and those works of the night were completely destroyed.

Understanding now the enemy's plan of attack, and where each of his batteries were to be located, and the particular object of each, and knowing that we should be greatly annoyed by his artillery in our present state, it became necessary to intrench the army entirely anew, which was done within the original lines of camp. Captain Wood commenced the new intrenchments on the morning of the 28th, when the whole army was set to work and continued in the trenches until tattoo, when their labors were suspended, and work in the trenches was resumed at break of day with unflagging zeal. Never did men behave better on any similar occasion than did ours on this.

Unfortunately we had not been able to clear the wood away to a sufficient distance on our left, of which circumstance the Indians very readily availed themselves, and from the tops of the trees poured into our camps prodigious showers of musketry. The distance, however, was so great, that out of the numerous quantity of balls poured in, comparatively few took effect. A number of our men were wounded, notwithstanding, and rendered incapable of duty for some time.

After the first day's labor in the trenches, one-third of the troops only were kept in them constantly, who were relieved every three hours by fresh ones. In this way we continued our operations, while General Harrison, extremely active, was everywhere to be seen in the trenches, urging on the work, as well by example as precept. He slept but little, and was uncommonly vigilant and watchful through the night.

The first work commenced to shield the troops against cannon was a traverse of about 20 feet base, laid parallel with the river, on the most elevated ground, which was near the middle and running the whole length of the camp. It was from 10 to 15 feet high, and was completed early on the morning of the 1st of May, just as it was discovered that the enemy had finished three of his principal batteries, had his guns in, and was loading and bringing them to bear. Orders were now given for all our tents in front to be instantly struck and carried to the rear of the traverse. It was done in almost a moment, and the prospect of beating up our quarters, which but an instant before presented itself to the view of the eager artilleries, had now entirely fled, and in its place suddenly appeared an immense shield of earth, obscuring from the sight of the enemy every tent, every horse, of which there were 200, and every creature belonging to the camp.

At 11 o'clock A. M. the British batteries opened, and a most tremendous cannonading and bombardment was commenced and kept up, the former until dark and the latter until 11 o'clock at night, when all was again silent. Our loss was one or two men killed, and five or six wounded —the latter principally by the Indians. Our ammunition being inadequate to the necessity of a long siege, we fired very little, contenting ourselves in safety and listening to the music furnished by the enemy.

On the 2nd at dawn the cannonade commenced again with great vigor, and the batteries continued to play with much briskness through the day, and with about the same effect as on the preceding day.

At 10 o'clock A. M. on the 3rd it was discovered that the enemy had crossed the river, and had three or four of his cannon on our left stuck on the edge of a small ravine. In the course of the third day we had two or three dragoons killed, several slightly wounded and a number of horses killed.

On the 4th, the enemy neither opened his batteries so early in the morning as he had been accustomed to, nor did he fire them with his usual vigor and activity. Firing almost ceased toward evening. It appeared as though the enemy was convinced that the attack from that side of the river was simply an immense waste of powder and ball and would ultimately prove of no avail.

The Indians were permitted by General Proctor to assemble upon the surrounding rampart, and there at their leisure amuse themselves by firing at the prisoners until at length they preferred slaughtering their wretched victims in a manner more suitable to their savage hatred. They laid aside their rifles, went into the slaughter pen, seized those they pleased, and leading them to the gateway tomahawked and scalped them without mercy and without restraint. Nine bodies were found lying in one pile near the gate at the Fort after General Proctor left the Maumee. Many were found in other places tomahawked and scalped, and their bodies mangled in the most inhuman and barbarous manner.

During the siege General Proctor had the audacity to summon General Harrison to surrender, and was very properly told that if he ever got possession of Fort Meigs it would be under such circumstances that would give him greater claims upon the gratitude of his country than he possibly could have by the Fort being surrendered—or words to that effect.

General Proctor without troubling us further, on the morning of the 9th, raised the siege and left for Malden.

The prisoners he had taken were carried down the Huron and there landed.

Having many sick and wounded after the close of the siege of many days and our force greatly impaired, such measures were taken as might tend to restore the army to health and vigor. The block-houses about the lines were cleared of guns and stores and converted into temporary hospitals. Tents were pitched with arbors about them, and such arrangements made to alleviate distress as the circumstances would admit. For some time, as might be expected, the camp exhibited a melancholy spectacle. But the brave men bore up most patiently under their anxiety and gloom with the consciousness of having faithfully done their duty.

Gen. Harrison said in his official report on the Fort Meig's fight:

"The Pittsburgh Blues, led by Lieutenant Magee, in the illness of their gallant captain, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Mississineway. That American regulars (although they were raw recruits) and such men as composed the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Petersburg, Virginia volunteers should behave well is not to be wondered at; but that a company of militia should maintain its ground against four times its numbers, as did Captain Sebres, of Kentucky, is truly astonishing."

The Pittsburgh Blues lost at Fort Meigs in killed: Newman, Richardson and McKee. The wounded were Williams, Dobbins, Willock, Walmendorf, Boss and Park. Jos. Dodd, who was wounded at Mississineway, died at Ft. Meigs, June 16, 1813.

Mr. G. P. Wilkinson, in letter dated Pittsburgh, August 13, 1846, says: "I will mention an incident, trivial in itself, but as it tends to show the character of an esteemed friend, and an excellent soldier, I will relate it.

"I had been in attendance on the sickbed of our captain, Butler, in one of the block-houses of Fort Meigs during the investment of that post, in the spring of 1813, and becoming hungry, started out (boy like) to endeavor to obtain some breakfast. Seeing Sergeant Troville cooking some coffee over a few coals I told him my errand and he told me to wait a few minutes and he would divide his cup of coffee with me. I took a seat, and a moment or two afterwards I heard a peculiar singing of an Indian rifle ball that had entered the ground a short distance from where we were sitting.

"Hurrah,' says I; 'Sergeant, what does this mean?"

"He pointed to a tree at a considerable distance from the pickets, where I observed an Indian perched on one of the branches. He then said with great good humor:

"That rascal, George, has been firing at me ever since I commenced cooking my breakfast.'

"I swallowed my tin-cup of coffee pretty expeditiously, during which, however, he fired once or twice more, and I told Trovillo I was not going to remain as a target for the yellow skins."

A letter from Jesse Lewis, one of the Pittsburgh Blues, under date of May 9, says: "In the sortie from the Fort by the Americans the Pittsburgh Blues acted with the courage of veterans, and were in the hottest part of the action."

In his dispatch of May 9, 1813, to the War Department, announcing abandonment by the enemy of the siege of Ft. Meigs, and awarding praise for gallant service, General Harrison says:

"The Pittsburgh Blues, led by Lieut. Magee, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Mississineway, and their gallant associates, the Petersburg, Va. volunteers, and Lt. Drum's Greensburg Rifles, discovered equal intrepedity."

Later, on May 13, 1813, writing from Lower Sandusky, Gen. Harrison says:

"Having ascertained that the enemy (Indians as well as British) had entirely abandoned the neighborhood of the Rapids, I left the command of Camp Meigs with General Clay and came here last night. Two persons employed on British gunboats, (Americans by birth), deserted to us. The information they gave me was very interesting. They say that the Indians, of which there were 1600 to 2000, left the British the day before their departure in a high state of dissatisfaction, from the great loss which they sustained on the 5th, and the failure of the British promise to take the post. From the account given by these men, my opinion is confirmed of the great superiority of the enemy which were defeated by our troops in the two sallies made on the 5th inst.

"That led by Col. Miller did not exceed 350 men, and it is very certain that they defeated 200 regular British, 150 militia and 400 or 500 Indians. That American regulars, (although they were raw recruits) and such men as compose the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Petersburg, Virginia volunteers, should behave well, is not to be wondered at. I am unable to form a correct estimate of the enemy's force. The prisoners vary much in their accounts. Those who made them least stated the regulars at 550, militia 800, Indians 1000 to 1200."

The Americans lost in all, killed 77, wounded 187, total, 264. Nine only were killed within the fort.

The Pennsylvania militia (about 1700 strong) with General Harrison, having been mustered in for six months, were many of them discharged in April, 1813, their time having expired, though they served fifteen days longer rather than leave the army weak before a strong and vigilant enemy, previous to the arrival of expected and overdue reinforcements from this state. These returned soldiers were warmly welcomed at Pittsburgh on their arrival in May. About 200 of them had re-enlisted in the Northwest, and there continued to serve. The Blues having enlisted for one year, remained with Harrison. They were destined still further to distinguish themselves.

On the 20th of July, at the solicitation of Tecumseh, General Proctor returned with a larger force, while General Harrison was at Lower Sandusky. It was to be attempted, according to Tecumseh's plan, to draw the garrison from the fort by a ruse, as it had proved too strong and well-equipped to be taken by assault. The force of the enemy that had ascended the Maumee under command of General Proctor and Tecumseh was 5000 men, while the number of Indians was greater than ever before assembled on any occasion during the war, while the defenders of Fort Meigs amounted to only a few hundred men under command of General Green Clay.

In the afternoon of the same day the British infantry were secreted in the ravine below the fort, and the cavalry in the woods above, while the Indians were stationed in the forest, on the Sandusky road, not far from the fort. About an hour before dark they began a sham battle among themselves, to deceive the Americans into the belief that a battle was going on between them and reinforcements for the fort, in the hope of enticing the garrison to the aid of their comrades. It was managed with so much skill that the garrison instantly flew to arms, impressed by the Indian yells, intermingled with the roar of musketry, that a severe battle was being fought and that the lives of the reinforcements were in danger. Some of the officers insisted on being suffered to march out to the rescue. General Clay satisfied the officers that no troops were to be sent out of Fort Meigs until there would be further necessity for it. But the men were highly indignant that they were prevented from going out to share the dangers, as they believed, of their commander-in-chief and their brother soldiers. A shower of rain ended this sham battle. The enemy remained around the fort but one day after this, when on the 28th they embarked with their stores and proceeded down the lake, and on to Fort Stephenson, where they met with such a terrible repulse. That fort was defended by one gun and 160 young men commanded by Major George Croghan.

The information was given out by a volunteer aid of General Clay, who was in Fort Meigs during the second siege, that preparations were made by General Clay to fire the magazine in case the enemy succeeded in the attempt to storm the fort, and thus involve all, friends and foe alike in one common fate. This terrible alternative was deemed far preferable to that of suffering the barbarities of their relentless foes, and finally to perish under the tomahawks and scalping knives of fiendish savages.

In 1815 the government removed the ordnance and stores and abandoned Fort Meigs.

On August 2, 1813, the British and Indians, under General Proctor and Colonel Elliott, attempted to storm Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, then commanded by Major George Croghan, twenty-one years of age, a nephew of General George Rogers Clarke. Major Croghan believed that when the British should attempt to storm the fort the attack would be through an available ditch. He ordered Sergeant Weaver of the Virginia volunteers, and six privates of the Pittsburgh Blues, to cover this point. Major Croghan had but one cannon in the fort, a six pounder, which was given in charge of Sergeant Weaver and his six men to handle.

When, late in the evening, the British storming column attacked the fort, Sergeant Weaver and his six Pittsburghers opened the masked port-hole, at which they stood around their six-pounder, and the piece was discharged at the assailants, then only thirty feet distant. Death and desolation filled the ditch, into which the attacking force had leaped in their charge. Fifty men were instantly killed and wounded, and the attacking column fled in dismay; nor did they renew the attack; and at three oclock that night Proctor and his men retreated. General Proctor, fearing the approach of General Harrison, gave up the siege and withdrew. The British lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty men, while only one man of the garrison was killed and several wounded.

The brilliant exploit of Major Croghan won for him a handsome sword from the ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, while Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. A score of years later he was awarded a gold medal for his skill and bravery. A detail of the Pittsburgh Blues were a portion of the force with which Major Croghan has so valiantly defended Fort Stephenson, now Fremont, Ohio.

When Proctor had ordered Croghan to surrender, he accompanied the demand with the like threat he had used before, namely, that if Croghan refused he and his men would be massacred by his Indian allies.

Croghan spiritedly replied that such contingency was impossible, since should the fort surrender there would not be left any men to massacre.

Report of Maj. George Croghan: Fort Sandusky, Aug. 5, 1813. "The enemy attacked Fort Stephenson with a combined force of 500 regulars, and 700 or 800 Indians, under command of Gen. Proctor, who sent Col. Elliott and Maj. Chambers with a flag to demand surrender of the fort to save effusion of blood or they would reduce the fort by storm. Croghan refused to surrender. Fire was opened from the gunboats in the river and from a 5½ howitzer and 5-sixes on shore and from 3-sixes. Three hundred and fifty men advanced in the ditch and a fire of grape from a 6-pounder followed, together with musketry. Croghans loss was one killed, seven wounded. Enemy's loss, one lieutenant-colonel, one lieutenant, and about 150 men. Seventy stand of arms and several braces of pistols were collected and a boat with military stores and clothing."

(To be continued)

List of Articles Presented to the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

PRESENTED BY DR. FRANK C. SAWERS.

206—Old Volume.

"History of the Martyrs" printed at Ephrata, Pa., near Lancaster, in 1748. It is a volume 9½ by 15 inches and 4½ inches thick. The type was made especially and of course the book was printed on a hand press. The compiler of the work, specimens of which are rare, was a man long since forgotten, T. J. V. Braght. The thrifty publisher, in order to accommodate those of other religious beliefs, had two editions made, which differed only in regard to the frontispiece, in which a representation of baptism by immersion or by sprinkling very accommodatingly appeared. The book has an index and marginal annotations, and is a very valuable work.

207—Volume

"The Parable of the Pilgrim." By Symon Patrick, D.D., Dean of Petersburgh. Printed for Richard Ghiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church Yard, London, MDCLXXXVII.

PRESENTED BY THE LATE DR. J. P. BURCHFIELD.

208—Volume

"The English Reader" or pieces in Prose and Poetry, selected from the best writers, and designed to assist young persons to read with propriety and effect, to improve their language and sentiments, and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue. By Lindley Murray. Printed and Published by Cramer and Spear, at the Franklin Head Bookstore, Wood street, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1823.

209—Volume

"Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown," late minister of the gospel at Haddington, who died June 19, 1787. Containing (1) Memoirs of his life; (2) Letters to his friends; (3) Religious tracts; (4) Advices to his children; (5) An account of some of his dying sayings, and (6) Dying advices to his congregation. To which is added, Address to Students of Divinity. Printed and Published by Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, at the Franklin Head Bookstore, in Market, between Front and Second streets, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1810.

PRESENTED BY JOHN S. RITENOUR.

210—Volume

"Reminiscences and Sketches, Historical and Biographical." By William M. Hall, 1890.

211—Volume

"Songs of Every Day." By Arthur G. Burgoyne, 1900.

PRESENTED BY BURD S. PATTERSON.

212—Autograph Album

"Containing photographs of twenty-four Civil War generals."

PRESENTED BY WILLIAM T. BEATTY.

213—Autograph Album.

With the autograph of Andrew Jackson, 1825.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Entries in the Account Book of Casper Reel, Pittsburgh Pa., 1774-1802

BOOK PRESENTED BY MRS. R. A. McKEE.

Oct. 12 1774	Samuel Sample Dr To Washing and mending 1 pair Breeches	0-5-0
Oct. 24 1774	Stock Dr to George Groghan To 42 lb of Deer Skins at 2/ pr lb	4-4-0
Oct. 26 1774	George Groghan Dr to Cash	3-0-0
Oct. 31 1774	John Small By Hugh Clanegan Dr To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins 4/6 and Cash	0-7-0
Oct. 31 1774	George Girty Dr To Braining 1 Buck Skin paid by Mr. Groghan	0-1-6
Nov. 4 1774	George Groghan Dr to Drefsing 2 Elk Skins at 3/6 & 1 fawn Skin	0-3-6
Nov. 5 1774	John Campbell Dr to Drefsing 1 Deer Skin 2/6 & making 1 pair Breeches 5 & Some Leather 1/6	0-9-0
Nov. 8 1774	Andrew Robinson Tayler Dr To 1½ Bushel of Salt	1-13-0
Nov. 9 1774	Stock Dr to Andrew Robinson Tayler By one Hile Waite 32 lb at 3	0-13-0
Nov. 15 1774	Phillip Witsel Dr To Drefsing four Deer Skins	0-3-0
Nov. 16 1774	To making one pair Breeches	0-7-6
Nov. 16 1774	Christopher Hays By Henry Hofman Dr To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins at 2/6	0-5-0
	To making 1 pair Breeches	0-7-6
	To Silk	0-1-6
Nov. 16 1774	James Forbush Dr To making 1 pair Breeches	0-6-6
Nov. 22 1774	John Campbell By James Mcdowel Dr To 1 pair Breeches	1-12-0

Nov. 23 1774
William Elliott Dr
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches------------------0-7-6
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches-----------------0-4-0
for William Porter & 2 pair Buttons--------------------0-0-3

Nov. 30 1774
William Wilson Dr
To washing & &mending 1 pair Breeches ---------------0-6-0

Nov. 30 1774
George Groghan Dr
To 1½ Bushel Salt ------------------------------------1-13-0

Dec. 1 1774
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins ------------------------------1-2-0

Dec. 9 1774
Thomas Christey Dr
To making 1 pair Breeches & 7 Buttons------------------0-4-0

Dec. 11 1774
George Groghan Dr
By George Girty for Drefsing 1 Buck Skin ----------3/6 &
trimengs 4/6 & making 1 pair Breeches --------------7/8 &
Brainning & Smoking 1 Skin 1/6 ----------------------0-17-0
By Peter Shaver for making & Drefsing &
trimengs for 1 pair Breeches ---------------------------0-16-6
By Mr Campbell for making & Drefsing ----------------0-12-0
paid By Mr. Campbell

Dec. 14 1774
John Doremyer Dr
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches ----------------0-3-0

Dec. 17 1774
George Groghan By John Crafferd Dr
To Drefsing of Deer Skin ------------------------------0-10-0
To making & Trimmings for 1 pair Breeches------------1-2-0

Dec. 19 1774
John Campell Esqr By his Sarvent Daniel Dr
To Drefsing Skin at 3/6 & making 1 pair Breeches at 7/6-0-11-0

Dec. 18 1774
Frederick Ferry By Paul Long Dr
To making 1 pair Breeches ----------------------------0-7-6

Dec. 20 1774
Stock Dr to Frederick Ferry
To 3 Dozen of Buttons at 1/6 & Thread at 2/6----------0-7-0

Dec. 30 1774
John Colance Dr
To Drefsing 2 Skins at 4/6 & making 1 pair Breeches----0-12-0
To Leather for wastband ------------------------------0-2-0

Jan. 2 1775
John Campbell Esqr By a Bell Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ------------------------------------1-15-0

Jan. 2 1775
Majer John Conneley By Jack McClaglen Dr
Exchanging 1 pair Breeches for 1 Deer Skin -----------0-13-0

Jan. 18 1775
Simon Girty Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ------------------------------------1-10-0

Jan. 20 1775
Edward Armstrong Dr

To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins	0-4-6
To making 1 pair Breeches	0-7-6
To Silk & Thread	0-1-6

LETTER OF JAMES PATTERSON TO COLONEL JOEL DERREE

Presented By Joseph Forsythe, Esq.

August 27th 1812
Dear Sir

I this moment returned from Pittsburgh all there is in confusion on account of the capture of Genr. Hull at Detroyt which I expect you have heard of. It is feared that the British & Indians are by this time in possession of all our N.Western posts, if so every exertion ought to be made for the protection of the frontiers for you are aware of the usual mode of Warfare with the Indians when any ways successfull— The Militia of Beaver County have volunteered and marched yesterday, those of Washington are assembling &c. I think it would be very comendable if you ware to assemble your regt as soon as possible that we might know what arms we have and how many men would be ready & willing to go on a scout if circumstances should require it. Excuse my freedom & believe me to be Sir your friend &c.

James Patterson

Col Joel
Ferree

P S Please send word if you think proper to call us together.

SURNAMES

Men once were surnamed from their shape or estate,
(You all may from history worm it);
There was Louis the Bulky, and Henry the Great,
John Lackland and Peter the Hermit.
But now when the door-plates of Misters and Dames
Are read, each so constantly varies
From the owner's trade, figure and calling, surnames
Seem given by the rule of contraries.

Mr. Box though provoked, never doubles his fist,
Mr. Burns in his grate has no fuel,
Mr. Playfair won't catch me at hazard or whist,
Mr. Coward was winged in a duel;
Mr. Wise was a dunce, Mr. King was a Whig,
Mr. Coffin's uncommonly sprightly;
And huge Mr. Little broke down in a gig
While driving fat Mrs. Golightly.

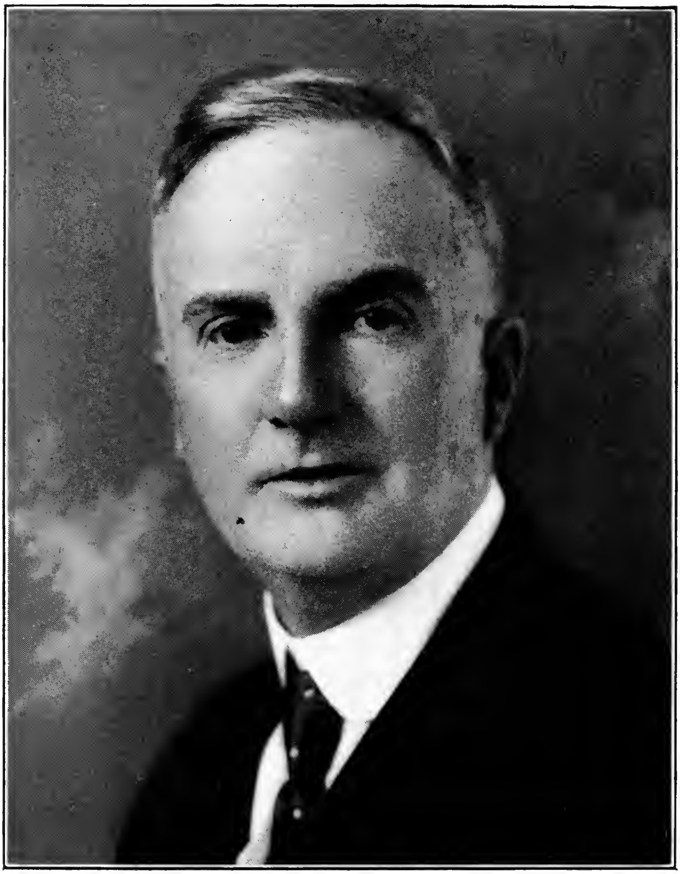
Mr. Drinkwater's apt to indulge in a dram,
    Mr. Angel's an absolute fury;
And meek Mr. Lion let fierce Mr. Lamb
    Tweak his nose in the lobby of Drury.
At Bath, where the feeble go more than the stout,
    Mr. Heavyside danced a bolero
Over poor Mr. Lightfoot, confined with the gout,
    (A conduct well worthy of Nero.)

Miss Joy, wretched maid, when she chose Mr. Love,
    Found nothing but sorrow await her;
She now holds in wedlock, as true as a dove,
    The fondest of mates, Mr. Hayter.
Mr. Oldcastle dwells in a modern-built hut,
    Miss Sage is of madcaps the archest,
Of all the queer bachelor's Cupid e'er cut,
    Old Mr. Younghusband's the starchest.

Mr. Child in a passion, knocked down Mr. Rock,
    Mr. Stone like an aspen leaf quivers,
Miss Poole used to dance, but stands still like a stock,
    Ever since she became Mrs. Rivers.
Mr. Swift hobbles onward, no mortal knows how—
    He moves as though cords had entwined him;
Mr. Metcalf ran off upon meeting a cow,
    With pale Mr. Turnbull behind him.

Mr. Barker's as mute as a fish in the sea,
    Mr. Miles never goes on a journey,
Mr. Gotobed sits up till half after three.
    Mr. Makepiece was bred an attorney;
Mr. Gardener can't tell a flower from a root,
    Mr. Wild with timidity draws back,
Mr. Ryder performs all his journeys on foot,
    Mr. Foot all his journeys on horseback.

Mr. Penny, whose father was rolling in wealth,
    Knocked down all the fortune his dad won;
Large Mr. Le Fevre's the picture of health,
    Mr. Goodenough is but a bad one;
Mr. Crookshanks stepped into three thousand a year
    By showing his leg to an heiress.
Now I hope you'll acknowledge I've made it quite clear,
    Surnames ever go by contraries.



HON. JOHN FRANCIES

Warden of the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania
and
Father of the Agrarian Penitentiary System

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 4 No. 4 OCTOBER, 1921 Price 75 cents

THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN PENOLOGY AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

By

HARRY ELMER BARNES, Ph.D.

I.

THE ORIGINS OF THE PRISON SYSTEM IN AMERICA

While much has been written concerning the famous Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, located at Cherry Hill in Philadelphia, little historical material has been made available concerning the Western Penitentiary at Allegheny, (now part of Pittsburgh), though the latter has much more adequately exemplified the historical development of American penal institutions, and, since 1870, has been much the more advanced and progressive of the two penitentiaries. It will be the purpose of the present article to survey briefly the growth of the Western Penitentiary, not so much with a view of exposition of antiquarian details as to setting

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*The sensational outbreak on July 18th last, of the convicts in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, and the admirable manner in which the revolt was suppressed by the management, makes the publication of this study in penology most opportune. Mr. Barnes is professor of History in Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, and is Historian to the New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission, and to the Pennsylvania Commission to Investigate Prison Systems.—Editor

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is published quarterly, in January, April, July and October, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. It is mailed free to all members of the Society. Members may obtain additional copies at 50 cents each; to others the charge is 75 cents. To public libraries, universities, colleges, historical and other similar societies the annual subscription rate is $2.00. The annual dues of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania are $3.00, and should be sent to John E. Potter, Treasurer, Fourth Avenue and Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

forth with brevity and clarity the main features of its historical evolution in relation to the chief trends in penological development in the country at large.

As in Europe, the prison system in America began to take shape in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (1) During most of the colonial period there were no penal institutions in the strict sense of that term. Crimes were punished by fine or corporal punishment and there was little or no need of institutions for incarceration. The nearest approach to prisons were the county jails used for the detention of accused pending trial and for the imprisonment of debtors, and the workhouses applied for the repression of pauperism, vagrancy and immorality. In 1682-84 William Penn and the Quakers, repelled by the bloody and cruel methods of corporal punishment then practised in Europe and the colonies, had attempted to introduce imprisonment at hard labor as the prevailing method of punishing crime, but their humane effort was submerged in the savagery of the age and little progress was made until after the Revolutionary War and the separation from England.

It was the state of Pennsylvania that took the initiative in America in establishing the prison system and in making imprisonment the usual method of punishing those convicted of crime. The influences which led to this movement were chiefly the impulse of the humanitarianism of the Quakers from Penn onward and the growing spirit of enlightenment which was developing in Europe as a result of the labors and writings of such men as Montesquieu, Beccaria and Howard. Both sets of forces are evident in the writings of the Philadelphia reformers from 1776 to 1829. By a series of laws passed from 1786 to 1794 the barbarous colonial penal code was abolished, the death penalty removed for all crimes other than murder, corporal punishment done away with, and the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia turned into an improvised state prison. The famous Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement was here given an initial if imperfect trial. (2) The Walnut and Arch Street Jails proving inadequate to the needs of the state and overcrowding rendering the penal system a burlesque, the *Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons* sent a memorial to the state legislature asking that state penitentiaries be erected in convenient parts of the state for the reception of those convicted of crime. (3) This led to the act of March 3, 1818, appropriating sixty thousand dollars for building a state penitentiary at Allegheny on the principle of solitary confinement. (4) Three years later an act of March 20, 1821, made a grant of one hundred thousand dollars for a new state penitentiary in the eastern part of the state to replace the Walnut Street Jail. (5) This institution became the famous Eastern Penitentiary, known the world over as the parent model institution conducted on the basis of the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement. From the imitation of Pennsylvania the modern prison system came into existence between 1795 and 1835 in most of the then existing states of the Union. In the state prison at Auburn, New York, there was evolved between 1821 and 1825 the great rival or Auburn system of congregate work by day and separate confinement at night. The first fifty years of American penology were occupied for the most part by the struggle of these two systems and the ultimate triumph of the Auburn system.

II.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY.

The first Western Penitentiary was erected according to a plan drawn up by William Strickland, a distinguished Philadelphia architect. The commissioners in charge of construction from 1818 to 1826 were James Ross, Walter Lowrie, David Evans and George Stevenson. (6) Strickland was apparently guided by his knowledge of the prison at Ghent, Belgium, and by Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon.* The heavy outside walls were octagonal, as at Ghent, while the cells were arranged in a circle about a central observation building, as suggested by Bentham. Yet, instead of relatively open cells, which Bentham had contemplated, light was almost wholly excluded from those of the Allegheny penitentiary, to which access could be had only through iron doors hung on stone walls three feet thick. The structure was designed, completed and opened according to the administrative principle of solitary confinement without labor. It was a massive stone building, wholly unsuited for any purpost except a fortress. No fort ever erected in Western Pennsylvania at all approached it in massive or impregnable construction. Opened in July, 1826, it provided one hundred and ninety cells each eight by twelve feet in dimensions. When fully completed it contained two hundred and sixty-six cells. Its cost to 1826 was one hundred and seventy-eight thousand dollars. (7)

The original penitentiary structure proved a great mistake and disappointment. It had been erected on the principle of solitary confinement without labor, but the act of April 23, 1829, ordered that both penitentiaries should be operated according to the principles of solitary confinement at hard labor. Neither condition was possible in the prison structure. The cells were too dark and unhealthy to permit continuous solitary confinement and were too small to make it possible for prisoners to work in them with any facility or success. The inspectors in an early report described the defects of the institution: (8)

> It was unfortunate that the building was first put up and the system of punishment afterwards prescribed. There is, perhaps, no trade or occupation at which a convict could work in any of the cells. Independent of the want of room, in a kind of vault about 7 by 9 in the clear, there is not sufficient light, the only supply being what can reach the culprit after passing through the narrow gratings of a heavy iron door, hung on stone jams 3 feet thick, after passing through an outdoor and across a vestibule 6 feet deep. Constant confinement in these cells is found incompatible with the health of the convicts, and we have found it necessary to permit two or three to be put out alternately, which gives an opportunity of intercourse to about twenty, which greatly diminishes the benefit of solitary confinement.

As a result of this situation an act was passed on February 27, 1833, directing the demolition of the cells of the penitentiary and the erection of new cell blocks, so as to make possible more healthy quarters for the prisoners and to give better facilities for carrying on the industries of the prison in the individual cells. (9) The new structure was designed by John Haviland, the architect of the Eastern Penitentiary at Cherry Hill. Few prisons have had a more brief and unsuccessful existence than the Western Penitentiary in its original form.

Instead of following the original circular plan the remodelled structure was built upon the cell wing or block plan which had been used in the Philadelphia penitentiary. Two wings, containing one hundred and seventy cells, were completed in 1837. The prison soon became crowded and a third block was erected in 1852 which contained sixty cells. The addition proved inadequate and extensions to the existing cell wings were made between 1860 and 1864, bringing up the total number of cells to three hundred and twenty-four, but the number of prisoners had increased more rapidly, there being in 1867 four hundred and eighty-six prisoners. Between 1868 and 1870 a new building was erected which contained a female ward, a hospital, dispensary, bathrooms, laundry, library, store-rooms, receiving cells, dungeons, and a chapel seating six hundred and fifty. The fourth and last block of cells was opened in 1872, and a shop was completed in 1874 to permit the institution to take advantage of the act of 1869 allowing congregate labor. The total cost of this prison was six hundred and forty-four thousand dollars. (10)

These costly additions had scarcely been utilized when an agitation began for the abandonment of the whole institution. Although originally constructed well outside the center of the city, the prison had come to be surrounded by some of the best residential and park districts of Allegheny. An act was passed on March 7, 1873, creating a commission to decide upon a site for a new penitentiary. (11) It was proposed by some that the prison be located on a large rural site where farming might be the chief occupation, but the sentiment against abandoning Allegheny and manufacturing industry proved insuperable. Had this proposition prevailed, the Western Penitentiary might have been in 1875 what it became after 1915.

It was finally decided that the best location was the site which had just been abandoned by the Western House of Refuge further on the outskirts of Allegheny along the bank of the Ohio River. This was a location once used by an institution, was alleged to be attractive on account of being on the river side, and was located at a suburban railroad station where the majority of the board of inspectors could stop off on their way to and from their duties in Pittsburgh and Allegheny. These considerations served to secure a decision for the House of Refuge situation. It later proved very unsatisfactory on account of the dampness, dense fogs, spring floods, and subsequent restrictive labor legislation. The design for the new prison was drawn up on an ambitious scale by E. M. Butz, but was never built according to the full specifications. (12) The north wing was opened in 1882 and the south wing ten years later. There were eleven hundred and sixty cells provided for men and forty for women, the latter being improvised from the old House of Refuge buildings, which were also utilized for shop purposes. The outside cell-wing arrangements, characteristic of Pennsylvania system prisons, was abandoned in favor of the great inside cell-blocks which had been followed in Auburn system prisons. This new Western Penitentiary was at the time of its completion the most expensive and pretentious prison structure which had been erected in America, the total cost being over two million dollars, but the poor judgment shown in selecting the site led to the speedy rise of propositions for abandoning this great architectural octopus. It was damp and unhealthy; the dense fogs retained the smoke of nearby factories often making it too dark for the convicts to leave their cells before noon; serious floods in 1884, 1902 and 1907 made the institution almost uninhabitable for weeks at a time; and manufacturing was well-nigh paralyzed by the unfortunate restrictive labor legislation following 1897.

In 1909 John Francies became Warden of the Western Penitentiary and assumed leadership of the campaign to remove it to another and more desirable site. An act of March 30, 1911, authorized the procuring of a new location, and this time the sentiment for a rural site prevailed. A tract of some five thousand acres was secured at Rockview in Centre County and plans made for a great central prison farm which would supersede both the Eastern and Western Penitentiaries. New buildings have since been in the process of construction and the new central institution promises to become the most ambitious experiment yet carried out in the field of agrarian penitentiary projects. (13) It was at one time hoped by the progressive reform element that the experiment might go far enough to embody the cottage plan of dormitories, but it now seems that the cell block and great encircling wall scheme, which has been the characteristic stigma of prisons for a century, will be retained.

III.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY.

The first legislative act touching upon the administrative authority in the new state penitentiaries was that of April 10, 1826, creating the governing authorities of the new Western Penitentiary. These were to consist of nine inspectors selected from citizens of Allegheny County by the city councils of Pittsburgh, the commissioners of Allegheny County, and the justices of the court of quarter sessions. (14) This act was soon superseded by that of April 23, 1829, creating the governing bodies of the Eastern and Western Penitentiaries. The chief authority for penal administration in each was vested in a board of five inspectors appointed for a term of two years by the justices of the supreme court from taxable citizens of Pittsburgh or Allegheny County. The inspectors were to have general charge over the administrative, industrial and financial affairs of the penitentiary and to appoint and fix the salaries of the warden, physician, clerk and religious instructor. The immediate administrative supervision of the institution was put in the hands of the warden who was to appoint the under-keepers. (15)

There has been a remarkable degree of uniformity and continuity in the state's policy as to the administrative authority in the state penitentiaries. No important deviation from the precedent created by the act of 1829 has taken place. Subsequent revisions of this law have touched only minor details and additions. A moral instructor was added to the administrative staff in 1839 and a parole officer in 1909. In 1874 the power of appointing the inspectors was taken from the judges and given to the governor. These modifications were embodied in the act of May 23, 1913, which clarified and codified existing practice and legislation. (16) The term of the inspectors is now four years. Some significant initial steps towards securing centralization in administration were taken by the act of April 24, 1869, creating the Board of Public Charities, and that of June 1, 1915, establishing the Prison Labor Commission.

The maintenance side of the administration of the Western Penitentiary goes back in its origins to an act of

May 27, 1789, relating to the Walnut Street Jail. It directed that the support of prisoners sent here from other counties should fall upon these counties in proportion to the number of convicts sent there. (17) When the two penitentiary districts were organized in the state by the law of April 10, 1826, it was stipulated that the expense of maintaining the inmates of the state prison in each district should be borne by the counties in the district in proportion to the number sent by each county. (18) Earlier provisions were replaced by the act of April 23, 1829, which has remained in force to the present day with but little modification. It retained the general principle followed in the acts of 1789 and 1826. The following paragraph describes the most important features of the financial arrangements:

> The expense of maintaining and keeping the convicts in the said Eastern and Western Penitentiaries, shall be borne by the respective counties in which they shall be convicted, and the said expense shall be paid to the said Inspectors by orders to be drawn by them on the Treasurers of the said Counties, who shall accept and pay the same: Provided Also, That the said orders shall not be presented to the said Treasurers before the first Monday of May in each and every year; And Provided Also, That the said Inspectors shall annually, on or before the first Monday of February transmit by public mail, to the Commissioners of such Counties as may become indebted for convicts confined in said Penitentaries, an account of the expense of keeping and maintaining said convicts, which account shall be signed by said Inspectors, and be sworn or affirmed to by them and attested by the Clerk; and it shall be the duty of said Commissioners, immediately on receipt of said accounts, to give notice to the Treasurers of their respective Counties of the amount of said accounts, with instructions to collect and retain monies for the payment of said orders when presented; and all salaries of the officers of the said Penitentiaries shall be paid by the State; and it shall be the duty of the Inspectors to transmit to the Auditor General the names of the persons by them appointed, and the salaries agreed to be paid to each of them under the provisions of this Act, which sums shall be paid in the usual manner, by warrants drawn by the Governor upon the Treasurer of the Commonwealth.. (19)

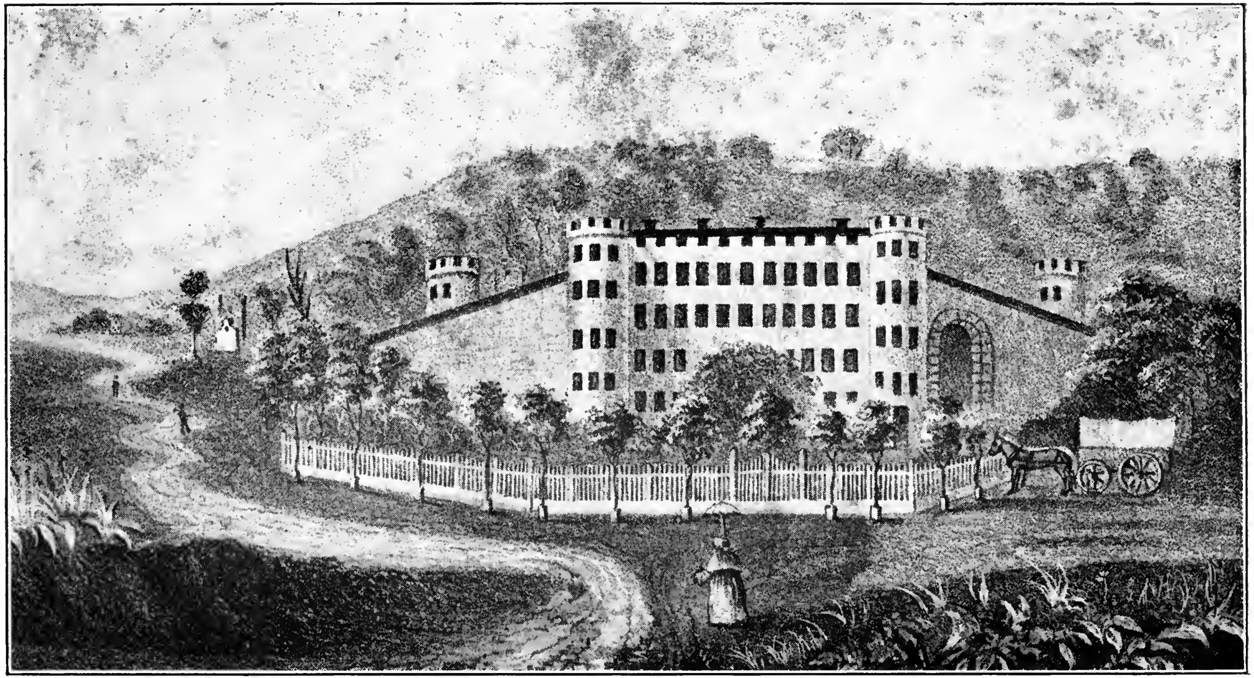
It has also become customary for the state to make appropriations for all important alterations and additions to the buildings and such extraordinary expenditures.

IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINARY AND REFORMATIVE SYSTEM IN THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY.

1. The Systems of Prison Discipline

From 1826 to 1869 the Western Penitentiary was con-



WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1844
From The Western Literary Magazine of January, 1844

ducted according to the so-called Pennsylvania system of separate confinement and labor in individual cells. This system had grown up as a reaction against the abuses of the congregate system as witnessed in the Walnut Street Jail and elsewhere. Under this system a large number of prisoners had been placed in rooms with no attempt at segregation. In some cases no provision was made even for the separation of the sexes. This situation led to so great a demoralization of discipline that the Philadelphia reformers, who originated the prison system in this country, proposed a plan which went to the other extreme and provided for the permanent segregation of each prisoner by himself in an individual cell. This was given an initial trial in a specially constructed cell block in the Walnut Street Jail after 1790, but its real application began with the opening of the Western Penitentiary in 1826 and the Eastern Penitentiary in 1829. While the Eastern Penitentiary has usually been regarded as the classic institution operating under the Pennsylvania system, the Western Penitentiary anticipated it by three years and some of the highest praise for this method of discipline and administration came from the officers of the Western Penitentiary. The following are but a few of the available excerpts from their reports which testify to their early faith in this system:

> We feel assured that it is by no means the design of the Legislature to abandon the humane and beneficient policy of Pennsylvania with regard to the treatment of offenders against her laws; from whence so many blessings have already resulted to that unhappy class of individuals. Ages upon ages had come and gone, before any charitable feeling had been excited, or any compassion aroused for the sufferings of guilt in the heart of even the most benevolent, in any part of the world. The unfading honor, of first introducing into her criminal code, the moral culture and reformation of the guilty, belongs exclusively to Pennsylvania. Higher objects than the mere punishment of the malefactor grace her statute books. With the hand of heaven descending charity, she has combined with her places of penance and punishment, hospitals for the treatment of moral diseases, kindness and encouragement, with moral and religious instruction, are uniformly extended to such as evince a dispositon to amend their lives, and every incentive to thorough reformation are inseparable objects of her system. (20)
>
> The miserable victim of the law in our day, finds himself notwithstanding his crimes, an object of the tender care and regard of the state, and of the deepest solicitude of the humane and benevolent around him. They forget not that he is an immortal spirit. That he is still an object of God's regard. The soft and soothing sounds of affection and sympathy, of instruction and prayer, fall upon his

ear. Useful and salutary labor, clean and wholesome apartments, a comfortable place to lay his aching head and weary limbs, air and water, ample sustenance, the light of Heaven and the Holy Scriptures to guide his heart to God. Such is the spirit of the Pennsylvania system. It is blessed from on high and will remain an imperishable memorial of her enlightened beneficence and humane consideration for the guilty inmates of her public prisons, and is now spreading its practical benefits by similar institutions reared on the base of her enlightened humanity, not only through sections of our own, but over governments and countries of the old world. (21)

Pennsylvania, the precursor of all her sister states in the present system of prison discipline, has justified its wisdom before the world in the practical results of its successful administration in this institution. Anticipated evils, existing more in speculative humanity and morbid philanthropy than in substantive fact, have failed in their realization. Disease and mental imbecility so confidently predicted as necessarily incident to separate confinement, have resulted in health and intellectual improvement. Depraved tendencies, characteristic of the convict, have been restrained by the absence of vicious association, and in the mild teaching of Christianity the unhappy criminal finds a solace for an involuntary exile from the comforts of social life. If hungry, he is fed; if naked, he is clothed; if destitute of the first rudiments of education, he is taught to read and write; and if he has never been blessed with a means of livelihood, he is schooled in a mechanical art, which in after life may be to him the source of profit and respectability. Employment is not toil nor labor weariness. He embraces them with alacrity, as contributing to his moral and mental elevation. They help to fill the zodiac of his time, which would otherwise be spent in unavailing complaint, and fruitless importunity for release. Shut out from a tumultuous world, and separated from those equally guilty with himself, he can indulge his remorse unseen, and find ample opportunity for reflection and reformation. His daily intercourse is with good men, who, in administering to his necessities, animate his crushed hopes, and pour into his ear the oil of joy and consolation. He has seasonable and comfortable clothing; he has the best of medical attendance; he has books to read, and ink and paper to communicate with his friends at stated periods; and weekly he enjoys the privilege of hearing God's holy word expounded by a faithful and zealous Christian minister.

Thus provided, and anxiously cared for by the officers of the prison, he is in a better condition than many beyond its walls guiltless of crime. He labors, but it is for his subsistence, like any other member of the community, and by his industry he relieves that community of the burden of his support.

It is a fact worthy to be remembered by the Legislature, that for the last ten years, not one county sending convicts to the Western Penitentiary has been called upon to contribute a solitary dollar towards their subsistence. Such being the domestic economy of this institution, and such its happy results, we are not required to enter into an elaborate vindication of the principle upon which it is based. The system has disappointed the anticipation of its enemies, and surpassed the confident expectations of its friends, and there, for the present, we leave it. (22)

In spite of this excessive praise of the separate system, criticism of it developed within the state. Between 1821 and 1825 the authorities of the state prison at Auburn, New York, had devised a system of prison discipline and administration which steered midway between the extremes of the old congregate system and the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement. They allowed congregate labor in the prison shops by day and compelled separation in individual cells by night. Perhaps the chief advantage of this method was the fact that it offered better opportunities for a more advanced and effective economic organization through the shop or factory system and the machine methods which could not be introduced into the separate cells of the Pennsylvania system. (23) This Auburn system made an appeal to a new and progressive board of inspectors appointed in 1864. In 1866 they presented the following convincing summary of the weaknesses of the Pennsylvania system:

> In looking over the Annual Reports made by the Officers of this Institution to the State Legislature for more than thirty years, we find that they have rarely ever omitted to express their entire satisfaction with the workings of the separate system of confinement which Pennsylvania has adopted as her own.
>
> We are not at this time disposed to controvert the self-complaisant arguments so profusely lavished upon the Legislature from both extremities of the state, in their Annual Reports as to our "humane and reformatory" System of Prison discipline.
>
> We think, however, that it might be well for the Legislature to look at the other side of this question and inquire, whether, in the onward progress of events and in the constant and interesting changes that are always being developed in the world, there might not be a more excellent plan adopted or worked out for the improvement and reformation of this unfortunate people than the one which we have adopted? As we have made from time to time our frequent visitations to the convict's cell, and have engaged him in conversation and studied his situation, we have often been oppressed with the feeling of despair that seemed to settle upon his face as he would look forward (sometimes through a quarter of a century) to a hopeless future. In his loneliness he broods over his condition, walking his dreary cell in the quiet hours of the night, and during the unemployed moments of the day. No human face visible save that of the Officers and his Keepers, he feels that "his hand is against every man and every man's hand is against him," and having no object or interest beyond his own walls to attract his attention or arrest his thoughts, he falls back upon himself and his fancied wrongs, and in sullen anguish preys upon his own vitals!
>
> Man is formed for society. He cannot well live without it. Ostracize him from the world and his fellow men, and he soon looses his own self-respect, because he feels that he has forfeited that of others.
>
> We hold these men for their reformation as well as punishment.

> Would not the successful accomplishment of the former purpose supersede, to a great extent, the necessity for the latter?
>
> The great problem, which we think is not yet solved, is *what* is the best mode of accomplishing this end? If those who frame our laws consider that our present System is the most desirable and ought not to be modified or changed, then we would urge upon them the imperative necessity of making provision at once for an increased number of cells in this prison. (24)

The inspectors were able to secure the passage of the act of April 8, 1869, which allowed the congregation of prisoners in shops for industrial purposes and thus terminated the solitary system in the Western Penitentiary. (25) In their report for 1871 they expressed their satisfaction with the new system, and three years later they were even more convinced of its advantages:

> We have just emerged from a chrysalis or transition stage in the management of this institution. The reach from a rigid solitary system of discipline to the more liberal and enlightened congregate idea, is a tedious and difficult one, especially where public opinion has been educated for a long series of years to the belief that the existing regime is infallible. The public and the prisoner have each sustained us. The cordial endorsements which we have received from those who are interested in the moral reforms of the day, have greatly encouraged and emboldened us in all that we have done; and the thankful recognition of our efforts to benefit them, physically, morally and religiously, which we are constantly receiving from the convicts, has been reward enough for all our labor and toil. (26)
>
> But to the prisoner the advantages of this change are still more apparent. When taken from his solitary cell, his strength is debilitated, his appetite fastidious, his face pale, the color from his cheek gone, and his eye has assumed the incipient appearance of insanity; his incarcerated life has been one of hopeless misanthropy, and often times his physical strength has become prostrated and his mental activity benumbed by the indulgence of vice and sensuality which a solitary life tends greatly to promote.
>
> Now look at these same men in their places in the workshops. Their manhood and self-respect have returned, their countenances show an intelligent interest in their work, a healthy appetite has returned, the bloom on the cheek has resumed its place, and if one did not *know* that he was in a prison, he could not distinguish these from any similar workmen outside.
>
> Yet best and most of all is the wholesome discipline which *labor* always brings in its train. There is nothing so promotive of good order as to make an imprisoned man *tired*; his sleep is sweet at night, and he has no time for mischief during the day. (27)

It appears that the inspectors were not content to adopt the principles of the old Auburn system, but engrafted upon it some of the more advanced practices of the Irish system of prison discipline. This had been introduced into Ireland after 1853 by Sir Walter Crofton and embodied the important principle of classification, grading and promotion of prisoners. It was advocated in this country during the decade of the "sixties" by a group of reformers, of whom Frank Sanborn was the most active and enthusiastic. In their report for 1871 the inspectors describe their effort to introduce at least certain important phases of the Irish system. Both the inspectors and the Chaplain J. L. Milligan were warm in their praise of this system and would have gone further with its utilization had not the laws of the state prevented.

> We are not allied to either of the extremes of separate or congregate government: avoiding the rock of Scylla on the one hand, as well as the whirlpool of Charybdis on the other, we have endeavored to select from each that which was good, and by engrafting the one on the other, have, we think, hit upon the correct idea of an American prison.
>
> We have introduced three grades of cells:
>
> First, the punishment (not dark) cell, for the incorrigibles, where the prisoner is completely isolated—*severely let alone*—and has nothing to do.
>
> Second, the separate, or Pennsylvania cells; (a portion of one wing being appropriated for this purpose) where the occasional insubordinates are placed; they have work and books, but none of the other privileges of the institution.
>
> Third, the ordinary cells, where all the well behaved prisoners are kept, when not at work in the shops or yards.
>
> The idea of *disgrace* incurred and *promotion* secured, is encouraged in this way, and thus far with satisfactory results. (28)

Probably no better description of the change from the Pennsylvania to the Auburn system exists than the following summary taken from the report of Chaplain J. L. Milligan written in 1906:

> When I assumed my duties it was in the old castle-like prison in West Park—there then, and for long years previously the fundamental control was based on the "solitary confinement plan." Each cell was a costly little prison in itself.
>
> The unnatural isolation was not looked upon favorably by the progressive Board of Inspectors and the kind hearted warden. The character of the industries was cellular and antiquated. The financial returns were meager, but the methods were honored by age, and hence firmly fixed. "They long bore the ills they had rather than fly to others they knew not of" with increasing resentment.
>
> They well knew that the proposed and desired changes which lay in their minds would be a severe jolt to the old methods.
>
> The architectural construction had aimed only to secure the safekeeping of the prisoners, regardless of sufficient natural light and fresh air necessary to the cure of the morbid mental condition invoked by the surrounding of the inmates of the cells.
>
> Two strong doors, one of oak plank lined with iron, and the other door solid boiler plate iron, opened from the corridors to the cell—

the prisoner's home for the period of his sentence. A small opening near the top of the inner door. closed by an adjustable slide, was where the daily food was passed to the inmate. The ceilings and floors of the cells were solid stone, so also the outside wall in which a narrow vertically inclined gash was cut for the purpose of admitting all the air and natural light that the prisoner enjoyed.

Here in this tomb-like limitation he lived and ate and did the work appointed to him. On Sabbath day here was also his church.

The old crazy loom for weaving cloth was his constant and only companion.

All these conditions served to more deeply depress his mind and certainly unfit him for manful conflict in free live competition at the end of his sentence.

At the Sunday services which were conducted in each corridor, with the prisoners standing in cells with their ears at the opening of the slide in the inner iron door and the outside door ajar a few inches and held on a short chain, he might catch some of the music and the words of the speaker through the limited avenues of stone and iron.

It was not to be expected that the Hon. Charles Dickens in his American notes would fail to tell England what he saw in our prisons.

This was my environment for public religious services for a few Sabbaths after I began my life work in prison. Its short duration was a great relief.

The application which the brave inspectors, strengthened by the conjointed appeals of some true philanthropists to the legislature brought the enactment of a law, brief in words but mighty in its transforming power of the old regime.

This law (that of 1869) gave to the inspectors the privilege to congregate the prisoners for "labor, learning and worship."

Then both cell doors were thrown wide open. The prisoners bringing their stools came out and seated themselves in the corridor at their cells where they could see each other and hear all the services.

To them, these new free methods of public religious services much more emphasized the meaning of liberty and love.

Under this strange condition to them, the order and attention were perfect.

Soon a commodious chapel was erected and the prisoners were assembled for hearing the Gospel on Sabbath morning; under more natural and normal conditions, classes for the study of the Bible were formed for the Sabbath afternoon.

A schoolroom was improvised and a day school started for elementary instruction.

Workshops followed and soon the inspectors realized that they had met loyal approval for the good that had come even amid the unfavorable buildings.

Then with the same courage, they proposed a new prison in which the old past conditions should have no place. That great wish has been accomplished. "Riverside," as they called the enlarged prison, now stands as a monument to their memory. (29)

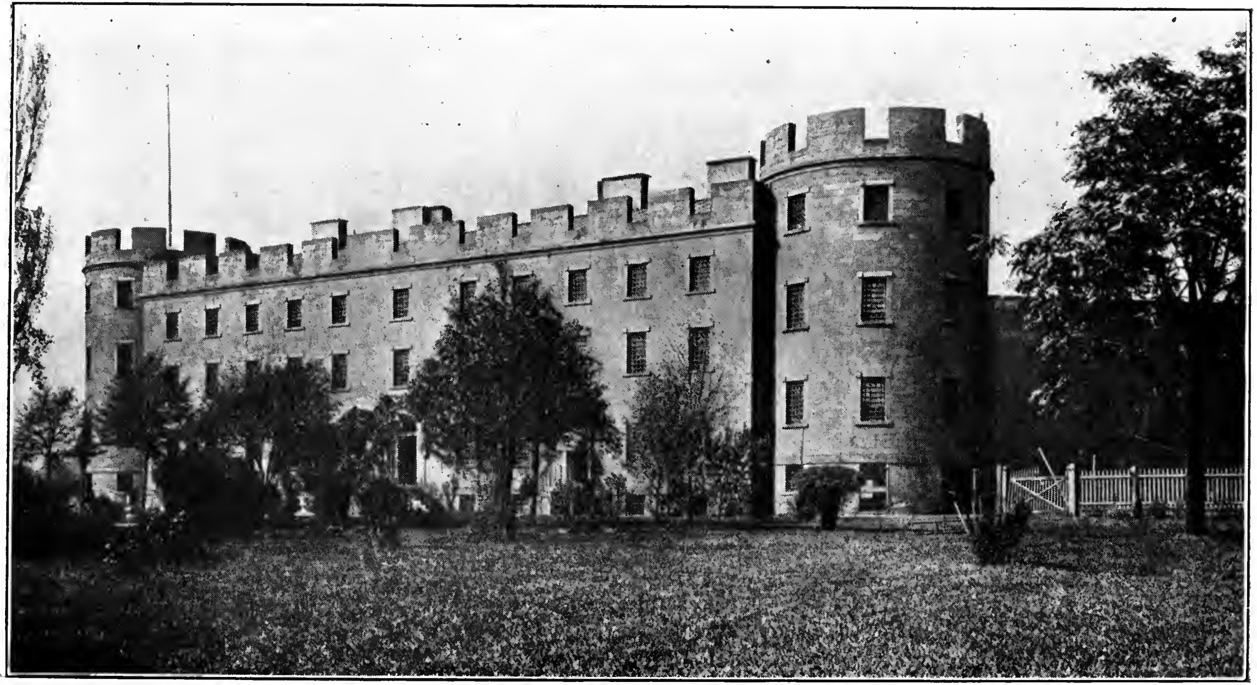
The remaining interesting phase of disciplinary progress in the Western Penitentiary has been connected with the erection of the new penitentiary at Rockview. Here a large number of convicts have been kept in a great dormitory without any separation or many guards. A merit house where qualified convicts may live practically without guards and which is based upon the honor system has been provided. Several hundred convicts have been kept on this great farm without prison walls, with a small percentage of escapes. The success of this experiment conducted by Warden Francies has been remarkable, and in some ways condemns in advance the sort of institution which is being erected through the use of these very men and methods, namely, one with great cell-blocks and surrounded by the stigmatic wall.

2. Chief Phases of Progress in Prison Administration and Discipline.

One of the first important aspects of prison reform which has characterized the nineteenth century was the commutation of sentence for good behavior. As a practical proposition applied to adult convicts this procedure was initiated about 1840 by Alexander Maconochie at Norfolk Island, Australia, an English penal colony. It was introduced into the Irish prison system by Crofton about a decade later and came into the United States during the "sixties". The first Pennsylvania law providing for commutation of sentence for good behavior was a product of the agitation conducted by the *Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons* and was put upon the statue books in 1861. It was declared unconstitutional and was replaced by a more satisfactory law in 1869. This was applied until the act of May 11, 1901 supplemented all earlier legislation on this subject. Since 1869 then it has been possible for convicts to gain a substantial reduction of their sentence by good behavior. (30)

The indeterminate sentence was apparently originated by the New York and Philadelphia Houses of Refuge in 1824-5. Its application to adults came much later. Archbishop Whatley and a Scotch philosopher, George Combe, set forth the notion just after 1830 and it was taken up and supported in England by Frederick and Matthew Davenport Hill. It was also adopted by Crofton in his Irish system, and was brought into America as a part of the Elmira Reformatory system in the "seventies". With it was almost inseparably associated the parole system or "conditional release", which had been strongly sponsored in the "forties" by Bonneville de Marsangy. In Pennsylvania the indeterminate sentence and parole were first applied to adult offenders in the Huntington Reformatory in 1887. For many years Chaplain Milligan of the Western Penitentiary urged their adoption in the state penitentiaries. They were introduced into the state penitentiaries by an act of May 10, 1909. (31) The law covering the indeterminte sentence provided that the maximum sentence should be the legal maximum for the crime and the minimum the legal minimum or, if no minimum existed, not more than one fourth of the maximum. This act, as well as the principle of the indeterminate sentence, was practically abrogated by the amendment of June 19, 1911, which allowed the judges to fix a minimum sentence equal to anything up to one day less than the maximum. (32) The parole system, while effectively administered as far as limited officials for this purpose has allowed, has been crippled because of lack of adequate supervision of those out on parole.

The segregation, separation and classification of prisoners has made some progress in Pennsylvania. In 1786 there was no attempt to separate for treatment or incarceration young from old, first offenders from hardened criminals, males from females, the insane and idiotic from those of fairly normal mentality. With the provision of Houses of Refuge after 1825 and the Huntington Reformatory after 1887 it was possible to some degree to separate the young and first offenders from the old and the confirmed criminals. Provision has been made since 1790 for separating male from female prisoners. A state hospital for the criminal insane was created by the act of April 14, 1845, and after 1874 it became possible to transfer to it insane inmates of the Western Penitentiary. An institution for the idiotic and feeble-minded was opened at Polk in 1897. Within the Western Penitentiary itself some progress has been made in grading the convicts according to behavior. This plan was introduced by Warden Wright and Chaplain Milligan about 1870 and has been retained with but few modifications since that time. An additional method has been brought into existence by Warden Francies in transferring the



WESTERN PENITENTIARY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Removed In 1886

prisoners with the best records to Rockview. Yet it must be admitted that little progress has been made towards such a system of grading and promotion as prevailed in the Irish system or exists in the Elmira Reformatory system. This cannot, however, be wholly charged to the prison authorities, since the laws would not allow such a step.

In matters relating to education the Western Penitentiary ranks about with the average state prison. Moral and religious instruction was provided by an act of November 25, 1839. In some cases the moral instructor was a person whose influence went far beyond spiritual ministry and materially assisted in improving the whole administrative system. Particularly was this true of Chaplain John L. Milligan, who held this office for forty years after 1869 and ranks as one of the chief figures in the history of prison reform in Pennsylvania. (33) Some academic instruction was given individually by moral instructors before 1873. A day school was opened in 1873 and continued to 1881. Abandoned from 1881 to 1886, it was revived in the latter year and has been continued to the present day. Yet its facilities have ever been limited and no regular teachers provided aside from the moral instructor and his convict assistants. It is probably the weakest aspect of the present prison administration. An excellent library has been built up. It now contains about fifteen thousand volumes and liberal rules govern its use. Vocational training or trade instruction has been little developed at any time in history of the Western Penitentiary, least of all since the abandonment of the Pennsylvania system in 1869.

One of the latest and most promising developments in criminal jurisprudence has been the combination of the suspended sentence and probation. It has been recognized that this practice is more likely to secure reformation than incarceration in the average prison and has come to be applied in many progressive localities for first offences of a mild type. It has been applied to juveniles for some time in Pennsylvania, but the beginning of its extension to adults came in the acts of May 10, 1909 and June 19, 1911 which related to first offenders found guilty of lesser crimes and misdemeanors. (34) The adoption of this new act was, however, optional, and though much has been done to put it into operation in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia little or nothing has been done in the western part of the state.

V.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY

It seems that the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were the first to suggest imprisonment at hard labor as a punishment for crime. This they did as early as 1681-4, but their theories were not applied until a century later. The first attempt to put prisoners to work in Pennsylvania came as a result of the law of 1786 ordering that they be put at hard labor "publicly and disgracefully imprisoned," but this proved a failure. Then after 1790 came the first attempts at prison industries, they being fairly successful until the overcrowding of the Walnut Street Jail after 1810. The Western Penitentiary was opened in 1826 without any provision for the labor of prisoners. Not until about 1832 were any significant prison industries established. Down to 1870 the chief industries were weaving, shoemaking and cane-seating of chairs. After 1870 work was allowed in congregate shops and no longer restricted to cells. Shoemaking was the most productive industry from 1870 to 1887. During this period there was also a considerable development of the chain and heavy hardware industry. After 1887 the making of heavy mats became the most profitable industry, and the manufacture of hosiery and brooms were the other significant methods of employment. Since 1914 construction work and farming at Rockview have been important as a means of employing a part of the idle body of prisoners from the Riverside institution. In the future farming will probably become the chief industry of the inmates of the new penitentiary. (35)

The methods of administering the industries of the Western Penitentiary have varied with the general progress of penology and outside industry and with the effect of legislation upon the subject of prison labor. The period from 1832 to 1870 was characterized by the state or public-account system in which the direction of the industries was kept by the prison authorities and the products sold by them in the open market. Some little contract convict labor, administered according to the piece-price system, also existed during this period. After 1870 there was a very complete adoption of an extreme form of the contract system, according to which the convicts were leased to contractors who furnished the raw material, conducted the industrial activities, and sold the products. In 1883 an act was passed which forbade contract convict labor in Pennsylvania, and there was a return to the public-account system until 1915. In that year a law directed the establishment of the state-use system. The Western Penitentiary has, thus, exemplified in its industrial history all of the chief systems of conducting prison labor operations. (36)

The Western Penitentiary, while normally producing a larger revenue than the Eastern Penitentiary, has been far from a gainful institution. In the "forties" and early "fifties" it earned enough to meet the cost of maintenance, exclusive of salaries. In the year 1864 the income was approximately equal to both maintenance and salaries of officials. Since that time it never earned enough to meet even maintenance charges, and after the restrictive legislation of 1883-97 has become progressively more of a burden to the state. In 1916, for example, it created an economic burden of about three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Down to 1883 the state interfered but little with prison industry. In that year, due to the opposition of labor organizations to contract convict labor, it passed acts forbidding contract convict labor and ordering the branding of convict made goods. In 1891 the eight hour day was prescribed for prison labor. In 1897 came the most severe restriction of all in the law which forbade all types of machinery other than those operated by foot-power, and allowed the employment of not more than twenty per cent of the total number of inmates. In 1915 the state-use system was introduced and a prison labor commission created to centralize and take charge of the industrial operations of the state penitentiaries and the Huntington Reformatory. (37) Because this law was not supplemented by one making it compulsory for state institutions to buy these prison made products when in need of such commodities, it has been very difficult to get the new system on a satisfactory working basis. Whatever may be said for it from other standpoints this restrictive legislation has been a severe handicap to the economic and disciplinary life of the Western Penitentiary, and Pennsylvania, for the last twenty-five years, has had far more idle convicts in proportion to the total convict population than any other state in the union. This has reacted to make more difficult reformation and discipline in the penitentiaries.

VI.

CONCLUSION

Even this brief and summary survey of the evolution of penology in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania is sufficient to demonstrate that it well exemplifies the general tendencies in the history of American penal institutions during the last century. With the possible exception of the New Jersey state penitentiary at Trenton, it is unlikely that any other institution in America so well recapitulates American penal history. The Western Penitentiary was the first real state prison to adopt in a thorough manner the system of solitary confinement for all its inmates. It later operated for years under the Auburn system of congregate labor, and made some progress towards adopting the Irish system of grading prisoners and promoting them on the basis of behavior. Finally, it has now begun experimentation with what is regarded by many as the solution of our penal problem, namely, the location of penal institutions on great farming tracts where open air life will be possible and real liberties granted in such a degree as the conduct of the prisoners makes them possible.

The Western Penitentiary has also experimented with all of the leading types of prison industry, both as to the nature and technique of the industrial operations and the systems of labor according to which they were conducted. Starting with the handicraft-individual-cell methods, a change was made into the shop-machine system, and now progress is being made along the line of shifting to agricultural pursuits. The public-account system of controlling the labor was given up when the shop system was introduced in 1869 and the contract method was introduced until it was

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outlawed by the act of 1883. The public-account system was revived and remained in vogue until 1915 when the state-use and public-works-and-ways systems were prescribed. Finally, Pennsylvania has experienced even to a degree greater than any other state the effect of the opposition of labor organizations to contract convict labor in the shape of restrictive legislation affecting prison industries.

In greater or less degree the Western Penitentiary has illustrated nearly every progressive addition to penological theory and practice in the last hundred years, and is just now ready to take its place with the most advanced institutions of the present day in one of the most far-reaching experiments of penological history—that being inaugurated by Warden Francies at Rockview.

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35. The data upon which these descriptive generalizations are based have been secured from the official reports of the inspectors.
36. The industrial operations are described in detail in the regular reports of the inspectors.
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FOREFATHERS

By

EDMUND BLUNDEN

Here they went with smock and crook,
  Toiled in the sun, lolled in the shade,
Here they muddled out the brook
  And here their hatchet cleared the glade:
Harvest-supper woke their wit,
Huntsman's moon their wooings lit.

From this church they led their brides;
  From this church themselves were led
Shoulder-high; on these waysides
  Sat to take their beer and bread:
Names are gone—what men they were
These their cottages declare.

Names are vanished, save the few
  In the old brown Bible scrawled,
These were men of pith and thew,
  Whom the city never called;
Scarce could read or hold a quill:
Built the barn, the forge, the mill.

On the green they watched their sons
  Playing till too dark to see,
As their fathers watched them once,
  As my father once watched me;
While the bat and beetle flew
On the warm air webbed with dew.

Unrecorded, unrenowned,
  Men from whom my ways begin,
Here I know you by your ground,
  But I know you not within—
All is mist, and there survives
Not one moment of your lives.

Like the bee that now is blown
  Honey-heavy on my hand
From the toppling tansy-throne
  In the green tempestuous land—
I'm a-Maying now, nor know
Who made honey long ago.

—*Oxford Poetry.*

SOME ASPECTS OF PITTSBURGH'S INDUSTRIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD WAR*

By

FRANK R. MURDOCK

American energy, especially in the domain of industry and commerce, is proverbial. Yet when the World War broke out in 1914, perhaps no one realized to what extent American energy and resourcefulness would be a determining factor in bringing about the victory. Our country was far from the scene of the conflict, and on first thought our place seemed to be that of spectators rather than participants. But before many months had passed demands were being made on us for all sorts of supplies, especially munitions of war.

In the light of subsequent events it seems most fortunate that some of our great industrial organizations, especially in the Pittsburgh district, should have begun the manufacture of munitions during the early days of the war, for the plants erected, the equipment installed, and the experience gained were of incalculable assistance to our own government when at last we accepted the gauge of battle.

The first order to be received in this district for munitions was on December 30, 1914, by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company from the British Government for 3,000,000 shell. (1) This company had not one man in its organization who had ever worked on or handled the making of shells. It was found that only two per cent. of their tools in use at the time could be utilized in the making of these shells. The manufacture of a shell requires 128 manufacturing operations and 51 shop inspections. For the inspection of the body of the shell 65 gauges are used, while 170 gauges are required for the inspection of the fuse cap of the shell. In spite of the fact that all these gauges had to be manufactured, and new machinery installed for the making of the shells, this company delivered shells to the

*Read by the author, a student in the University of Pittsburgh before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on May 31, 1921.

British Government within 45 days after receiving the order (2). This same company built a plant at Twenty-eighth street in 29 days for the manufacture of eight-inch howitzer shells for the British Government, and within three months a maximum production of 5,000 shells a day was attained at this plant (3). A rigid test was applied to the shell before being accepted by the purchasing government. In the case of shrapnel, the time fuse was set at zero and fired at a velocity of 1,800 feet per second. At this setting the shrapnel should explode 50 feet from the gun. It meant the mechanism must react within 83/10,000 of a second. The shells were divided into lots of 2,000 and five fuses from each lot tested. The Westinghouse Company manufactured 1,250,000 of these shells and not one lot was rejected (4). The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company alone manufactured 5,058,000 shells for the British Army during the war (5).

The British Government placed in this district an order for 3,000 15-inch shells for their navy (6). Each of these shells weighed 1,400 pounds and measured 52 inches in length, being almost as long as the average man is tall. The British Government also received from this district 409,000,000 one-half-inch bullets and 1,250,000 18-pounder cartridge cases (7). It required 14,150 railroad cars to haul this shipment, which for the most part was manufactured by the Westinghouse Air Brake Company at Wilmerding (8). These cars were equivalent to a single train more than 100 miles long. In addition many carloads of forgings were forged and shipped from this district to be finished in various other districts for the British Army, until as General Maurice stated, "Pittsburgh steel was everywhere along the battle front." Shells and ordnance supplies of every description that had their origin in the Pittsburgh mills arrived by the shiploads and gradually permitted the German preponderance in materials to be overcome (9).

Nor was the contribution of this district confined to the British Army prior to our entrance into the war. Two hundred thousand cartridge cases as well as 10,000 freight car brake equipments and 300 locomotive brake equipments were manufactured for the Russian Government. One hundred fifty thousand freight car brake equipments and 1,475 locomotive brake equipments as well as great numbers of carloads of rough forgings for shells and guns were sent from this district for the French Government (10).

A very important contribution was a rifle grenade developed by the Westinghouse Engineers and accepted by the French and Italian Governments. Orders were received for 8,500,000 of these grenades to be supplied at the rate of 25,000 per day. Again the Westinghouse Company was required to build new buildings and install new machinery to handle this great order, but within three months from the time ground was broken for the first new building, 88,000 grenades per day were being shipped for the use of the armies (11).

One can only grasp the stupendous amount of manufactured products contributed by this district to the Allied Armies by noting that the international balance sheet shows $5.00 of Allied munitions purchased in this district to every $1.00 spent by the American Army in purchases abroad (12).

The contributions of these great amounts of munitions and war supplies to the Allied Armies, however, was the means of preparing this district for the prodigious task of producing the immense quantities of supplies needed by our own Government, when it decided in April, 1917, to cast its lot with those of the Allied powers in the cause of Right and Justice. This district became known as the Arsenal of the world. In it were located 250 great war plants, employing more than 500,000 men and women, constantly engaged day and night, in many instances seven days a week, in turning out war supplies for the United States and its Allies (13). It was the basic district because of its production of steel and of forgings. Eighty per cent. of all munition steel used by the United States Army came from the Pittsburgh mills (14). This district contributed about 100 carloads a day of unfinished forgings to other districts to be finished for our army. Seventy-five per cent. of the coal consumed by the munition makers came from the mines of this district and vicinity (15). To realize the importance of this district in the carrying on of the war, we must realize that this was a combat of peoples and of their shops, with the accent on the shops. As an illustration, in reducing the St. Mihiel salient, a comparatively small undertaking, the American forces expended 150 rounds of artillery ammunition to every round that the Union forces had expended in the battle of Chickamauga in the Civil War (16).

Our principal task when we entered the war was to combat the submarine menace. Consequently the Navy and the Emergency Fleet construction programs were to have first call on labor, materials, machine capacity and railroad transportation (17) . The district successfully constructed propelling machinery for 350 merchant vessels and for 36 destroyers. In addition the Mesta Machine Company manufactured 700 tons of shafting each month for the Navy and 1,200 tons of shafting each month for the Shipping Board (18).

One of the very first contributions of the district after our entry into the war was the fruit of experiments begun in gas mask construction in April, 1917, by Mr. A. S. Fieldner, chief chemist of the local station of the United States Bureau of Mines, and the gas mask finally used by our forces was developed at the old Arsenal. The first 20,000 masks sent abroad were tested here after which the testing plant was removed to Washington, D. C. (19) The chemical inspection, however, of all ordnance material for all the districts in the United States was done in the Pittsburgh district (20).

The immense production required of the district placed a terrific strain on the power plants. Nevertheless, the Pittsburgh district ran continually during the entire war on a 50 per cent. overload on its power plants and got by (21).

Perhaps the proverbial American energy in industry is shown at its best in the contribution made by this district of optical glass during the war. Practically no optical glass had been made in this country prior to the war, it having all been imported from Germany. Yet many quantities had to be produced for the guns of our Army and Navy and the Government assigned the entire program to the Pittsburgh district. The Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, although having manufactured none prior to the war, reached in October, 1918, a total production of 65,000 pounds or enough to supply the needs of our entire Army and entire Navy. The manufacture of the panoramic sights was assigned to the John A. Brashear Company in April, 1918. In May, 1918, this company had completed five sets, but in October, 1918, 1,346 sets were completed. The manufacture of the sights for the 37 mm. guns was assigned to the Scientific Materials Company and although the entire program fell to it, it had the sights ready in plenty of time to meet the guns (22).

The zeal for winning the war infested the hearts of every man and woman in the district. In no instance is it shown more clearly than in the performance of the men who daily extract the energy from the bowels of the earth, when they brought forth in this district 20,000,000 more tons of coal in 1918 than was produced in 1917 (23).

The district also contributed to the material comfort and welfare of the men serving with the colors; for the Aluminum Company of America produced 3,000,000 meat tins and bacon cans for the United States Army (24), and over 1,000 carloads per month of electrical fans, ranges, wireless telegraph and telephone instruments, portable dynamos for the trenches and submarines, feet warmers for the men in the crows nests of the ships and numerous other electrical appliances left the Westinghouse plants to aid the men who were carrying the brunt of the burden (25).

Pittsburgh helped to keep the main arteries of the country from becoming clogged; for it contributed 27,400 freight car brake equipments, 595 locomotive brake equipments and 2,100 locomotive stoker apparatus to the United States Railroad Administration (26).

A special grenade discharger for the American Army was designed by the Westinghouse Engineers and accepted by the American Government. In addition to this company's great orders with the Allied Governments they accepted a contract for 529,655 of these grenades. This company also built for the Government a 90,000-horsepower turbine, the largest ever built (27).

The colossal contribution of the Pittsburgh district to the great war, the contribution which overshadowed all others and which alone finally gave to the Allied Powers a preponderant advantage in munitions over the Central Powers, was the great number of recuperator forgings, heavy gun forgings, howitzer forgings and heavy shell forgings, which the industrial plants were able to produce for our Government as well as for the Allied Governments during the latter part of 1917 and all of 1918. The war tonnage out of this district was from five to ten times as great as that of any other industrial center of its size in the world (28).

The heaviest ordnance used by the armies were the recoil recuperators for the great heavy guns. Ten thousand, five hundred thirty-four of these were made and rough-machined by this district (29). To produce this great amount, it meant that the greatest plants of the whole district were devoted solely and practically entirely to this program . Three thousand, eight hundred thirty-five forgings of the famous 75 mm. gun were produced for the American Army and 4,255 forgings of the 155 mm. Howitzer gun were forwarded from the district. In the manufacture of these forgings the Mesta Machine Company holds the wonderful record of producing 2,468 forgings in one month, the highest one day's record being 86 forgings (30). The work of producing the heavier forgings was assigned to the great plant of the Carnegie Steel Company and they responded by producing 1,734 forgings for the 155 mm. gun and 710 forgings for the 240 mm. Howitzer, a record not excelled by any other plant in the world during the war (31). During the manufacture of these forgings, the district contributed a distinct discovery to science, in the development of a new forging process whereby the presses worked the metal in the same direction from which the strain of firing would come. The forgings manufactured by the new process passed more than 99 per cent. inspection as against an average of 93 per cent. for the standard process. The new process was adopted by both Great Britain and France (32).

The large heavy gun forgings produced by the district were assigned for the most part to the Edgewater Steel Company and the Heppenstall Forge and Knife Company. The art of manufacturing guns was new to both of these companies, yet the Edgewater Steel Company produced a total of 180 gun forgings of the 155 mm. type, 1,500 gun breech rings for the same type of gun and 75 gun forgings for the 240 mm. Howitzer type of gun as well as producing 30 miscellaneous gun forgings. This company finally reached the remarkable achievement of turning out one forging each day for each type of gun (33). The Heppenstall Company worked on forgings for the 4.7-inch gun and also on forgings for the 3-inch anti-aircraft gun, producing 80 sets of each type prior to the ending of the war. They, too, reached the proficiency of turning out one set of each type gun per day (34). The National Tube Company also contributed to the production by adding to the total some 600 sets of the smaller Livens gun each day until the end of the war (35).

Being so impressed with the efficiency produced by the district, the Government always called upon Pittsburgh for what it needed in emergencies. Accordingly the orders were placed here for the armor plate required for the carriages and limbers of the guns. The program was distributed among four steel mills, none of which had ever had any experience at this branch of steel production. But responding with the characteristic zeal which permeated the entire city, they became very proficient and one company alone, the Universal Rolling Mill Company, developed a capacity to take care of the entire program (36).

Once more the Government called on the district in an emergency. It placed here its order for the manufacture of tank plates. The specifications called for an armor plate that could not be pierced by a machine gun at fifty yards. The order was assigned to the Carbon Steel Company and tests were made on the roof of this Company's plant where a machine gun and target were set up. This was in August, 1918. The schedule called for 700 complete sets in October, 1918, but by the date set for the completion of the order, 750 sets were actually produced (37).

But guns would make little impression on the enemy without shells to be fired from them, and in no other section of the whole world was this fact more appreciated than in the Pittsburgh district, for in addition to its almost unbelievable contribution of heavy guns and forgings, this district still was able to manufacture three and one-half million shells for the United States Army and Navy (38). These shells ranged in size from the large 240 mm. high explosive shells to the 4.7-inch high explosive shells. The greatest number of shells produced in the district was for the 155 mm. howitzer, over 600,000 of these high explosive shells being manufactured (39). The Standard Steel Car Company and the Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company reached a production of 4,500 of these shells each day. The largest monthly output was by the Valley Forging Company which produced 200,000 of the 75 mm. shells in October, 1918 (40). The National Tube Company and the Allegheny Steel Company vied with each other in producing during the month of October, 1918, 160,000 shells for the 4.7-inch gun at each plant (41). Three companies produced 80,000 each during the month of October, 1918, of the large 155 mm. gun shells, while the Carnegie Steel Company set a new world record in producing during the month of October, 1918, over 100,000 shells ranging in size from eight inches to fourteen inches (42). Certainly this district did its very best during the month of October, 1918, to answer the German threat of might.

Nor do these colossal figures represent the total contribution of this district during these trying months. The finishing plants in the other districts were all kept busy from the unfinished products sent forward from Pittsburgh and in addition the French Government received from 50 to 100 Pittsburgh-machined 75 mm. recuperator forgings each month (43). The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company in addition to the great orders they were working on, accepted another contract for 10,000 LeChrone motors from the French Government. The first part of the order, calling for 4,000 motors, they were working on at the end of the war (44).

Great as were these contributions, they nevertheless did not as yet represent what this district felt itself capable of producing, for the Government planned to erect the greatest gun and shell producing plant in the world on Neville Island, where it was planned to manufacture 14-inch guns at the rate of 15 per month, and 14-inch and 16-inch shells at the rate of 40,000 per month. There had been spent $12,000,000.00 on this project by the end of the war, and although no guns and no shells were produced, it was perhaps the best investment any Government ever made because of its psychological effect on the enemy (45).

The contribution of this district to the United States Government and to the Governments associated with us in the war, if converted into money values, would amount to a stupendous sum. The total figures are not available, but the United States Government had outstanding in the district on November 1, 1918, contracts calling for disbursements of $215,405,000.00 (46), and the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company alone estimate the value of their contracts with all governments during the war at the colossal sum of $1,475,000,000.00 (47).

Only some aspects of Pittsburgh's industrial contribution to the World War have been touched upon in this article. Yet even this has been sufficient to give to us some idea of the stupendous effort this district put forth to help in the winning of the war. Pittsburgh, from the time that coal and iron began to be brought forth from its hills, has been known as the Steel City. There is probably no place on the civilized portions of the earth but what has felt and has been essentially helped with the materials produced by the toils of this city. When the Allied Nations found themselves fighting with their backs to the wall, in order to uphold the state of civilization they had spent years in acquiring, it was but natural that they should turn with an appeal to the city that had contributed so materially in the building up of that civilization. That the city responded to this appeal with the zeal of patriotic service that enabled it to sweep aside all obstructions, was only what should have been expected by everyone familiar with its past achievements. But the development of this service brought to the fore potentialities not dreamed of. It enabled our own Government, when we entered the war, to make of this district the nave of the ellipse from which radiated great, steady streams of supplies to its periphery on the battle fields of Europe, thus enabling the fate of civilization to be decided for Right and Justice. This was perhaps a feat not paralleled in history, and it will always reflect everlasting honor to the great steel producing city of Pittsburgh.

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SENATOR EDGAR A. COWAN
1861—1867
By
B. F. PERSHING*

When the attack on Fort Sumter precipitated the Civil War, President Lincoln issued two calls for men to aid in suppressing the Rebellion. The one was for 75,000 men to serve for three months in the army of the United States. The other was a summons to the Thirty-Seventh Congress to assemble in special session on July 4th, 1861.

It is with the career of one of the Senators from Pennsylvania in this Congress and in the Thirty-Eighth and Thirty-Ninth which his senatorial term covered that this paper is concerned. However, before proceeding with the study of the official career of Senator Edgar A. Cowan a glance at the personel of this body will not be amiss.

There were to be found in the Congress of the United States during the Civil War no men who equaled the leaders in the previous years. Yet there were many men of worth and ability who were sincerely devoted to the Union and served it as best they knew how. Of those in the Senate whose fame was already national in 1861 might be mentioned W. P. Fessenden of Maine, Charles Summer of Massachusetts, J. P. Hale of New Hampshire, Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan and Jacob Collamer of Vermont. Of those present for the first time but who were destined to rank high among the leaders of their day were John Sherman of Ohio, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois. In the House of Representatives were Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Roscoe Conkling and Elbridge Spaulding of New York, Valentine B. Horton, George H. Pendleton and Clement L. Vallindigham of Ohio and Justin P. Morrill of Vermont. From Pennsylvania Thaddeus Stevens was the most important. He was among the most eminent of the men in the Lower House and his name will be mentioned whenever Reconstruction is discussed. Besides Stevens the only Pennsylvanian of note was Glusha A. Grow of Glenwood who served in the Thirty-Seventh Congress and was later returned to the Fifty-Third. In July, 1861, he was honored by being elected Speaker of the House, receiving 99 out of 159 votes on the first ballot.

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*Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, on May 31, 1921.

Edgar A. Cowan was born in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, on September 19, 1815. He was of Scotch-Irish descent. His parents were poor so that he had to earn the money to secure an education. A part of his youth was spent in Allegheny County as a carpenter. In time he saved enough money to enter Greensburg Academy. After completing his course in this preparatory school he entered Franklin College at New Athens, Ohio. From this institution he was graduated in 1839. This same college conferred upon him the degree of L.L. D. in 1871. He now took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar in Westmoreland County in 1842. In his chosen profession he was very successful and soon made a reputation for himself. As to politics he was originally a Jackson Democrat but joined with the Whigs in 1840. In 1856 he supported Fremont as he held that Fillmore represented Knownothingism and Buchanan indifferentism to slavery in the territories. The Republicans of this state selected him as a Presidential elector in 1860.

Up to this time he had held no public office. But when the term of William Bigler in the United States Senate was about to expire he became a candidate for his seat. The contest was a spirited one and the result was not certain until the Republicans in the State Legislature had met in their caucus. The only dangerous opponent of Cowan was David Wilmot. He had the backing of many of the chief politicians. Yet to many of the Republicans he was too extreme. His record on the tariff and on slavery lost him many votes from conservative legislators who personally favored him. Cowan who was by no means so well known was believed to be conservative and therefore safe at a time when the people of the state wished to show the South that they did not favor extreme measures. On the first ballot in the caucus Cowan received 26 and Wilmot 23 votes with the others scattered. A majority was not given any man until the sixth when the vote stood 58 for Cowan and 38 for Wilmot. When the Senate and House met in joint session to elect a Senator, Cowan was given 98 votes. The Democrats cast theirs, 35 in all, for Henry Foster. The disappointment of Wilmot in not being elected at this time was soon healed. The other Senator from the state, Simon Cameron, was chosen as Secretary of War, by Lincoln. Wilmot was elected to fill his unexpired term. Two years later he himself resigned when given a seat in the United States Court of Claims. Charles R. Buckalew was elected to succeed Wilmot.

The selection of Cowan was acceptable to the Republicans. The comments of several of the newspapers will illustrate this and also will describe the man. The *Philadelphia Press* while speaking of him "as a gentleman as yet unknown to fame" yet described him in these words: "He is a thorough Latin, French, Greek and German scholar. He is a great student acquainting himself with nearly all the modern sciences and possessed of one of the finest private geological, botanical and zoological cabinets in Western Pennsylvania. As a lawyer, Mr. Cowan stands in the very first rank of his profession and as an orator he has few equals in the state." The *Pittsburgh Gazette* asserted that Bigler the weak-kneed doughface had gone to the wall and his place had fallen to a man. Of Cowan it was said: "He is a man of middle age, gigantic in stature and also gigantic in intellect, untried in public life but possessing all the elements of a true statesman, of gentlemanly address and popular manners, well-rooted and grounded in the Republican faith and with backbone enough for a dozen senators." The *Pittsburgh Post* quotes a Washington paper as speaking of him as "entirely a self-made man having struggled alone, aided only by his commanding talent, indomitable will, untiring industry and persevering energy to the first rank among the lawyers of the state." This same tone of commendation pervaded most of the comments made in January, 1861.

By the time that Cowan had assumed the duties of his office the war had begun. In view of this he laid down five rules to guide him in the performance of his task. They were as follows:

1. The North must not violate the Constitution in co-

ercing the South to remain in the Union.

2. The Democratic Party in the Free States and the Union men in the Border States must be conciliated.
3. Congress should confine itself to raising revenues and an army.
4. The war should be waged according to the rules of civilized warfare.
5. The war was to suppress a rebellion and not to conquer the Southern States.

To these rules he steadfastly held though the course in which they led him was such as to render him extremely unpopular. Few men in our Congress at any time have so completely lost the confidence and support of those who elected them. This gives an interest to the study of his congressional life. His name is not attached to any of the prominent legislation of his time.

When Congress opened in July he was given a place on the Judiciary Committee, on that of Indian Affairs and on that of Patents and the Patent Office. Later he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the Finance Committee and withdrew from that on Indian Affairs. On the Finance Committee he served until the last session of which he was a member. Throughout his whole term in the Senate he was a member of that on Patents and the Patent Office, part of the time as chairman. At other times he served on those of Agriculture, Enrolled Bills and Territories.

During the special session of July and August, 1861, he voted for the main bills which were passed. It was not until the second session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress that he took the stand which cost him the support of his constituents. One of the Senators from Indiana, Jesse D. Bright, was charged with having written on March 1, 1861, a letter to Jefferson Davis, already President of the Confederate States, introducing a friend who desired to sell an invention improving firearms. A resolution was presented in the Senate declaring Bright guilty of treason. It was held, therefore, that he should be expelled from the Senate. The debate was very violent. A terrific outcry was raised against "the traitor Bright" as he was called. One of his most bitter antagonists was Andrew Johnson. Another was David Wilmot. In such an hour Cowan dared to defend Bright. He did this because he felt that at that time Bright belonged to a party which did not believe in secession but held that coercion would only more completely sever the Union. He insisted that the accused did not have a fair trial. He argued that from the technical, legal standpoint Bright was not guilty of treason even if he did write the letter. That this was true was conceded by Wilmot during a clash between Cowan and himself. Those favoring expulsion took the stand that while the evidence for treason was not such as would lead them to return a verdict of guilty if they were sitting as jurors, it was such as to show that Bright was not a fit man to be a member of the United States Senate. Of the defenders of Bright no one was more zealous than Cowan. When the final vote was taken on February 5, 1862, Bright was expelled by a vote of 32 to 14.

The assumption of this position by Cowan was fatal to his popularity in Pennsylvania. As the session preceded the conviction steadily gained ground that he was not a friend of the Union. This led Ben Wade on one occasion to term him "the watchdog of slavery." Denunciation of him by the people of the state now became as strong as their praise had been when he was elected. In the spring of 1862 an Abolition convention in Allegheny County declared that he did not represent the sentiment of the loyal people of Pennsylvania. When the Republicans of this county met in June of that year they severely censured him in their resolutions. The course of Wilmot was highly commended; that of Cowan, just as unscathingly condemned. The *Pittsburgh Gazette,* formerly his ardent friend, in referring to this convention said: "Among the members of the large convention of Republicans which met in this city on Monday, there was not a man that had a word to say in defense of Edgar A. Cowan in the Senate of the United States. There was a universal feeling of execration against the ingrate who had so basely deceived his political friends who had elevated him to a seat so much beyond his capacity or deserts."

His attitude on the Confiscation Bill had likewise displeased his constituents and helped to bring on this unusual reversal of feeling. This bill provided for the confiscation of the property of all persons in rebellion. Cowan opposed it on the ground that it was unconstitutional and would make the South more hostile. He also held that it was contrary to the law of nations which does not regard property taken on land as lawful prize in war. In the course of the debate on March 4th, 1862 he said: Pass this bill and all that is left of the Constitution is not worth much. Certainly it is not worth a terrible and destructive war such as we now wage for it." Again, on June 27th he said: "When I show that it is contrary to the law of nations I show that it is unconstitutional because there is nothing plainer in the world than that the Congress of the United States, the government of the United States, the whole people of the United States everywhere are bound by the law of nations and if we expect to have national rights and enjoy national privileges in the great family of nations, nothing can be clearer than that we are bound by the law of nations. " When the bill was passed on July 12th, 1862, under the pressure of the military reverses around Richmond, Cowan voted, "nay".

Without further illustrations of his stand on particular bills we may show the manner in which the impression of his attitude towards slavery and the South which his defense of Bright gave clung to him until the end of his term, by an incident which occurred during the debate on the Freedman's Bureau Bill. In the course of the discussion Cowan declared that he was a friend of the negro. This drew from Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts the cutting rejoiner: "The Senator from Pennsylvania tells us that he is a friend of the negro. What sir, he a friend of the negro! Why, sir, there has hardly been a proposition before the Senate of the United States for the last five years leading to the emancipation of the negro and the protection of his rights that the Senator from Pennsylvania has not sturdily opposed. He has hardly ever uttered a word on this floor the tendency of which was not to degrade and to belittle a weak and struggling race. He comes here today and thanks God that they are free, when his vote and his voice for five years with hardly an exception have been against making them free. He thanks God, sir, that your work and mine, our work which has saved a country and emancipated a race is secured; while from the word 'go' to this time, he has made himself the champion of 'how not to do it.'" If there be a man on the floor of the American Senate who has tortured the Constitution of the country to find powers to arrest the voice of this nation which was endeavoring to make a race free, the Senator from Pennsylvania is the man." These were strong words yet underneath them there was much truth.

Of interest is his stand on the financial measures which were passed to help put down the Rebellion. Here our conviction is that he was right in some of his contentions notably on the Legal-Tender Acts. With the bills authorizing loans, increasing taxes, imposing internal revenue duties and raising the tariff he was in accord with the administration. But he was not on the bills to issue legal-tenders and the National Bank Act. The first bill to authorize the issue of $150,000,000.00 in United States notes or greenbacks as they were called was introduced in January, 1862. As passed by the House it provided that these notes should be legal-tender for all debts public and private within the United States. Thaddeus Stevens as the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House had championed the bill with all his ability. In the Senate the bill was amended so as to provide that interest on bonds and notes should be paid in coin. Even as thus amended Cowan would not vote for it. His argument was that it was unconstitutional since the Constitution prohibits the making of anything except gold and silver legal-tender. He also pointed to the disastrous experience with Continental money during the American Revolution and that of the French Revolution with assignats. He closed his address on the amendment which proposed to strike out the legal-tender clause with these words: "The Constitution is the charter of our liberties and the covenant of the Union which we are all so anxious to defend. I will stand upon it to the last despite every necessity however imperious and if the time ever comes when we must all go down together, I say, let it come; but let us go down as honest men with our faith inviolate and in that spirit I hope the amendment to the bill will prevail." The bill, however, with the legal-tender clause remaining passed and became law on February 25th, 1862. The work of Cowan on this occasion was such as to lead the *Philadelphia Press* which supported the measure to compare him favorably with Senator Fessenden of Maine. He was said to have "distinguished himself by the acumen, logic and force of his expression and style." In June another issue was asked for by Secretary of the Treasury, Chase. Again Cowan opposed it but the issue was made. He also did not favor the National Bank bill which became law on February 25, 1863. One source of his opposition was the fact that it gave the banks the opportunity to secure double interest on the money invested in the government bonds which they held as security for the notes issued by them. On the one hand, they received interest from the government on these bonds and on the other, they received interest on the notes which were secured by these bonds. This was a common ground of opposition to the national banks.

Of other matters before Congress during his term it may be said that he favored the suspension of the right of habeas corpus. The Homestead Act of 1862 also received his support. He cast his vote, too, for the Thirteenth Amendment when it passed the Senate in April, 1864. The draft bill was given his affirmative vote. While this was before the Senate he proposed the exemption of members of Congress but the amendment did not carry. He opposed the bill giving to the army the enforcement of the Civil Rights Bill. On December 10th, 1866 he created a sensation in Congress by introducing a bill to give negro women the right to vote. When he was charged with making this motion as a joke, he stoutly protested that he had acted in all seriousness. This movement for negro female suffrage received the favorable votes of 8 other senators but was lost as 37 were not willing to give this right to negro while denying it to white women.

The last months of his term were those in which the overshadowing question in Congress was the struggle with President Johnson which finally led to the impeachment of the President. In this contest Cowan supported the President. For example, he was absent when the Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed on January 25th, 1866. But when the question of the President's veto was before the Senate he was present and voted to sustain the veto. Again he voted against the Civil Rights Bill on February 2d, 1866 and refused to give his vote to pass it over the veto of the President. Likewise, he opposed the Tenure of Office Act of January 18th, 1867. On this occasion the other Senator from Pennsylvania, Buckalew, voted as he did.

It was probably this support of the President which secured him the appointment to a post in the diplomatic service and also led the Senate to decline to confirm the appointment. During the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress which met in December, 1866 there was a general impression that such a post would be offered him as his reelection was plainly impossible. At one time the rumor was current that he would be made Secretary of War. During a discussion of this on the floor of the Senate, Senator Saulsbury of Delaware declared that as a statesman Cowan had no superior in the Senate if in the country. When the historian Motley who had been minister to Austria resigned, President Johnson sent to the Senate the nomination of Cowan to take his place. After long discussion the Senate left the matter laying on the table when the term ended on March 3rd, 1867. Cowan then retired to private life and resumed the practice of law. His death occurred August 31st, 1885.

As noted there was no chance of his reelection. Several candidates for his seat appeared. Among these were former Senator Cameron, Thaddeus Stevens, Galusha A. Grow, Col. Forney and Gov. Curtin. The last three retired from the race in favor of Stevens. There was a strong sentiment in favor of his election. Those who supported him openly hinted that money was being used in behalf of Cameron. Whether there was or not does not concern us here. He was selected as their candidate at the caucus of the Republicans. A change had been made in the method of electing United States senators. Each House now voted separately. The vote in the Senate stood, Cameron 19, Cowan 10; in the House, Cameron 62 and Cowan 37. Whence came these Cowan votes? They came from the Democrats. Here was indeed a most unusual reversal of political support. The man who had been elected by the Republican majority in 1861 became the candidate of the Democratic minority in 1867. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* which in 1861 had declared that Bigler the weak-kneed doughface had gone to the wall and his place had fallen to a man, now rejoiced that Cameron had become the successor "to the renegade Cowan in the United States Senate."

What judgment can be passed upon the man whose official career has thus been briefly sketched? That he was an able lawyer, a well-trained scholar and a forceful orator was conceded by all. Yet his political career was singularly unfortunate. The stand which he took upon decisive questions was such, in most cases, as to cost him his popularity and support. Yet he always protested that he was doing what he believed to be just, equitable and constitutional. May the explanation, in part, not be found in the fact that he was above all else a constitutional lawyer. He could not make concessions in such matters even for the sake of winning the war. That he was a man with firm convictions and with the courage to be true to those convictions at whatever cost, is our judgment upon the man.

THE LUCASES*

A Noted St. Louis Family

By

HENRY L. PATTERSON

The late Judge John B. C. Lucas, the founder of the family in America, was born in Normandy, France, in the year 1758, and died in St. Louis, August 31, 1842, aged 84 years. He came to the United States about 1784; after spending a few weeks in Philadelphia, started for the West, and settled a few miles back of Pittsburgh, farming here for twenty-five years. During that period he was returned to Congress from his district. In 1805 President Jefferson sent him to Missouri to pass upon the land claims of those who held or claimed under the former governments of Spain and France. His associates were Penrose and Donaldson. He brought with him to Missouri his wife, sons—Charles, William, Adrian, James H., and daughter Anne, who became Anne L. Hunt. Charles died in 1817, Adrian next. William, 1836; James H., 1873, and Anne Lucas Hunt in 1879, she being the last of these two generations. He was educated in France, and came to America a thorough read lawyer. All those who were contemporaneous with him, accord to him talents of the very highest order, and an integrity beyond question or doubt; his manners were those of an elegantly refined gentleman, high or low were always met with a suavity at once grateful and agreeable. It may be truly said he was a victim of calamities, having lost out of six sons, five by unnatural deaths. These terrible events doubtless went far to influence his later life, and to account for his withdrawal from all social intercourse. But few minds could have survived such dreadful experiences and retained anything of its original force; his did, it was powerful to the last. The foregoing sketch has an object that is to show the fallacy of memory of some men who, to glorify themselves as "old inhabitants" talk falsely and glibly of past events in the history of men and things. Referring to your issue of January 30, fourth column, fourth page, your reporter relates an interview with a prominent citizen, as follows: "I have frequently heard the story that Dorriss won the block on Eleventh and Olive streets, which goes by his name from old Mr. J. B. Lucas, the father of James H. I believe it is true. Lucas was very fond of gambling, and would sit down to poker whenever he could get a party. A number of us went up the river a good many years ago, and in the party were J. B. C. Lucas, Luther M. Kennett, who was Mayor of the city at the time, and Dorriss. A poker game was organized with these three among the players. Well, Kennett got a good hand and bet it against Lucas. Kennett won $500 during the evening from Lucas, who didn't mind the loss at all, etc., etc."

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*The founder of this family was prominent in the political life of Pittsburgh in the early days. In 1796, he lived on a farm on Coal Hill on the south side of the Monongahela River, in St. Clair Township, five miles above Pittsburgh. It was said of him that he was an atheist, and that his wife plowed on Sundays, in spite of which he was several times elected to the General Assembly. In 1800, he was appointed an associate judge for the county. He quarrelled with Alexander Addison, the president judge of the judicial district to which Allegheny County was attached, yet he had sufficient standing in the state to cause Judge Addison's impeachment and removal from the Bench. In 1802, Lucas was elected to Congress and was re-elected in 1804. In 1805, he was appointed United States District Judge for the new territory of Louisiana, now the state of Missouri.—Editor

I have quoted thus freely from your article with a view to show the facility with which some old "residents" relate facts and incidents that never existed or occurred—in common parlance, lie.

The steamboat excursion referred to happened in 1852 and was on the occasion of breaking ground at Hannibal of the H. & St. Joe railroad. I was one of the St. Louis delegation and was on the boat that night and saw all. Your informant asserts he saw J. B. C. Lucas, the father of James H., at cards with Kennett. The old Judge, father of James H., so positively identified, died August 31, 1842, some ten years anterior to the steamboat excursion, which renders it quite improbable that he was "seeing poker" that evening. Gen. Dorriss was not on that boat.

James H. Lucas

James H. Lucas, the last surviving son of J. B. C. Lucas, was born November 12, 1800, near Pittsburgh, and died at St. Louis, November 9, 1873, was buried in Calvary cemetery on his birthday, November 12. He came to St. Louis with his father in 1805, a very sprightly boy of five years old. His disposition for fun and mischief was exuberant, which did not quite suit the taste of the old gentleman, so that, at about the age of sixteen, the father, with the view to tone down the youngster's spirits, sent him to school in New Hampshire, supposing that the steady habits of that latitude would influence the boy. But it was no go. The peculiarities of those people were intolerable to him. After enduring for a year or so, he resolved to quit and try life on his own hook. So, writing to his father in a "Declaration of Independence," he put out. Traveling near due west he came to and stopped at the town of Poughkeepsie, Duchess county, N. Y. Here he immediately entered the office of Elisha Williams, at that time the leading lawyer of New York, and began the study of the law, meanwhile teaching French to eke out expenses. This, however, did not last long. His roving spirit would not brook delay. Again packing his kit he starts for Arkansas and brings up at the *Post*. Here he was so fortunate as to win the esteem and friendship of Mr. Notrebe, a very elegant, refined and cultivated French gentleman, a leading merchant and a planter at the Post. This friendship lasted through life. Upon reaching this, his last destination, he resumed his law-reading, and, while acquiring a profession, taught school, evincing an energy and determination seldom manifested by a lad of 18 years. While pursuing his studies he was made county clerk. Soon after having obtained his license as a lawyer, he began to "ride the circuit." The extent of his practice is unknown to me, but it must have paid, for he soon married, and next we find him a planter. This was his life down to 1836, when his father, finding himself alone, William having died that year, wrote, requesting him to remove to St. Louis, with which he complied in 1837. From his advent to St. Louis until his death in 1873, he was identified with all the leading projects, having in view the extension, beautifying and improvement of the city, and was among the foremost of public spirited men when schemes to benefit the whole community were suggested. He, O'Fallon and Page were the trio who subscribed the first $100,000 to the Missouri Pacific Railroad—this about 1850 and 1851.

The Lucas Estate

The Lucas estate extended from the east side of Fourth Street west to Jefferson Avenue, St. Charles Street on the north and Market Street on the south, the heart of St. Louis. When he took charge in 1837 there were not one hundred houses in the district. Look at it now. Public and private buildings counted by the thousand bear ample testimony of the liberal policy of the proprietors inviting all to come in, aiding and encouraging improvements, and themselves building houses by the hundred. In his social relations he was kindly, gentle and affectionate, one of the most approachable of men—a magnanimous auditor, for out of the hundreds of trusts and mortgages he held on property sold, not to exceed five were ever forcibly closed, and these generally at the request of the debtor. His charities were liberal, unostentatious—I may say, secret. Take him all in all, his character was beautiful. He died in the day of his usefulness deeply regretted by this community. These are the two men whose memories are stigmatized by certain old residents—mental vagabonds rather—who walk our streets licking up every defamatory item of gossip, stowing it away in their mean souls for future use, and when opportunity offers palming them off on "innocent reporters" as facts of their own knowledge. As an illustration of this base habit, look at the short dialogue as given in your issue of January 30, page 4, fifth column, to-wit:

Reporter—"The Dorriss Row on Olive Street. I believe that was won in a night, wasn't it?"

Old Resident answers: "Yes; Gen. Dorriss won that of J. B. C. Lucas on three nines, and to this day among the gambling fraternity three nines are known as a 'Lucas'." Here the slanderer answers unequivocally, "Yes," without the grace to qualify by saying, I have heard so and so.

The following facts and figures most conclusively show that there never was a word of truth in the tale of the three nines. Referring to the records of St. Louis county: (see book A, page 85, February 7, 1849.) Deed of James H. Lucas and Anne L. Hunt to John Cavender for 49 7-12 feet on north side of Olive and west of Eleventh. Again, same book and page, date February 12, 1849: E. C. Hutchinson to John Cavender, 80 8-12 feet on north side Olive in block 506. Book O. 5, page 278. December 18, 1849. Deed of Lucas Hunt to Edward A. Meany, of Chicot County, Ark., for 75 feet on north side of Olive Street, in block 56. These three deeds embraced the entire 205 feet covered by the Dorriss Row. Gen. Dorriss became a resident of St. Louis in 1868. Just about nineteen years after Lucas and Hunt had ceased to own a foot of the ground, Gen. Dorriss purchased of Wayman Crow, and, if the tale of three nines is to be maintained and repeated, I respectfully refer old residents to Mr. Crow for further information, as he was the last owner of the premises before Dorriss. This exposition may deprive the smart "ten cent ante" fellows of a standard joke, and cause "old residents" to cease their lying.

Anne Lucas Hunt

Anne Lucas Hunt, the only daughter, was born near Pittsburgh, September, 1796; came to St. Louis with her father in 1805, then in her ninth year a bright, precocious child. Education at that early day was a difficult matter to attain. There being no first-class schools, no colleges or convents, the young folks were dependent upon home instructions, and these varied according to the abilities of parents. Our heroine was more fortunate than most of her companions in having a father of genius and high classical attainments and a well educated, sensible mother. From these she mainly obtained such culture and knowledge as enabled her to appear to advantage in cultivated and intelligent society. Her career as a belle was short, for in her eighteenth year she married Capt. Theodore Hunt, formerly of the United States Navy; this in 1814. He died in 1832. Afterwards in 1836 she married Wilson P. Hunt, who died in April 1842. About this time her life became one of systematic benevolence, seeking out the poor, the suffering and afflicted. While administering to their wants she sought more extended fields for her charities, and appropriated largely of her estate to endow and build up societies, orders and institutions for the relief of the poor, and the extension of good morals. The tale of misery and suffering always touched her heart and opened her hand. She saw the vicious of both sexes becoming daily more numerous and more degraded; she also saw the world condemning, but doing little to alleviate or reclaim.

Mr. Editor, I feel that I would trespass too far upon your army of twenty thousand daily subscribers were I to go into a detail of the very many noble bequests of this remarkable lady. I will mention but one, to-wit: "The Convent of the Good Shepherd," founded by her in the interests of fallen humanity—an institution comparatively speaking in its infancy, containing today within its walls four hundred and seventy-five souls—a vast multitude. Who can analyze its moral and vicious composition, ranging from the highest type of angelic virtue down to the most degraded habits of vice? Monuments of marble and bronze are erected in memory of and to perpetuate the name and fame of those who have done great things in their day, and are intended to excite admiration and invite imitation, but they are silent. Not so this monument; the prayers and aspirations of these four hundred and seventy-five beings daily ascend to heaven beseeching God's blessings on their generous foundress, who for all time has provided them a home, where, secure from the sneers and temptations of the world, they may recover a self respect, abandoning the life of sin, and once more placing themselves in the line of God's favor. Therefore, so long as sinful women shall exist on earth, this monument will speak, and she who, disregarding earthly values gave freely of her substance will be called "blessed of women."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* February 18, 1882.

WHEN JUDGE F. H. COLLIER WAS A YOUNG LAWYER

By

JOHN H. KILLIN

Between twenty-five and thirty years ago, a case of assault and battery was tried in the Court of Quarter Sessions of this county before Judge McClure, which attracted much attention and awakened a deep interest in the minds of all who heard it, in favor of the defendant. A young man was brought from jail, where he had been for some time confined, before the court, charged as above, on one of his employer's sons; the former being the prosecutor. As the defendant had no attorney, at the request of the court F. H. Collier, Esq., defended him. The defendant came from the prisoner's box and sat down by Mr. Collier, and they engaged in an exceedingly earnest conversation. After being thus engaged probably fifteen minutes the court called Mr. Collier's attention to the fact that he was consuming too much valuable time, and the latter announced that he was ready to proceed with the case. The testimony of the prosecutor's witnesses made out a clear case against the defendant, but, as the latter had no witnesses, Mr. Collier drew out of those for the plaintiff some facts that were of considerable importance to his client. The testimony was that the prosecutor owned a ferryboat at Elizabeth on the Monongahela River, and that defendant was employed by him; also that the plaintiff had two boys who daily heaped abuse on his client, and that on the day he committed the assault on one of them, his client was under the influence of liquor. It is not often that a lawyer gives as much earnest attention to a case when he expects no reward, as Mr. Collier did in this one. It has always been my disposition to side with the weak and oppressed, hence my sympathy was enlisted so much in favor of that prisoner that I retain a fair recollection of the substance of the speech Mr. Collier made to the jury on that occasion. He arose from his seat, turned to the jury and earnestly scanned each face and then in a voice which clearly indicated that he was much interested, he said, "Gentlemen of the jury, I will preface the short address I propose to make to you, in behalf of my client, by relating a scrap of my early history. When I was a boy, the son of a poor Methodist preacher in lower Maryland, I had a friend, a noble-hearted boy, whom I loved with all the ardour of my young heart. In those days Methodist preachers were so poorly paid that in a sparsely settled country they barely received enough compensation for their services to keep soul and body together. My father occupied a position of the better kind, and, although I have no recollections of ever suffering for want of food, I can recall several occasions during the cold, bitter winters on the coast of being short of fuel. I can also remember that my young friend, who often visited us, was not oblivious to this fact, as he was generally on hand with a sled load, if there was snow, or his arms filled with wood from his father's pile, when we were in need. Time passed, my father moved west and settled in this county and in his new home he received sufficient remuneration for his services to live comfortably and educate his children. Now, gentlemen of the jury, as my story is about done, as you seem to be interested, probably some of you would like to know whether or not I ever saw my young friend after I left him and moved west. I will tell you that I did, but never until within the last hour, and there he sits," pointing to the defendant. This announcement created a profound sensation; it is my firm belief that from the stern judge to the humblest man in the lobby, there was not a bosom in which the feelings of sympathy were not stirred. Mr. Collier continued:

"Now, gentlemen of the jury, I will simply and briefly call your attention to the testimony in this case. You will remember that the witnesses for the prosecution have testified that my client has been, to say the least of it, shamefully treated, and that when he committed the assault he was under the influence of liquor, during which he forgot his dependent position and asserted his manhood. These facts, I trust, will be received by you as a palliation for the offence he has committed and recommend him so kindly to your consideration that you will reach the conclusion that the time he has been confined in jail has been a greater punishment than he deserved."

After the prosecuting attorney had made a short speech and Judge McClure a brief change, the jury retired and acquitted the defendant on the first ballot.

Pittsburgh, March 10, 1880.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY PITTSBURGH

By

MRS. C. SIMPSON

My father came to Pittsburgh in 1797 and I was born in 1800 near O'Hara's glass works, the first establishment of the kind in this vicinity. It was built by Messrs. James O'Hara and Isaac Craig, and Mr. Wm. Eichbaum, father of the late Wm. Eichbaum, was engaged to superintend the erection of the building. It has long since disappeared.

The old fort and magazine near the Point, I remember quite well, and the picket line, still in a good degree of preservation.

Some account has been given of a slide on Mt. Washington, but there was one many years before which I recall quite clearly. It swept off a red frame ferry-house that stood on the edge of the bank above the landing, and the road was rendered impassable for several days, being completely filled up with trees, stumps and rocks.

I have often wondered why no one has ever mentioned the Little Round Church (Episcopal) at the corner of Wood and Liberty streets. Does any one remember it? It is said that Mr. Wm. Price modeled his "Round House" after this building. I recollect it quite well and when it was demolished, but I cannot give the date of its demolition.

And there was also a Catholic church, St. Patrick's, I think. I cannot define its location, but there was quite an open common about it where I played once with some youthful companions; and there was a clear, beautiful stream of water in front of it. It was but a small building and I am under the impression that it was burned down.

There was a German Lutheran church at a very early period on the corner of Smithfield Street and Strawberry Alley.

The first book-store I remember was the Franklin Book Store on Wood Street, near Fourth Street, as near as I can recall.

Dr. Dawson kept a drug-store at the corner of Fourth and Wood streets. I do not remember any other drug-store at this time.

Reiter's confectionery was the first establishment of the kind in Pittsburgh; at least it is the only one I remember, and the first bakery was that of Mr. Brown.

Does anyone recall old John Taylor, the "Almanac Man," as he was called? His prognostications of the weather always had a margin of "either the day before or the day after." It seems to me that he was pastor of the Round Church at one time.

The first steam mill stood at the foot of Penn Street on a bluff. It was an object of great curiosity to the country people coming to market. The steam puffing out attracted great attention, and I remember hearing one old farmer say that he believed "if anyone would go close enough it would knock him down." I think this mill became Davis' cracker factory.

I remember quite well the first steamboat built here and the great excitement in launching it. It was customary for the first steamboats to carry, each, a small cannon to fire upon entering and leaving port. Water Street and the wharf would be crowded upon a boat going out, so intense was the curiosity in regard to steam navigation.

When I was a little girl, there were some sailing vessels built here for Gulf service. One of my earliest recollections is going with my mother to see one of these ships, as they were called. It was rigged and ready for sailing, and was going up and down the river short distances with a crowd of gaily dressed ladies and their escorts on board.

My attention, however, was riveted by the sailors running up to the top of the high masts, sometimes hidden by the snowy sails.

Eichbaum's wire factory stood on the bank of the Monongahela River, opposite Birmingham. There were three brothers Eichbaum, Henry, William and Arnold, who with their mother and sisters, lived in a neat frame house near the works. The house had a long porch facing the river.

McClurg's foundry (the old foundry) stood between Fifth Street and Virgin Alley. In the war of 1812 Mr. McClurg had heavy contracts for cannon and balls. The cannon were cast solid and bored out and the boring mill was on the Allegheny River bank somewhere near where the Arsenal now stands. And I am confident these balls were used in the proving process.

I remember an interesting incident in this connection, which has never made its appearance in print. Mr. McClurg, though of Irish birth, was as intensely loyal to the interests of his adopted country as he was bitter toward England. He had, as I said before, contracts for cannon and balls in the war of 1812, and was keenly interested in its progress. Almost every morning he would come down and read the war news to the molders in the casting-house while they worked.

One morning, in September, 1813, he came as usual, sat down, unfolded his paper, and began to look over it, when all at once he jumped to his feet, shouting, "My balls, boys! My balls, boys! Commodore Perry on the lakes! My balls, boys!" His excitement was so great that his wondering workmen could receive no explanation for some time, the old gentleman continuing to shout, "My balls! My balls!" By and by, however, it was discovered that a supply of balls from his foundry had arrived just in time for Perry to renew the action in his celebrated fight, and to secure the victory.

And no wonder the old gentleman was so proud and happy in regard to his "balls."

November 1, 1880.

GEORGE GROGHAN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OHIO VALLEY—1748-1758

By

CLARENCE R. THAYER*

Few parts of American history are so interesting or have been so far-reaching in their importance as the decade from 1748 to 1758, which marked the climax of the struggle between the French and the English for the possession of the Ohio Valley. A large part of this struggle took place on local ground and should, therefore, be of paramount interest to all. It was the good fortune of this city to be able to play a most important part in the struggle in the person of one of its residents—a man whose knowledge of Indian languages, customs and traits enabled him to perform things impossible to others and at once gave him an immeasurable advantage in dealings with the Indians. I refer to George Croghan, Indian trader and fur dealer, of whom Thwaites, the eminent historian of American frontier history, says, "Next to Sir William Johnson, George Croghan was the most prominent figure among British Indian agents during the period of the later French wars and the conspiracy of Pontiac. A history of his life is therefore an epitome of the Indian relations with the whites, especially on the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania and in the Ohio Valley. A pioneer trader and traveller, and a government agent, no other man of his time better knew the West and the counter currents that went to make up its history." (1) His journals, of which several are extant, are used by Parkman in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac" (2) and by Justin Winsor in his "Narrative and Critical History of America." (3)

Little is known of the life of Croghan previous to 1748. Born in Ireland, educated in Dublin, (4) he had come to this country a short time previous to 1744, at which time he seems first to have been licensed as a trader. (5) Establishing himself on his arrival in this country just west of the

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*Bead by the author, a student in the University of Pittsburgh, before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on May 31, 1921.

Susquehanna—then the very fringe of civilization—he made long trips into the West, carrying on an extensive trade with the Indians as far as the Lake Erie and Sandusky regions. (6)

It was on a return from one of these trips to the West that Croghan wrote a letter to the Secretary of Pennsylvania dated May 26, 1747, calling the attention of the latter to the strategic opportunity afforded the English to possess the Ohio Valley because of the turning of the Indian tribes there against the French. Croghan says in part:

"Those Indians were always in the French interest till now; but this spring almost all the Indians in the woods have declared against the French and I think this will be a fair opportunity, if pursued by some small presents, to have all the French cut off in those parts, for the Indians are very much led by anything that will tend to their own self-interest and will think a great deal of a little powder and lead at this time; besides, it will be a means of drawing those that have not yet joined." (7)

This letter, together with an Indian letter which Croghan enclosed, was presented to the Council June 8th. The Council turned it over to the Assembly, which, after some delay, acted favorably on it, but hesitated all summer long to take any definite action upon it.

Late in September another letter was received from Croghan, in which he again urged that a present of powder and lead be sent the Indians of the Lake Erie region. This time he added the significant statement that if the present were not made forthwith, the Indians would turn to the French. (8) When this letter was laid before the Council, that body promptly voted two hundred pounds to be expended for presents to the Ohio Indians.

The following year, 1748—the year in which the war between England and France known as King George's War was technically brought to a close—marked an epoch in the history of the West. Until this year no very definite steps toward a permanent occupation of this part of the continent had been taken by either the French or the English. The entire region lay very largely unexplored and, except by the Indians, almost totally unsettled. A few free-lance traders, exploiting its enormous wealth of furs, were almost the only white men the region ever saw.

Not much longer was this fair region of America to be undisturbed. Already it was claimed by two strong rival powers, who were slowly but surely coming to realize the vital importance of this region to future colonial development. Gradually the importance of this magnificent territory made itself felt as the commerce and interests of both French and English expanded.

Thanks to the timely letters of Croghan, the Pennsylvania authorities were the first to take steps toward the possession of the Ohio Valley. In April, 1748, it fell to Croghan to carry a gift from the Pennsylvania Assembly to the Indians at Logstown, one of their important towns located on the right bank of the Ohio, eighteen miles below Pittsburg. It must have been a picturesque, as it was a most important, expedition which slowly wound its way over the mountains to the upper Ohio. The die was cast—and the game began.

The efforts of Croghan, together with those of Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter for the Province, who followed him with additional gifts later in the summer, resulted in a treaty with the Indians which left Pennsylvania in control of the entire Indian trade from Logstown west to the Mississippi and north to the Michigan region. (9)

The French were unwilling that lands to which they laid claim, and which were to them the source of considerable revenue, should thus easily slip from under their control. Nor were they willing that Indians whom they considered under French rule should become not merely friendly to the English but, in addition, hostile to French interests as well.

Accordingly, the Governor-General of Canada not to be outdone, dispatched in the summer of the very next year a French officer, Celeron, accompanied by three hundred soldiers and a number of Indian allies, to reprove the Indians for opening trade relations with the English as well as to warn the latter off the land. Celeron was also to attempt, so far as possible, to remedy the damage done French trade by the treaty of Logstown made with the Indians by the English the year before. In these purposes Celeron was largely thwarted by Croghan, "the shrewd barterer and wily agent" as Justin Winsor has characterized him. Croghan arrived on the Ohio a few days after the departure of Celeron and succeeded not only in undoing the work of the latter, but also in binding the Indians closer than ever in their allegiance to the English. (10)

In the autumn of the following year, 1750, Colonel Johnson, Indian agent for the Crown, learned from two escaped prisoners, that the French were making preparations to invade the Ohio valley the following spring. Governor Clinton of New York communicated this information to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, who at once sent Croghan to the Ohio to forestall the attempts of the French to win over the Indians.

On this occasion the Indians requested that a strong house be built on the Ohio for the protection of themselves and of the English trade against the French (12). Already the English had heard through the Indians of the intentions of the French to erect two forts—one at Niagara and the other on the southern shore of Lake Erie or on the headwaters of the Allegheny River (13). The governor, thoroughly alarmed, was eager to act on the request of the Indians for a fort. The Proprietors, after reading Croghan's report on the matter, were quick to see the advantages accruing from such a fort, and offered to the Assembly, with which body they had long quarreled over Indian expenses, four hundred pounds to erect a fort and an annual appropriation of one hundred pounds to maintain it (14). The Assembly did not act favorably on this matter, but did allow the governor to give Croghan private instructions to sound the Indians on the matter, when he should arrive at Logstown in the late spring of 1751 (15).

The expedition from Canada, concerning which the English had been hearing persistent rumors, actually came into the Ohio Valley in the spring of 1751 under the leadership of Joincare. Croghan was again sent out to defeat this expedition and was very largely successful in the task. Meeting Joincare at Logstown in May, 1751, Croghan quite outwitted that clever gentleman and was able to retain the friendship of the Indians. Once more the Indians asserted their desire for a house on the Ohio (16). For his transference of this request Croghan was accused by the Assembly of misunderstanding or misrepresenting the Indians. The Assembly, ever dilatory, and averse, on general principles, to any war measures, was only too willing to suspect that Croghan was desirous of personal gain, and on this pretext, to oppose the measure. They gave as an additional reason for their failure to build a fort at this time the impending negotiations with Virginia over boundary disputes. The erection of a fort at that time on land claimed by that state would almost certainly have caused trouble.

The failure on the part of the Pennsylvania authorities at this time to build a fort on the Ohio was fatal to English interests. It is wholly probable that if they had seen fit to heed Croghan's advice the Ohio Valley would never have passed into the hands of the French and a large amount of bloodshed and suffering might have been spared the colonists in the border warfare which followed shortly after.

The scruples which had prevented Pennsylvania from building a fort on land claimed by Virginia, did not at all seem to prevent the Virginians from building a fort on territory claimed by Pennsylvania. The jealousy of Virginia was aroused by the monopoly of trade which Pennsylvania had secured by the important Logstown treaty of 1748. In that very year, a member of the Virginia Council, Thomas Lee by name, conceived the idea of organizing a land company to be known as the Ohio Company, whose purpose was to settle territory in the upper Ohio Valley. Preparations were pushed forward as rapidly as the nature of the project would permit; but, due to the intrigue of the French and the opposition of the Pennsylvania traders, a conference of the Indians could not be held until June, 1752. At this meeting, in which Croghan took part, the Indians denied the claim of Virginia to the Ohio lands but promised not to molest any Virginians who might wish to settle there. They also asked Virginia to erect a fort for them. They received an affirmative answer to this request, but the building of the fort commenced too late to prevent the ultimate occupation of the valley by the French (17).

During all this time the French were becoming more and more menacing. In February, 1752, Croghan had sent an appeal of the Shawnese for help to the governor. The occasion of this appeal from the Indians was the killing of thirty warriors by the French. Governor Hamilton replied with soft words, for that was all his pacific Assembly would allow him to use (18). Meanwhile the Indians retaliated and brought down upon themselves the wrath of the French. The situation was becoming critical for the Ohio Indians.

Months passed by and the Pennsylvania Assembly did nothing. Rumors of another French invasion in larger numbers were persistent. On May 7, 1753, Croghan, among others, was present at Pine Creek, not far from Logstown, when a letter arrived from one John Fraser, a trader, with definite information as to the movements and designs of the French. Among the matters mentioned by Fraser in his letter was the intention of the French to build two forts on the Ohio (19).

The dilatory Pennsylvania Assembly was so stirred by this letter that it promptly voted an appropriation of eight hundred pounds to be used in Indian affairs. Virginia, also, promptly sent assurance of aid to the Indians. Conferences with the Indians followed. The Virginians met them at Winchester to arrange for the giving of aid and supplies. The Pennsylvanians met them soon after at Carlisle, where the Indians were given many presents and fair promises which were not kept. In both conferences Croghan was present and took an active part.

The close of the year found the English interests in the Ohio valley seriously threatened, but still in the ascendancy. During the winter most of the French withdrew to Canada, complaining that the Indians were remaining true to the English. Nevertheless, the French worked steadily toward an Indian alliance and partially succeeded in the attempt.

During this critical winter Pennsylvania remained practically inactive. Virginia showed somewhat more interest by sending young George Washington on his historic journey to the commander of the French fort, Le Boeuf, on the upper waters of the Allegheny. Croghan passed into the Ohio region soon after Washington left (20). He found the situation critical. The Indians were perhaps from fifteen hundred to two thousand in number but could hardly hope to make effective resistance against trained Frenchmen in large numbers armed with cannon. They were too scattered and too poorly equipped with ammunition even to attempt to resist the French without material assistance from the English. To be sure a small force of men under Croghan's half-brother, Ensign Ward, was working at the forks of the Ohio in constructing a fort for the Ohio Company, but they could not hope to resist the French. Croghan wrote to Governor Hamilton and the Secretary, urging the erection of a strong log trading-house or stockade. With a refusal to make any contribution for the defense of the Province, the Assembly adjourned on March 9, 1754 (21).

Croghan stayed at the Forks of the Ohio for a few weeks to help in the distribution of Indian goods during the building of the fort. He left about the middle of March. At this time, according to a letter of his, some seventy men were engaged in building the fort (22). About a month later this small force was compelled to surrender its uncompleted work to Contrecour, the French commander on the Ohio, who appeared with a thousand men and eighteen cannon.

The situation of the Indians friendly to the English was now extreme indeed. The Half King, their chief, notified Croghan, who in turn notified the governor, that if help were not forthcoming, the Indians would be forced to yield (23). But the governor delayed. The defeat of the inadequate expedition of Washington at Great Meadows and that of the proud Braddock, in both of which expeditions Croghan was active, completed the work of destruction. Indians who up to this time had remained neutral did not now hesitate to join the French openly.

For three years the French retained a stranglehold on the Ohio valley and, in fact, on all of Pennsylvania east to the Susquehanna. The western border became a scene of fearful and destructive Indian warfare.

In 1756, Croghan was honored by being made Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Sir William Johnson, who at that time represented the Crown for Indian affairs in America (24). In this capacity Croghan played a most important role as a mediator in a series of conferences with the Indians which lasted from July, 1756 to October, 1758, when final peace was concluded with the Western Indians. Croghan's activities in these conferences would require for their adequate treatment a paper of their own and cannot therefore be taken up here.

Sufficient be it to say that as a result of these conferences in the East plus the efforts of Christian Frederick Post, the Moravian missionary, in the West, the route was opened for the successful march of General Forbes upon Duquesne. It remained only for Croghan to gather up the fruits of the victory in a treaty made at Pittsburg the following July. (25)

The struggle for the Ohio valley was now over. In the short space of a decade the English had gained, lost and regained the fair Ohio valley. And the work of George Croghan, fur trader and Indian agent, was no small factor in bringing about the final result. The French evidently thought so, for they placed a price upon his head. It has already been pointed out in a quotation from no less an authority than Thwaites that Croghan enjoyed a promince among British Indian agents of the later French wars rivaled only by that of Sir William Johnson. And because Sir William Johnson confined his efforts largely to the New York Indians, we may assign to George Croghan the honor of having played the most important part in that most interesting and important of period in American history—a period upon which hung the destiny of a nation and a period with which every American of whatever rank or station should be familiar—the period in which the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon in the New World was established and the first seeds of a new nation planted in its virgin soil.

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NOTES

1. Thwaites, p. 47.
2. Altogether Parkman makes some fifty references to Croghan in this work. His journals are quoted verbatim III, 168-170, and in footnote III, 137. Letters of his are quoted III, 29 and footnotes I, 189; II, 253; III, 172. References to his journals are made in footnotes I, 79, 155, 162, 185, 224; II, 58; III, 136, 157.
3. See V, 10, 498, 570, 575, 596, 610, 650; VI, 702-705.
4. Thwaites, p. 47.

5. HANNA, p. 1 gives 1740; DARLINGTON, p. 176, gives 1743 or 1744.
6. THWAITES, p. 47
7. C. R. 72. Pa. Ars. 1, 742-743. (Liberties have been taken with spelling etc.)
8. C. R., 119. Pa. Ars. 1, 770.
9. C. R., 287-289.
10. C. R., 387; Pa. Ars. II, 31.
11. C. R., 480-481.
12. C. R., 497.
13. WEISER, p. 246.
14. C. R., 515.
15. C. R., 515-522.
16. C. R., 530-540.
17. GIST, 231-236.
18. C. R., 568-570.
19. WEISER, p. 264; W. Trail, p. 3.
20. C. R., 731.
21. C. R., 764-765.
22. C. R., VI, 21.
23. C. R., V. 734.
24. C. R. VII, 354.
25. C. R., VIII, 382-391.

IN MEMORY OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

Dedication of the Great-House and Grounds

Probably 5,000 people assembled at the Great-House in Economy Sunday afternoon to participate in the dedication of the historical old structure and grounds as a memorial to the now defunct Harmony Society which made the spot famous the wide world over and which had as its guests at various times such world-famed characters as Rudyard Kipling, Lafayette and a long string of others.

Special trains brought guests from all over Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and even as far as Indiana, while autos lined the streets for squares around.

On account of threatening weather probably half of those who would have liked to attend remained away.

The Harmony Society Historical Association under whose care the state has placed the grounds and Mr. J. S. Duss, the last trustee of the society, had been working for weeks to place the thirty-roomed quaint old structure with its wealth of curios and the beautiful old gardens in shape for the event, and as a result they alone fully recompensed the visitors, to say nothing of the splendid program which was rendered.

Excellent as were the addresses, easily the feature of the event was the musical program and "The March of Time" as might be expected was the *piece de resistance*—Mr. Duss' new composition which was given its premier presentation.

Before the rendition of this number Mr. Duss took the audience into his confidence by explaining how the happy ideas both in words and music had come to him. He stated that he deserved no credit whatsoever for any merit that might be found either in the text or the music, that all was inspiration pure and simple. Perhaps we are mistaken, but we feel inclined to think that Mr. Duss overstated the case. No matter what the inspiration may have been, the evolution of the big idea and the boiling down of the same into five stanzas proved of such literary merit, shows the devotion of a deal of profound thought and work and we are inclined to feel that the same is true as to the music.

The number was first played by the band. A storm of applause followed. Mr. Duss turned and bowed his acknowledgment; finally, he raised his hands and indicated silence. Thereupon the chorus took up its position beside the bandstand, the assistant conductor, Mr. Funaro, took the baton and at a nod from Mr. Duss the band sung into the march trio and the audience was treated to the novelty of a speech or recitation, with the background of a soft accompaniment by the band. Every verse—there were the five of national importance and seven of local color—was received with unbounded enthusiasm.

The audience took seriously the main text, having to do with the development of our nation—said text we predict will become a classic, one that ought to adorn a page in the school books of future generations.

The encore verses were of a semi-humorous character and the crowd caught the spirit of fun that was poked at the "weavers of Pittsburgh who in 1829 sought the assembly to dissolve the Harmony Society" and now also "rest in peace."

Mr. Duss' inimitable presentation of the words, the refrain by the chorus and the splendid musical background constitutes a treat that will not soon be forgotten and every resident of Ambridge may feel a just pride in what our little city can show in the way of artistic accomplishment.

Upon the whole it did one's heart good to once again hear a program of dignity and no matter how oft it may be repeated and the public does not care for good music—that it wants only jazz time, etc., we know that Mr. Duss and his band gave us some of the best that there is in music and it was received by the public with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction.

So greatly were the people interested that even when the rain began to fall they merely raised their umbrellas or huddled around the trees and shrubbery that are a part of the beauty of the old gardens.

THE BAND

And that band that was gotten together is worthy of more than passing comment, composed of experts gathered from far and wide, it played just as though it were a long famous organization. Of course much of the credit is due to Mr. Duss as conductor. He still retains the vigor and precision of former years and his baton was easily followed as was particularly manifested in the dainty "Pizzicato" from Sylvia which was played as an encore and rendered perfectly, as were all the other numbers for that matter.

And in that band of 32 pieces were about a dozen faces familiar nearly a quarter of a century ago as members of the Duss Band that toured the country, or of the New York Metropolitan Orchestra, conducted by Mr. Duss. One of them was Danny Nirella, Pittsburgh's leading bandmaster who was in the clarionet section. Others were Philip D'Ivernois, at one time school teacher in Economy; Otto Straube; Carl Nusser, with his picturesque bassoon; Leon Prevost, cornetist who looks as young as he did 20 years ago; Otto Loeblesch, French horn player; George Backer on the trap drum and P. C. Funaro, assistant conductor whom Duss regards as the Paganini of the Euphonium. The others are the equals of these in musical talent.

An impressive feature was the rendering of "The Star Spangled Banner" while the vast audience stood with bared heads, and the unfurling of the huge American flag, 25x30 feet, which was made during the Spanish War, the eight inch stars of which are of silk manufactured in Economy.

Dr. J. H. Bauseman, the noted Beaver county historian gave the invocation.

Hon. Geo. A. Baldwin, president judge of Beaver county, gave the address. He said:

I want to express appreciation on behalf of the people of Beaver Valley to the members of the Harmony Society Historical Association to whose labors we are indebted for the preservation of this historical monument. Our children's children will be enabled to admire the homely virtues and enterprises of those who launched one of the greatest community, socialistic enterprises in the world.

One hundred and fifteen years ago the Harmonites came here from Germany. They have left their impress on the history of Pennsylvania, its customs and the lives of its people. They came in order to escape religious persecution and the influences that followed the Thirty Years' War.

Taxation was bearing down the masses and religion was at a low ebb. They longed for something deeper and for higher ideals. They came to America largely for the same reason that the Pilgrim Fathers came here—to be insured the freedom to worship God.

We owe a debt of gratitude for those who worked to preserve this monument for posterity. If I were preaching a sermon, I would choose for my theme, "American Extravagance," the greatest sin of this country. I would contrast it to the frugality, the simple life and high ideals of those who lived here 100 years ago. We can draw many profitable lessons from the lives of these pioneers which were well lived, and the deeds that were unselfishly done.

At the close of Judge Baldwin's address, the rain drove the audience to St. John's Church where the program continued with an address by Wm. H. Stevenson, chairman of the State Historical Commission.

He lauded the virtues of the members of the society but building a lesson on their failure. He said:

There are some people here in this free America of ours still to be found advocating communistic ideas which they claim to be founded on a pure democracy. These are ignorant of the foundations upon which our fathers laid the structure of this republic. They came here to attain the greatest individual liberty and to secure the greatest and purest democracy the world has even seen. We propose to adhere to the principles upon which the government was founded and draw from this memorial here today a lesson that communistic government has never succeeded here and never will.

Gilbert A. Hays, president of the Harmony Society Historical Association also spoke telling of the aims of the society.

One thousand numbered copies of "The March of Time" were sold at $1 each, to raise funds for the work of the association.—*The Ambridge Citizen*, June 28, 1921.

THE PITTSBURGH BLUES

By

CAPTAIN JOHN H. NIEBAUM

(Continued from the July, 1921 number)

PART III

PENTLAND'S NOTES OF SERVICE

Extract from Charles Pentland's Journal, whilst performing a twelve months service as a member of the Pittsburgh Blues.

Sept. 10, 1812, Encamped on Grant's Hill.

Sunday, 20th—Decamped under orders to join the northwestern army; marched one mile over the Allegheny river.

21st—Marched to the Ohio; waited for boats.

23rd—Embarged on a boat; arrived at Beaver the 24th.

25th—At Steubenville.

26th—At Wheeling, remained till the evening of the 27th.

Oct. 1st—Arrived at Marietta.

6th—At Gallipolis, remained till the 8th.

Sunday, 11th—Capt. Alexander's boat struck a snag and was abandoned.

12th—Arrived at Limestone (Maysville.)

13th—At night, landed about two miles above Cincinnati.

14th—Marched into Cincinnati, encamped below the town, and remained till the 28th; then marched five miles to 'Hutchinson's.'

29th—Marched twelve miles to Price's.

30th—To Lebanon.

31st—To Waynesville.

Nov. 1st—To Xenia.

2nd—To Yellow Springs.

3rd—To Springfield.

4th—To Markle's

5th—Marched eleven miles, near Darby.

6th—To Franklintown, the Headquarters of the northwestern army, and remained till November 25th; this day marched two miles on a secret expedition

26th—Marched fifteen miles, over Darby Creek.

27th—Marched twenty-one miles.
28th—To Springfield.
29th—Near to Xenia.
30th—Into Xenia, and remained till December 5th; then marched into Dayton, and remained till the 9th; then crossed the Miami River.
Dec. 10th—Marched to New Lexington.
12th—Marched seventeen miles. The object of the expedition was promulgated.
Sunday, 13th—To Greenville, and crossed the river.
14th—Marched fifteen miles into the wilderness.
15th—Twenty miles.
16th—Marched all day, and after supper continued the march till daylight.
17th—Marched into the Indian town, on the Mississineway River, fifteen miles above the junction with the Wabash; captured a few defenseless Indians; and encamped in the village.
18th—The battle of the Mississineway was fought. The the company lost one man; John Francis, killed; Elliott, Dodd, Read and Chess wounded. Total loss of the detachment, viz: eight killed and from twenty-five to thirty wounded. Decamped and returned two miles.
19th—Marched ten miles on our return to the settlements.
Sunday, 20th—Marched twelve miles.
21st—Fifteen.
22nd—This day met a reinforcement with a small supply of provisions.
23rd—Marched to within twelve miles of Greenville, and met another detachment with more supplies.
24th—To Greenville.
25th—Remained till noon, and marched seven miles.
26th—To New Lexington.
27—To Dayton, and remained till January 4th, 1813; this day marched ten miles.
Jan. 5th, 1813—To Springfield.
6th—To Markle's.
7th—To Darby.
8th—To Franklintown, and remained till the third of February; then crossed the river to Columbus.

4th—To Worthington.

5th—To Delaware; N. M. Matthews joined the company.

6th—Seven miles.

Sunday, 7th—To Scioto Block House.

8th—To Upper Sandusky, and joined the command of Colonel Campbell.

9th—Nine miles.

10th—Marched as usual, but were detained the greater part of the day by a false alarm; made four miles.

11th—To the Artillery Block House.

12th—To within one mile of Hulls' road.

13th—Four miles and the road almost impassable.

Sunday, 14th—Remained, prepared sleds, cars and procured forage.

15th—Road improved by severe frost, and reached Block House swamp.

16th—To within four miles of Camp Meigs, and encamped on the bluff of Miami river.

18th—Into Camp Meigs Headquarters, situated at the Miami Rapids.

March 5th—Marched to Presque Isle, eighteen miles, to reinforce a detachment sent to burn the Queen Charlotte, one of the enemy's vessels, supposed to be frozen up, and met the detachment, returned, having been unsuccessful; returned ten miles to Swan Creek.

6th—Returned to camp.

April 26th—Seige of Fort Meigs, commenced by the enemy, who were employed in erecting batteries till the first of May, when they commenced cannonading, which they continued till the 5th, when a reinforcement, consisting of United States volunteers, arrived under the command of General Greene, and we were ordered out to cover their entry into the garrison, which was effected with some loss to the Kentucky troops.

The same day the United States volunteers, and several other companies of the 17th and 18th Regiments made a general sortie, under command of Colonel John Miller, which resulted in the capture of about forty-two of the enemy, and the routing of their Indian allies, with a considerable loss of American troops in killed and wounded. The Pittsburgh Blues had two killed, James Newman and Mr. Richardson; five wounded, Willock, Ross, Williams, Dobbins and Wahrendorff. The attack was made on the enemy's battery, on the opposite side of the river, at the same time by General Clay's Kentucky militia, commanded by Captain Dudley, which terminated in a complete routing and capturing of that detachment, and death of the commanding officer. The enemy was quiet and on the tenth the seige was declared to be raised.

May 11th—Major Ball's squadron moved off, and General Harrison left for the settlement.

June 20th—Received information of an intended attack by the arrival of a Kentuckian and Canadian from the enemy's quarters. Expresses were despatched and preparations made for the reception of the enemy. Shortly afterwards Colonel Johnson's regiment of Kentucky mounted men arrived, and immediately thereafter General Harrison arrived with a detachment of the 24th infantry, commanded by Colonel Anderson, and preparations for the defence of the fort were continued. General Harrison left the camp again; Generals Greene and Clay in command.

July 18—Captain Butler returned to the company (having been absent to improve his health).

July 21st—The picket guard was attacked by the Indians, and several men were killed and captured. Lieutenant ---------- arrived in camp from Portage River Block House with nine men, pursued on his way by the Indians.

22nd—The enemy quiet.

23rd—An express arrived; the camp was alarmed by the firing of small arms, being a strategem of the Indians (representing the fighting of two bodies of men at a distance, and approaching the garrison), which was intended to draw out a portion of the American troops in the fort.

26th and 27th—All quiet.

28th—The enemy descended the river.
30th—A reconnoitering party was detached, who reported that the enemy had retired, and the seige raised.
August 18th—The Pittsburgh Blues received orders to march to Camp Seneca.
20th—Marched to Portage river.
21st—To Camp Seneca.
28th—To Fort Stevenson at Lower Sandusky.
30th—Marched for Cleveland, and arrived at Vermillion River.
September 1st—Arrived at Cleveland.
3rd—Started for Beaver, arrived on the 7th, stayed the 8th.
9th—Marched to Davis' tavern, four miles from Pittsburgh.
10th—Arrived at Pittsburgh. Having completed a twelve months' tour, were discharged.

General Harrison in general orders dated "Headquarters, Seneca Town, Aug. 28, 1813," added the following:

"The Pittsburgh Blues, commanded by Captain Butler, and those of Greensburg, by Lieutenant Drum, of Major Alexander's battalion, having performed their services, the General hereby presents them an Honorable discharge.

"The General has ever considered this corps as the first in the Northwestern Army. Equal in point of bravery and subordination, it excelled in every other of those attainments which form complete and efficient soldiers. In battle, in camp, and on the march, their conduct has done honor to themselves and their country."

August 30th the Blues started on their march home by way of Cleveland, arriving there on September 1st. They reached Beaver on the 7th of Sept. and remained there until the 8th, reaching Davis' Tavern, four miles from Pittsburgh, on the 9th.

This gentlemanly and well organized body of soldiers, whose valor was fully and satisfactorily attested on the battlefields of Meigs and Mississineway, received the earnest commendations of the commander-in-chief. They were the first military organization in the county of Allegheny, were composed of the best material, and made up of members of the best families in the city and county.

On Friday, Sept. 10, the Blues returned home. They were hailed with unusual demonstrations of joy and respect by the citizens of Pittsburgh.

When crossing the Allegheny River they were saluted by a discharge of artillery from Fort Fayette, and on landing were received by the troops of the garrison and escorted to the public square. The number of citizens assembled to welcome them was immense.

On Sept. 13 a dinner was given by the citizens of Pittsburgh, expressive of their joy and satisfaction over the return of the Blues to their families and friends. Immediately before the company sat down to dinner Henry Baldwin, Esquire, addressed them in a very animated and handsome manner.

On Sept. 9 Lieut. Drum's Greensburg Rifles passed through Pittsburgh on their march homeward.

A public dinner was given in Greensburg to Capt. Markle, of the Westmoreland Troop, on his return Jan. 22, 1813. Among the toasts were those given to Capt. Butler and the Pittsburgh Blues—"An honor to their country." Captain Alexander and the Greensburg Volunteers—"They have done their duty;" Captain Markle and his Westmoreland Troop—"They have distinguished themselves."

The Northwestern country having been conquered by General Harrison, followed by Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie, attention was drawn to the war activities about Chesapeake Bay. A second company of Pittsburgh Blues (sometimes called The Pittsburgh Light Infantry) was formed in 1814 with James Irwin as captain. He had served as lieutenant in the Pittsburgh Blues under Captain Butler in the Northwestern Army campaign. They started on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1814, the march to Baltimore and were well on the road when they were recalled by order of the Governor. They were met by messenger at Somerset, Pa. The company consisted of upwards of 70 young Pittsburghers.. They volunteered their services to the government. The Capital at Washington was destroyed by the British on August 24, 1814.

A Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent Dec. 24, 1814, and ratified by U. S. Senate Feb. 17, 1815.

From the *Pittsburgh Mercury* May 2, 1815—"The Pittsburgh Blues, lately commanded by Capt. Jas. Irwin, will parade on Monday, the 8th day of May next, at 9 o'clock, on the commons, near the Chapel, for the purpose of being mustered and inspected and receiving their pay. By order of the Captain, Charles F. Bracken, Orderly Sergeant."

On Sept. 1, 1817, Captain Irwin ordered out his company at 3 P. M. on the commons near the Chapel for drill in complete uniform.

Sept. 5th, 1817, President Monroe spent one week in Pittsburgh. He was escorted by Captin Irwin's Light Infantry Company. Captain Irwin died January 8, 1818.

General Harrison attended a splendid dinner given in his honor by the citizens of Petersburg, Va., on the 19th of March, 1817. To the toast of "Fort Meigs, a Watch Tower in the Wilderness, Defended by Valiant Spirits, Second Only to Their Gallant Commander." General Harrison responded and wound up his address by the following: "To the commander the merit of the defence of Fort Meigs must be greatly lessened when it is recollected that the lines were defended by troops from Ohio and Kentucky and the troops composed of the Pittsburgh Blues, Greensburg Rifles and Petersburg Volunteers."

The Fourth of July, 1817, was celebrated by the Pittsburgh Blues, Captain Neville Morgan—(Captain Morgan was a partner of Jno. I. Scull, publisher of the *Gazette*)—the Pittsburgh Fencibles, Captain J. Hall, and the Washington Guards, Captain E. Ensell, by a joint parade. The Fencibles embarked on a boat, and at a banquet toasted, among others, "Captain James R. Butler, the Hero of Mississineway." The Blues held their dinner on the bank of the Monongahela River. After Dr. Joel Lewis had read the Declaration of Independence, Captain Jas. R. Butler delivered a well-composed, appropriate and neat address, which was received with unbounded applause. Among the toasts given were: By Lieutenant Elijah Trevillo, "The Memory of Jas. Irwin, late captain of the Pittsburgh Blues." By Corporal Pratt, "Captain Matthew Magee, of the U. S. Army; whilst his Training is Acknowledged in the Field, may his Pre-eminence as a Tactician be duly Appreciated." By the Hon. Henry Baldwin, "Captain James R. Butler."

The 4th July, 1819—Celebrated by parade of City Blues, Captain Morgan Neville. At dawn salute 13 rounds were fired from Grant's Hill. At 10 A. M. they were joined by the City Fencibles, Captain Hall and the Washington Guards of Birmingham, Captain E. Ensell. The Companies marched through Pittsburgh streets, changing front occasionally and separated for their respective places selected for dinner. The Blues heard Dr. Joel Lewis read the Declaration of Independence. Toasts were given by Lieut. E. Trovillo, "The memory of the late Captain Irwin." By Corporal Pratt —"Captain Magee of the U. S. Army."

On November 1, 1819, the stockholders and workmen, together with a number of citizens, assembled on the New Allegheny Bridge to celebrate its completion. Among the invited guests were the Pittsburgh Blues. A dinner was served on tables several hundred feet long. The toasts were answered by the Pittsburgh Blues with volleys.

Commander Barney, of the U. S. Navy, died in Pittsburgh December 1, 1819, and was buried with military and masonic honors. Attending were regular troops from the U. S. Arsenal and the City Guards, under Captain Trovillo, formerly First Sergeant of the Pittsburgh Blues. Commodore Barney commanded the Seaman Marines at the defense of Washington and was made a prisoner by the British. He entered the Naval Service in 1775 and served during the whole of the Revolutionary War. He was born in Baltimore in 1759.

During the year 1820 the uniformed militia companies in Pittsburgh were formed into a battalion and called the "Pittsburgh Volunteer Battalion." Their first parade was made September 12, 1821, under the command of Major Anderson.

About the time the Jackson Independent Blues were organized, in part from the membership of the Pittsburgh Blues, and was recognized as a twin company, the title "Independent Blues" being the name brought back from the 1812-13 service, by reason of their having served in the so-called Independent Battalion, commanded by Major Alexander of Greensburg, Pa., in the Army of General Harrison.

Washington's birthday was celebrated February 22nd, 1821, by a parade of the Pittsburgh Volunteer Battalion.

On May 15th, 1822, the same battalion paraded and acted as escort to the city officials, clergy, faculty and students of the Western University of Pennsylvania and attended the installation at the First Presbyterian Church, of the Rev. Robert Bruce as Principal of the University. The Jackson Blues were a part of the battalion.

Independence Day, July 4th, 1822, was celebrated as usual in Pittsburgh. The Jackson Independent Blues held a banquet at Sawmill Run. Captain Savory presided. Lieutenant Denny read the Declaration of Independence.

May 23, 1823—Major Nathaniel Patterson, then Brigade Inspector, ordered an election between the hours of 10 A. M. and 6 P. M. for a successor to Captain Savory of the Jackson Independent Blues, who had resigned. Lieutenant Denny was elected Captain.

Anniversary of Jackson's Victory at New Orleans was celebrated January 8th, 1824, with much enthusiasm. At 9:30 A. M. the companies of the first battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers assembled under arms. The City Blues, Captain Beard, the City Guards, Captain Trovillo, and the Jackson Independent Blues, Captain Denny, formed together and marched to Grant's Hill where a salute was fired in honor of the day. After performing a number of evolutions they were joined by the Pittsburgh Greens, Captain Biddle, and all proceeded to the First Presbyterian Church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Herron. Music by the Allegheny Musical Society and an eloquent address was delivered by Algernon Sidney T. Mountain, Esq. The Jackson Blues, accompanied by a number of citizens and led by the Union Band, proceeded to Col. Ramsey's Hotel and partook of a banquet. The room was handsomely decorated. Washington's portrait was placed at the head of the table and Jackson's at the foot. About 200 gentlemen sat down to dinner. After the cloth was removed, Capt. Denny in the chair, assisted by Capt. Trovillo, toasts were drunk, accompanied by appropriate music. Among the toasts was one to the Jackson Independent Blues.

In 1825 General Lafayette and family visited Pittsburgh. He was given the freedom of the city and held a reception for the Revolutionary Veterans. He paid a visit to the arsenal and various manufacturing establishments. The school children visited the General and family. A public dinner and grand ball were a part of the entertainment. On the morning of the third day after his arrival

Lafayette departed for Erie, being escorted out of town by the Light Dragoons and a battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers, among them being the Independent Blues.

The 50th Anniversary of American Independence was generally celebrated in Pittsburgh on July 4, 1826, and the usual salute was fired. The Pittsburgh Light Artillery Company, under the command of Capt. Jas. R. Butler, celebrated on the Allegheny side of the river. The company and invited guests partook of an elegant dinner, prepared by Mr. E. G. Nelson and served up in his gardens in very handsome style. Capt. Butler acted as President of the day, Col. Wm. Wilkins, Vice President, Geo. Darsie and Ed. D. Gazzam, Secretaries. After dinner toasts were drunk, including the following: By Lieut. Hanson—"The Old Pittsburgh Blues. May their patriotism and valor descend to their children." By Capt. Jas. R. Butler—"The memory of Major Mathew Magee." By Capt. E. F. Pratt—"The memory of our late fellow citizen and soldier, Sergeant James Newman."

Military meeting of the "Pittsburgh Volunteers Legion" held July 5, 1826, at the house of Geo. Beale. Capt. Jas. R. Butler called to the chair, Lt. A. S. T. Mountain, Sec. Resolutions adopted to invite the respective Volunteers Corps of Washington, Green, Westmoreland, Fayette, Armstrong, Butler, Beaver and Allegheny Counties to join in a parade in Pittsburgh at a date to be arranged later. Committee on invitation—Messrs. Butler, Burke and Mountain.

Thos. Jefferson and Jno. Adams' death on July 4th was the cause of a meeting in their honor by the citizens of Pittsburgh on July 25th, 1826, to demonstrate their regard for the memories of these distinguished men. The national Flag waved at half mast on Grant's Hill, guarded by a detachment of Pittsburgh Volunteer Legion and Revolutionary soldiers. Capt. Butler's Company of Light Artillery fired 13 minute guns at daybreak, noon and evening, and one gun every half hour during the day.

A general parade was made the occasion on August 23, 1826, of a camp on the Allegheny Commons. Three companies from Westmoreland, three companies from Washington County and one other, Capt. Alexander's Westmoreland Artillery also attended, besides the Pittsburgh Volunteer Legion, composed of a battalion of Pittsburgh Companies. They were reviewed by Maj. Gen. Markle, commander of the 15th Division of Pennsylvania Militia. The camp lasted three days.

A grand military parade was held in Washington, Pa., on June 20th and 21st, 1827. Nineteen Companies attended from several counties. From Allegheny County, the Pittsburgh Legion, consisting of the Pittsburgh Light Dragoons, Pittsburgh Light Artillery, Jackson Independent Blues, City Blues, City Guards and City Greens attended. In all, upwards of 1,000 men were present. Harmony and good order prevailed, no accident to mar the pleasure of the visit.

Pittsburgh celebrated Jackson's Victory on January 8th, 1828, by a banquet. Among the toast was one by Maj. Trovillo. "The Memory of Sergeant James Newman of the Pittsburgh Blues, Who Fell in the Late War."

From *The Pittsburgh Mercury*, April 22, 1828:

(Advertisement.)

CAMPING ORDERS.

The Jackson Independent Blues will parade on Friday, May 2, 1828, at five o'clock precisely, completely armed and equipped, provided with knapsacks, blankets and rations for one day, three rounds of cartridges will be furnished each man on the ground.

By order,
J. J. CARPENTER,
April 22, 1828. Orderly Sergeant.

On Oct. 26th, 1829, Major E. Trovillo ordered an election to be held by the Jackson Independent Blues for one captain, vice-Savory resigned, and one first and one second lieutenant, vice J. Huey and J. J. Carpenter, resigned. The hours of election were from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M.

1830 Major Trovilla was elected colonel of the First Battalion of Pittsburgh Volunteers.

During the month of February, 1830, Captain James R. Butler resigned as captain of the Pittsburgh Light Artillery.

At a special meeting of the old Pittsburgh Blues (Veterans) held Oct. 29th, 1833, it was resolved: That as a mark of respect to the memory of our late friend and fellow soldier, Charles Pentland, late of Pittsburgh, the members wear crepe on the left arm for 30 days.

E. TROVILLO, Secretary.
JAMES R. BUTLER, Chairman.

During the Mexican War, 1846-1848, there were two companies of Blues in the service, that of Captain Alex. Hays, of the Jackson Independant Blues, and that of Captain Thomas A. Rowley's Company H, Volunteers, all from Pittsburgh. Rowley had been in Mexico as a lieutenant in the Blues. After a year's service he was sent home to recruit the second company, and became captain of the same.

Some of the men of these two companies of Mexican War Service organized on January 8, 1855, as a twin company to the Blues, and called it the Pittsburgh Washington Infantry, who in the Civil War recruited to a regiment called the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Infantry in the three months service, and re-enlisting as a regiment were called the One Hundred and Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers.

After the Civil war they reorganized the Washington Infantry as a single company. Rowley, who became a Major General in active service, was again made captain. In the world war the Washington Infantry men had to enlist individually, having 120 men in service.

This organization still continues as an active independent Company and is recognized as the successor of the Pittsburgh Light Infantry Company, which was in existence as a uniformed and equipped company in 1794, and from which sprang the Pittsburgh Blues, who served in the war of 1812, and were in turn succeeded by the Jackson Independent Blues in the Mexican War.

(To be continued)

NOTES AND QUERIES

Entries in the Account Book of Casper Reel, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1774-1802

(Continued from the April, 1921, number)

Jan.21 1775		
Fredrick Ferry By John Muntur Dr		
For a Beef Barrel		0-1-6
Jan. 21 1775		
John Campbell Esq Dr		
To making & mending 1 pair Breeches		0-3-6
Jan. 25 1775		
Stock Dr. to Fredrick Ferry		
To 5 5 yards of Oznabrigs @	2/0-10-0 &	
To 1 Almanack	0- 1-0	0-11-0
Jan. 30 1775		
James Fourbush Dr		
To Drefsing 10 Deer Skins		1-4-0
Feb. 6 1775		
John Campbell Esqr By James Martain Dr		
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin 3/6		
& making 1 pair Breeches		-11-0
To 2 Set of Buttons		- 3-6
Feb. 6 1775		
Jacob Speers Dr		
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin		0-2-4
Feb. 8 1775		
Stock Dr to John Smith		
To Spenging 1 lb Thread		0-5-0
Feb. 9 1775		
George Groghan Dr		
To Drefsing 4 Deer Skins		0-10-6
Feb 9 1775		
Mr. Rammege Dr		
To Drefsing 2 Skins @5/ & making 1 pr Breeches		0-11-0
Stock Dr By Cash to Mr. Rammege		0-7-6
Feb. 11 1775		
Stock Dr to Christopher Hays By Cash		0-7-6
Feb. 11 1775		
Richard Carson Dr		
To one pair Breeches		1-12-0
Stock Dr. to Richard Carson By Cash		0-7-6
Feb. 17 1775		
William Flin Dr		
To Linnen		0-6-0
To Fressing 2 Deer Skins 5/6		0-5-6
To making one pair Breeches 6/0		0-6-0
To 1 pair Breeches		1-10-0

Feb. 17 1775		
Andrew Nangil By his Boy Christopher Dr		
To making 1 pair Breeches 6/ & Thread /6		0-6-9
Feb. 20 1775		
John Ferry By John Porter Dr		
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin		0-2-6
Feb. 20, 1775		
Abraham Slover Dr		
To ½ Gallon Rum		0-4-0
Feb. 27 1775		
David Tait By young David Tait Dr		
To one pair Breeches		1-5-0
By John Hamilton for Dref & maken 1 pr Breeches		0-14-0
Stock Dr By Cash to David Tait		0-15-0
Feb. 27 1775		
George Groghan By Powder Dr		
To 1½ Bushel of Deers hair @ 1/3		0-1-10
March 6 1775		
John Irwin By his Boy Dr		
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins		0-4-0
To making 1 pair Breeches 7/6 & trimmins 4/		0-11-0
March 10 1775		
George Redman Dr		
To making one pair Breeches	0-7-6	
To Button 1/9 & Thread /6	0-2-3	0-9-9
Stock Dr to George Redman By Cash		0-3-10
March 13 1775		
John Sampson Dr		
To Drefsing 3 Deer Skins		0-6-0
To making one pair Breeches		0-7-6
To trimmengs for the Breeches		0-4-0
March 17 1775		
Philip Witsell Dr		
For 4½ Gallon Rum at 7/		1-13-6
March 17 1775		
Andrew Nangill Dr		
To mending one pair Breeches		0-3-0
March 21 1775		
John Sampson By Wm. Sampson Dr		
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins at 4/ & trimmengs 4/		0-8-4
To making 1 pair Breeches		0-7-0
March 23 1775		
Abraham Stover to 1 pint Rum Dr		0-1-3
March 27 1775		
Abraham Stover to 1 pint Rum Dr	0-1-3	
To Drefsing 2 Deer Skins	0-5-0	
To making 1 pr Breeches 7/6 & trimmens 4/	0-11-0	
Stock Dr to Abraham Stover for ½ lb Thread		0-4-0
March 27 1775		
Fredrick Ferry Dr		
To making 2 pair Breeches		0-15-0

To a Set of Buttons ---------- 0-1-7
Received 7 Deer Skins in 4 pair Breeches and
1 Deer Skin on mat.

March 27 1775
John Smith at Racoon Near Stover Dr
To 1 pint Rum ---------- 0-1-3

March 29 1775
James Forbush Dr To drefsing 4 Deer Skins out of Ten 9/
Stock Dr to James forbush By Cash ---------- 0-5-0
Dr to By 2 Bush Crib Corn at 5/ ---------- 0-10-0

April 1 1775
James Forbush Dr
To Drefsing 6 Deer Skins at 2/3 ---------- 0-13-0

April 1 1775
John Campbell Esqr Dr
To 1 quart Rum 3/ & 1 gemlet /6 ---------- 0-3-6

April 3 1775
Andrew Robinson Taylor By Wm Drumen Dr
To Drefsing 2 Skins at 3/6 & making 1 pr Breeches at 7/6
& Thread /4 pair Apl 30 ---------- 0-11-4

April 6 1775
Stock Dr To John Campbell Esqr
To one Quier Paper at 3/6 & 1 pint Rum ---------- 0-5-0

April 13 1775
Stock Dr To George Groghan
for 94 lb Weight at 1/9 ---------- 8-4-6

April 15 1775
Stock Dr to John Campbell
To 2 Basons at 22/ & 4 plats at 12/ & 12 Needles at ½ ---------- 1-15-0

April 15 1775
Stock Dr to Andrew Nangel
for mending my Shoes ---------- 0-1-0

April 15 1775
John Campbell Dr
To Drefsing 1 panter Skin ---------- 0-5-0

April 15 1775
Thomas Smallman Esqr Dr.
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-5-0
Stock Dr to Thomas Smallman To 4 lb Sugar at 1/6 ---------- 0-6-0

April 18 1775
Capt Chambers By his Son Dr
To 1 pair Breeches ---------- 1-2-6
Stock Dr to Capt Chambers
for 3 Deer Skins Weight 9½ lb at ¼ ---------- 0-12-4

April 19 1775
Stock Dr To Frederick Ferry
for 1 fine Comb ---------- 0-2-0

April 24 1775
Stock Dr to David Tait
for 2½ ounces of Silk at 5/0
for 2 patt Locks

for Salt	0-12-0
May 15 1775	
John Girty Dr	
to Drefsing 2 Deer Skins 4/6	
to trimmings 4/6 & making 1 pair Breeches	0-16-0
May 19 1775	
Stock Dr to John Campbell Esqr	
To ½ yard Blue Cloth	0-7-6
May 20 1775	
Wm Scenes Dr John Glafs Son in Law	
To ½ Bushel hair	0-0-8
May 25 1775	
John Campbell Esqr Dr By Jas Forbush	
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin	0-0-8
June 6 1775	
James Elliott Dr	
To washing & Mending 1 pair Breeches	0-4-0
June 9 1775	
Thomas Cuningham Dr	
To mending one pair Breeches	0-7-6
June 10 1775	
Stock Dr to Wm Rummege	
for 4 lb Butter	0-4-0
June 12 1775	
Simon Girty Dr	
To washing 1 pair Breeches	0-2-6
June 13 1775	
Phillip Witsell Dr	
To Drefsing 3 Deer Skins	0-9-6
to washing 1 pair Breeches	0-2-6
June 13 1775	
Stock Dr to Samuel Sampble	
for 1 pint Wine	0-3-9
June 14 1775	
William Barr Dr	
To washing & mending 1 pr Breeches	0-7-6
June 23 1775	
Stock Dr to John Campbell Esqr	
By Cash paid to James Bogell	3-14-0
June 24 1775	
Stock Dr to Abraham Gum	
for souling 1 pair Shoes	0-1-6
July 1 1775	
Stock Dr to John Smith for 1½ lb of	
Thread 7/5 per lb	0-9-4½
July 8 1775	
William Deal Dr	
To washing & mending 1 pair Breeches	0-4-0
July 10 1775	
James Stones Dr to Drefsing 1 Deer &	

making 1 pair Breeches	0-9-0
July 24 1775	
Stock Dr to Abraham Stover for	
1 lb Tobacco	0-1-6
July 24 1775	
Stock Dr to Andrew Nangel for	
fixing 1 pair Shoes	0-2-0
July 31 1775	
Lebat franch man Dr	
for 4 Bushel of hair By his man John	0-5-0
August 9 1775	
Stock Dr to David Tait for	
½ Bushel of Salt & 11 quarts at /3	0-17-4
for 3½ Gallon & 1 pint at 7/6	3-4-8
August 10 1775	
James Forbush Dr	
To Drefsing 4 Deer Skins	0-7-0
Stock Dr to James Forbush	
for making 1 pair Breeches	0-8-0
August 16 1775	
William Butler By Rob Stran Dr	
To 1 Bushel of hair	0-1-3
August 16 1775	
James Rofs Dr	
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin	0-3-0
September 11 1775	
Stock Dr to Andrew Nagel	
for Soling 1 pair Shoes	0-1-6
September 12 1775	
School Master at fort Pitt Dr	
for washing 1 pair Breeches	0-2-6
September 16 1775	
William Shaw Dr to Cash Lent	0-1-0
September 18 1775	
James Girty Dr	
To Drefsing 1 Deer Skin	0-3-0
To making 1 pair Breeches	0-10-0
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